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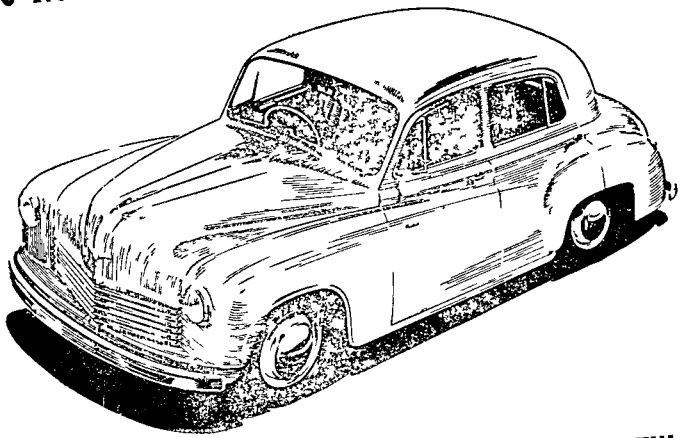
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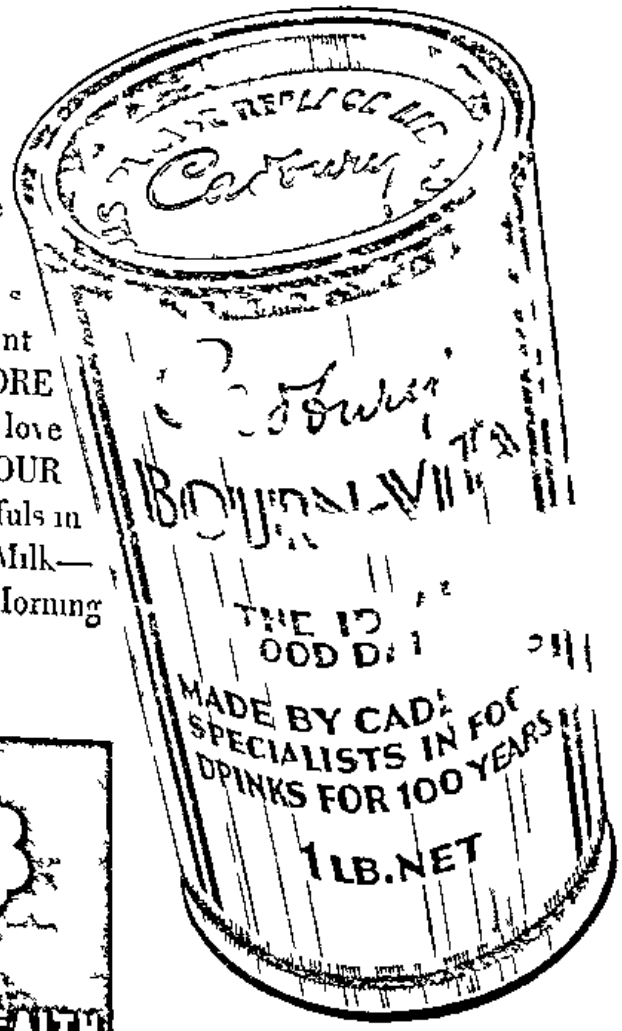
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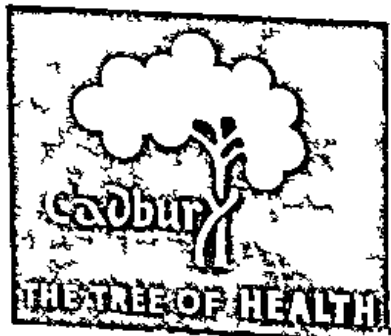
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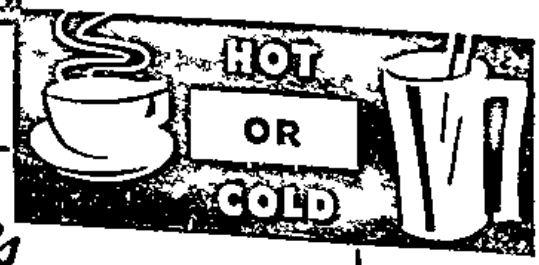
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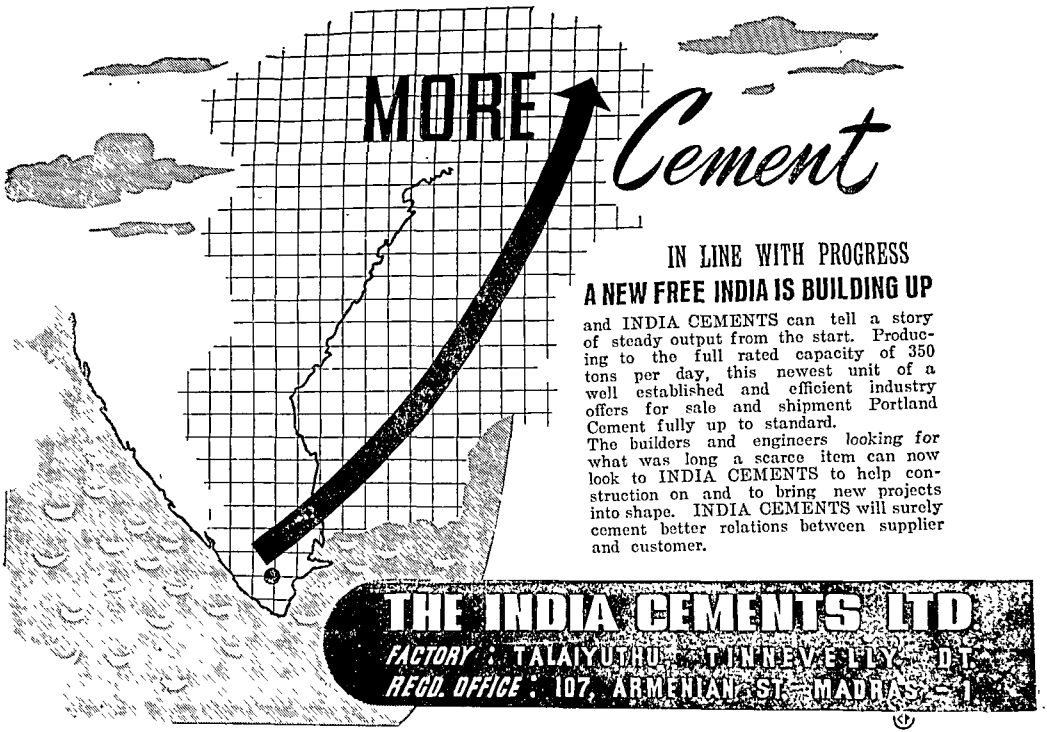




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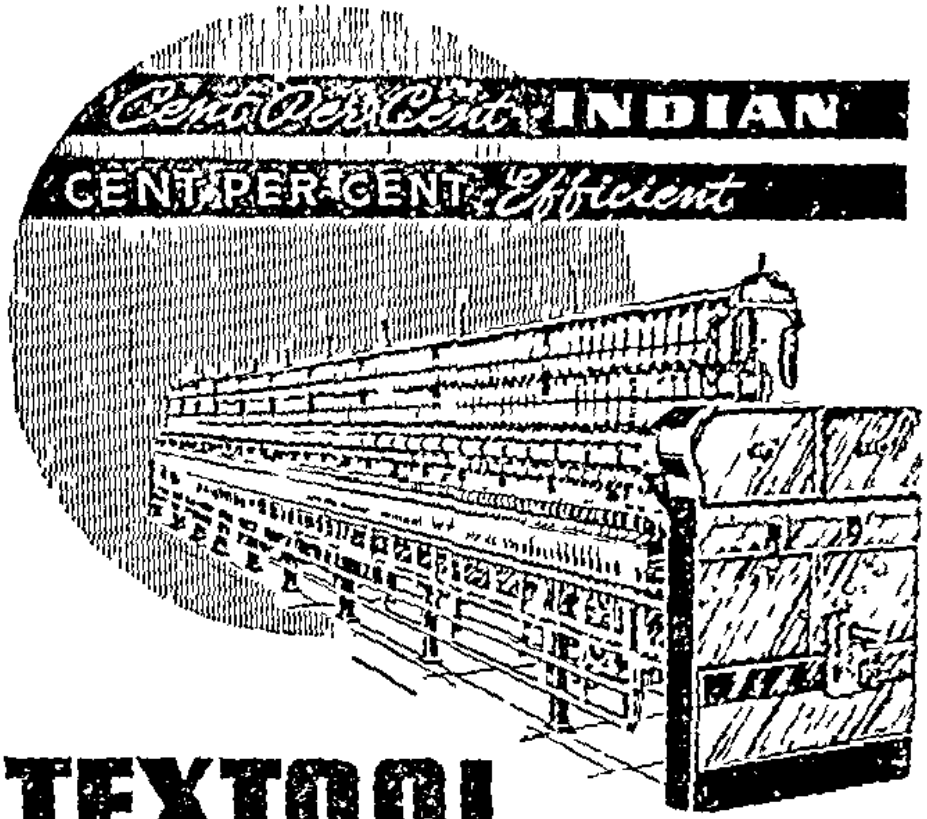
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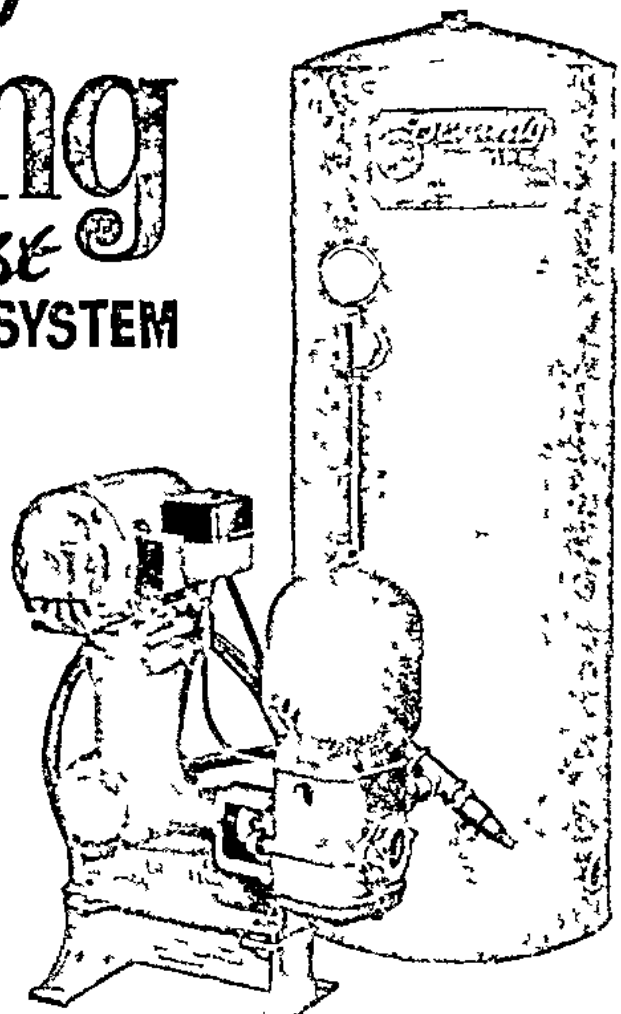
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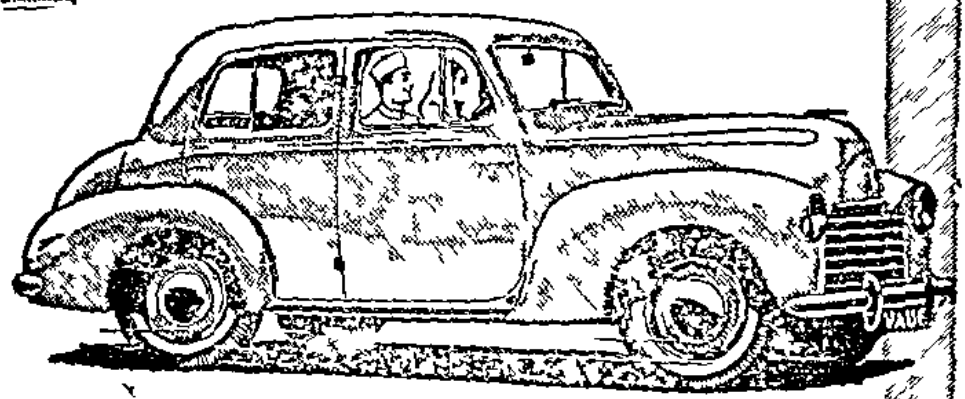
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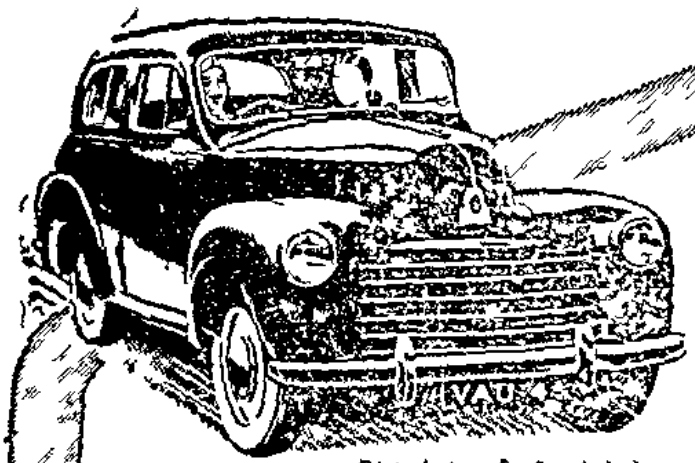


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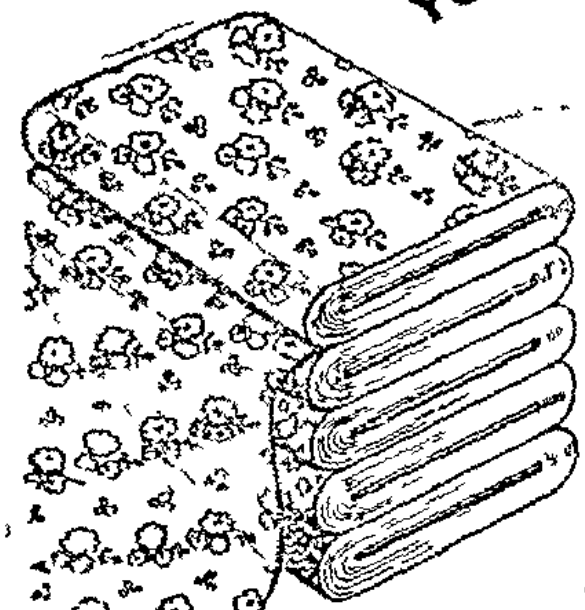
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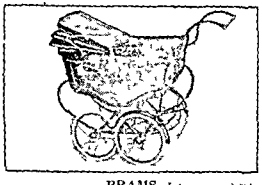
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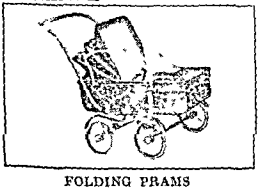
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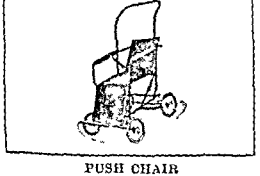
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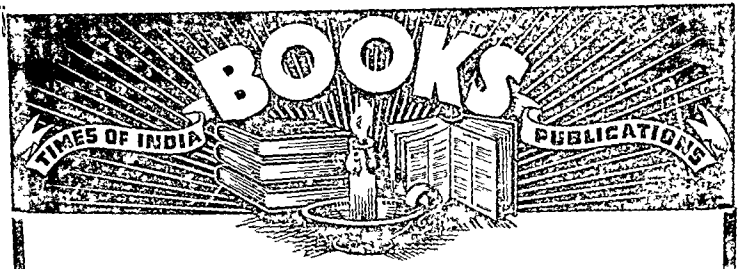
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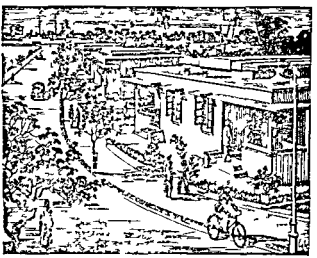
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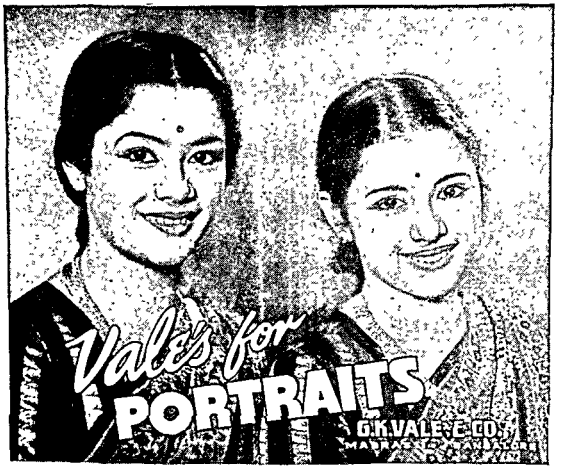
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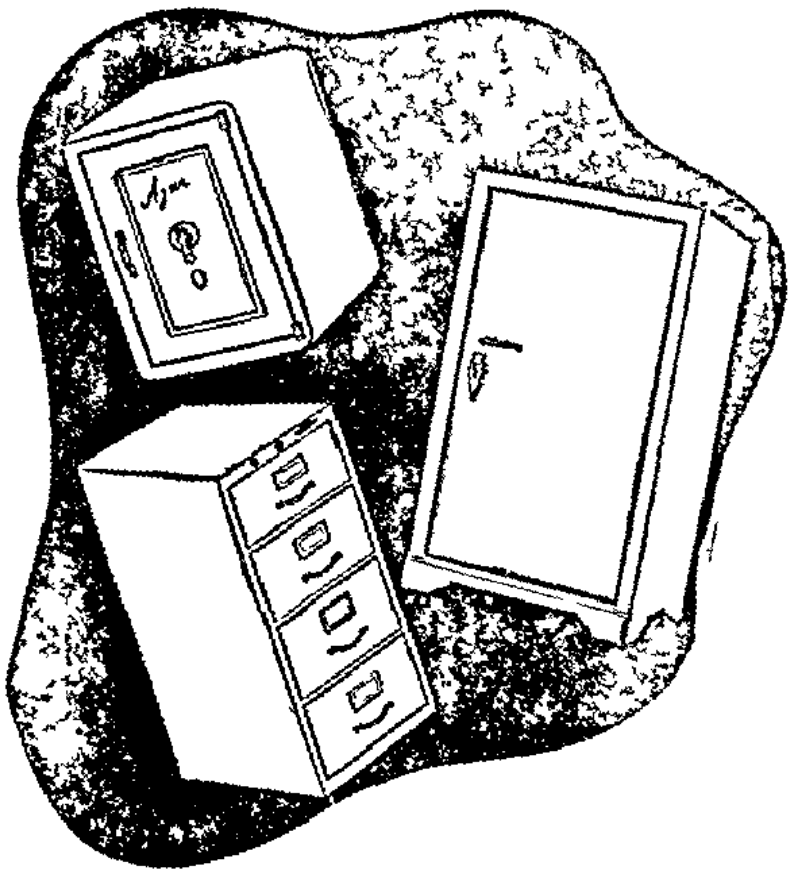
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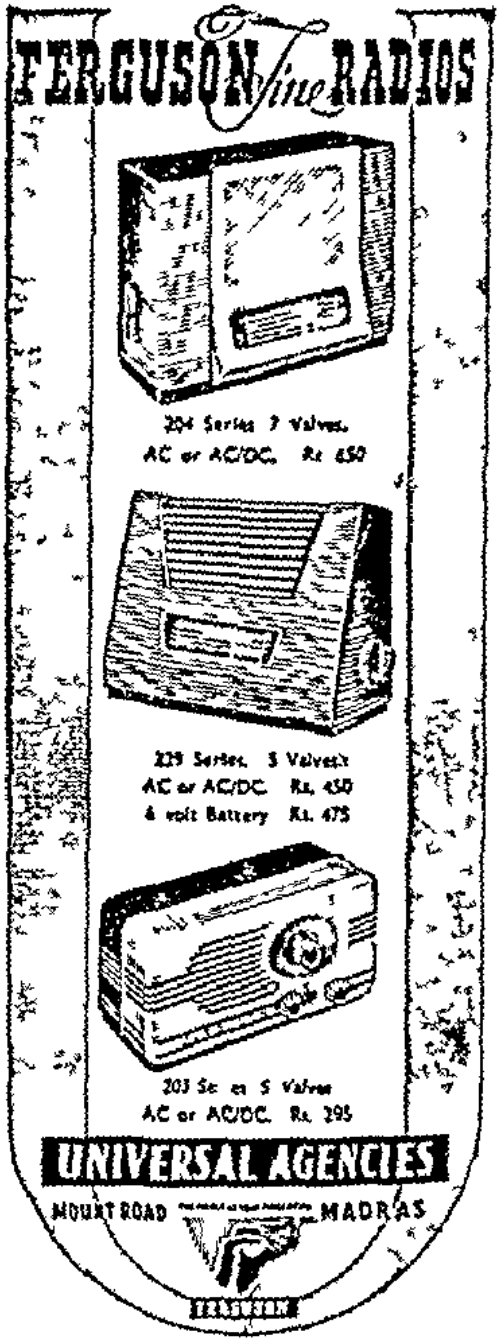
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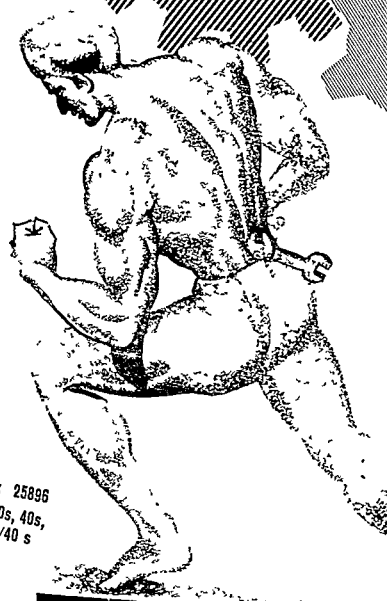
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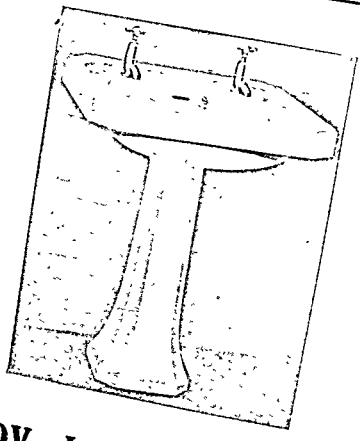
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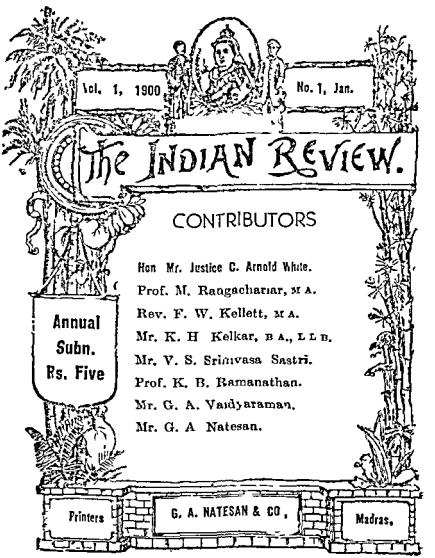
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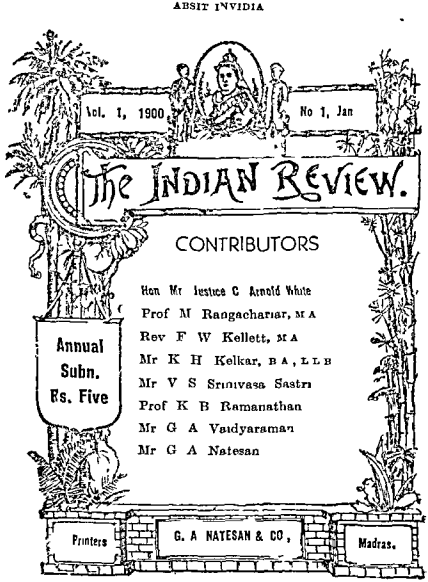
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NEW DELHI

3rd November 1949.

It is sad that G A. Natesan is not at the office of the Indian Review in flesh and blood to watch the birth of the Golden Jubilee Number of his favourite child, the Indian Review. Fifty years ago G A. Natesan was young, brave and adventurous when he took his degree in the Madras University and surprised those around him by refusing to qualify for law or apply for a Government job and announcing himself as a printer and bookseller. He demonstrated that national service could be abundantly performed without one being a lawyer and that one could be happy and prosperous and provide for his children as a bookseller and printer. No one was a more prominent public figure than Natesan in the civic life of Madras. He was a tower of strength to the representatives of Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhale in Madras and when Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of the Congress he claimed Natesan in Madras as an intimate and personal friend on whom he could depend even though he could not join a movement which disregarded the law while it conflicted with political aims. It is sad therefore that the Golden Jubilee Number of the Indian Review will issue when G.A. Natesan is not among us. The Indian Review was shaped after the Review of Reviews, so ably conducted by W.T. Stead and this form has been retained in spite of many temptations to adopt a more attractive appearance. But the old subscribers of the Indian Review throughout the world appreciate this conservative attitude. Every one should be glad that an enterprise of this remarkable kind has attained its Golden Jubilee and seeks the good wishes of the people as a dependable monthly cyclopaedia of public affairs with the backing of fifty years of experience through a period of change and struggle in social, political and industrial progress.

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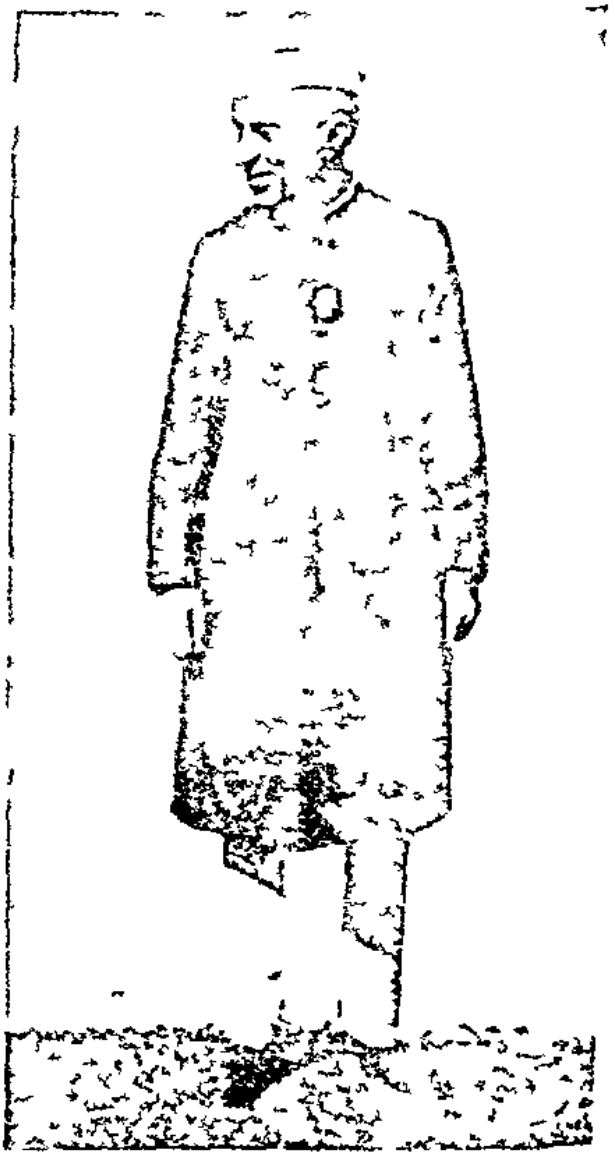
NEW DELHI
December 26 1949

MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN REVIEW

—o—

On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the 'Indian Review' I send my good wishes Fifty years is a long time in the life of a periodical, and the past fifty years have seen tremendous changes in India and the world It is an achievement for any periodical to carry on its work and give its message for this long span of years I have pleasant memories of Mr Natesan, the founder and longtime editor of this magazine

Jawaharlal Nehru



MADRAS GOVERNOR'S CAMP
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
GUINDY,
25th November 1949

I am very glad to learn that 'The Indian Review' is to celebrate its Golden Jubilee next month.

Fifty years is a long period but no period can be considered long enough for a journal which has served in the past, and looks forward to serving in future, the needs of the public so well and on so wide and varied range of subjects.

"The Indian Review" owed its parentage to the late Sir G. A. Natesan who nursed it with meticulous care and attention and set for it a very high standard from its very inception. Among the many eminent and valued contributors to the early issues of the Review can be mentioned such great men as Mahatma Gandhi, Ramsay MacDonald, Prof. Keith, the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and others. The continued success of the journal is to be ascribed to the devoted care of its founder and to the eminence and scope of its contributions. Today at the completion of Fifty years of service 'The Indian Review' can be easily classed as among the very foremost of Indian journals—a record of which any journal can very well be proud.

I would like to congratulate the Editor on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Review and send my best wishes for its future success.

KRISHNAKUMARSINHJI BHAVSINHJI
Governor of Madras



Hindu and Muslim Parsi and Christian leaders no less than English and American writers ostle with one another in that picturesque gallery of great figures To attempt anything like a catalogue of names would be out of place but consider the names that follow —Sir William Wedderburn Sir Alexander Cardew Sir Frank Noyce Mr Eardley Norton Bishop Whitehead Dr Besant and Dr Berriedale Keith Mahatma Gandhi Sir Purushottam das Thakurdas Sir Narayan Chandavarkar Sir Prabhashankar Pattani Sir Manubhai Mehta Sir Kailas Haksar V Krishna swamy Aiyar Mr Nyapathi Subba Rao Sir M Visvesvarayya Sir P S Sivaswamy Aiyar Sir S Radhakrishnan Mr T R Venkstarama Sastri and Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah Sir Md. Iqbal Sir Abdul Quadir Sir Syed Raza Ali and Sir Mirza Ismail Sir Atul Chatterjee Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji Sir Nripendranath Sircar and Sir B L Mitter Sir Dinshaw Wacha Sir Pheroze Sethna Sir Hormusji Mody The names are a legion One of the earliest contributors both in prose and verse was the late Sarojini Naidu the poetess

The names are merely illustrative but enough has been said to show that every sphere of intellectual and public activity has been pooled to give the readers of this periodical the best that has been thought and said during the decades which have elapsed It is melancholy to think that so many of these veterans are no more to share the thrills of the new age Their connection with the *Review* was fairly continuous and uninterrupted The versatile Sir Dinshaw Wacha continuously instructed the readers of the *Review* in Current Events and the mysteries of finance for the best part of 12 years from Feb 1904 to Dec 1916 until completely disabled by blindness It is a moving story of personal affection and loyalty And what shall one say of [so many other writers whose devotion to the *Review* was second only to that of the Editor? The impress of their personality and their contribution to the movement of progress could hardly have been in vain Among these the Rt Hon Srinivasa Sastri and Sir P S Sivaswamy Aiyar seldom failed the Editor on occasions of momentous political importance Only think of the ponderous volume of literature the *Review* put forth during the Morley Minto Reforms of 1909 the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 the Round Table Conference of 1931 and the later efforts of Sir Stafford Cripps down to the throes of that bloodless revolution which wrought the independence of August 1947 The *Review* along with many other agencies has done its bit in preparing the country to take an intelligent interest in these momentous transactions and paved the way according to its light for a fuller realisation of the nation's destiny which happily culminated in the declaration of Independence

From the beginning *The Review* never aligned itself with any particular party or programme and its pages bear ample testimony to the breadth and catholicity of its outlook But no periodical however impartial or judicial in outlook can afford to be neutral on matters closely affecting the social and political life of the people under a foreign rule



SIR DINSHAW E WACHA



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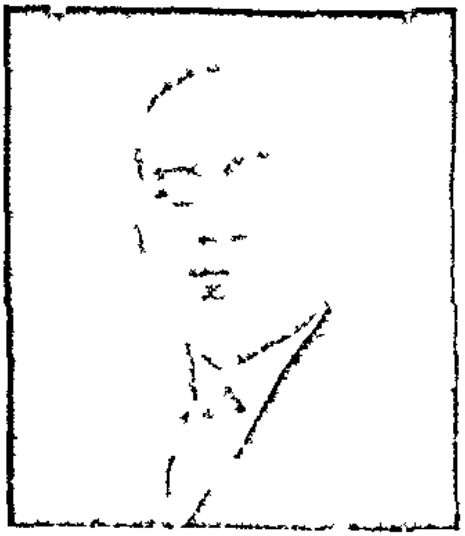


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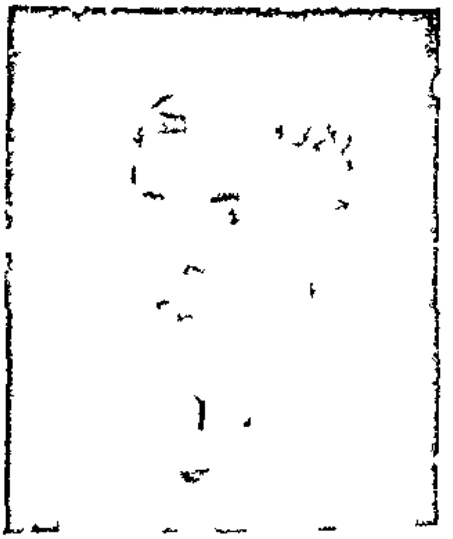
AMONG CONTRIBUTORS TO THE "INDIAN REVIEW"



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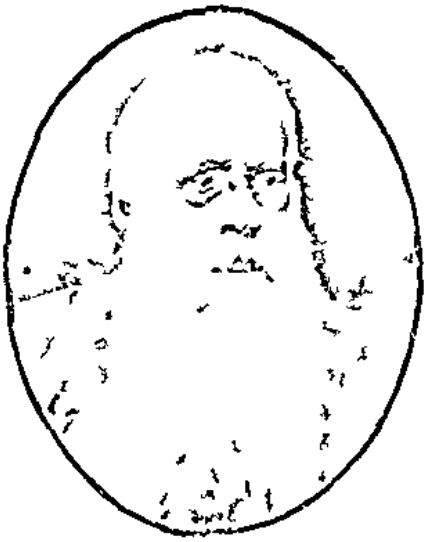
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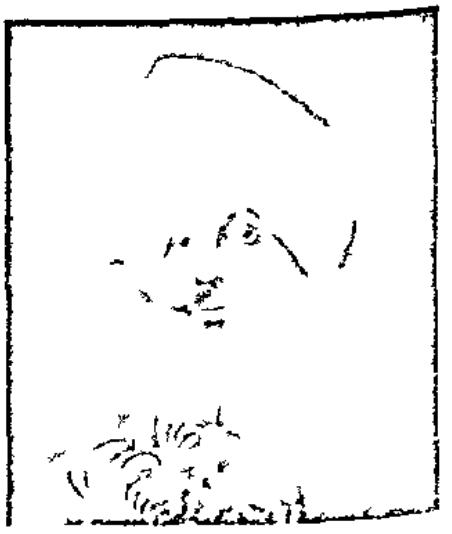
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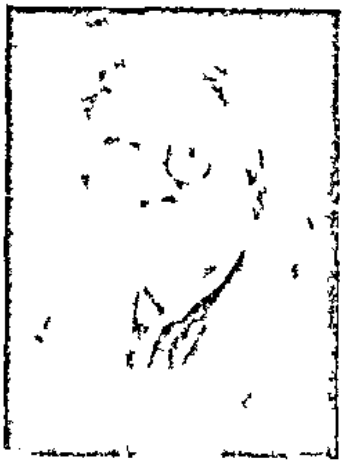
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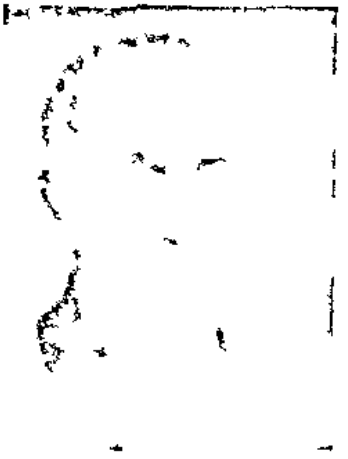
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While it claimed to be impartial and independent it has been definitely patriotic and nationalist in its sympathies Claiming to be free and unfettered in its survey of world events and judgment of men and issues, the *Review* in its first decade and a half definitely reflected the Congress view, which meant the view of the English-educated patriotic Indian Subsequently when the Congress, in the view of its Editor, took to revolutionary methods the *Review* inclined more to the Liberalism of Sapru and Sastri But throughout whether Liberal or Congress, it has always stood by Gandhiji and his ideology even while venturing to criticise certain impracticable items in his programme This was quite in the true spirit of Gandhiji himself, who, sure of his strength, always welcomed criticism and would not tolerate blind or ignorant acquiescence

Whether it was in the power of the *Review* to give a lead to the nation in the people's fight against foreign domination or social obscurantism may be a matter for discussion, but there is no doubt the *Review* truly reflected the varying moods and activities of the people in their gigantic struggle for freedom during the eventful half a century that has elapsed and did its bit to guide them through the rugged path of honour and patriotism

It is said that the oracle of today drops from the tripod on the morrow But somehow the spirit of Gokhale and Gandhi has been all pervading in Indian political thought and the pages of the *Review* fairly reflect the varying phases of their thought and endeavour.

III

Fifty years of social and political progress—what a change they have wrought on the life and habits of the people! Wars and revolutions and counter-revolutions have changed the face of the earth out of recognition and the map of the world has been redrawn many times following blood and thunder remedies no less than silent changes in the fortunes of our race India herself has witnessed changes of far-reaching significance Our social life, no less than our political, has undergone a transformation that must make us pause and consider—whether it has all been an upward march or a downward descent or at best an endless pursuit in a vicious circle

Our politicians, who had petitioned and prayed in the most approved constitutional way for such crumbs from the tables of the high and mighty as a few appointments in the Services or a token representation in the Councils, turned a new leaf under the inspiration of Gandhi and the vision of Swarajya or full-fledged independence The old demand for Simultaneous Examinations and one or two seats on the Executive Council went the way of all old things It was no longer a question of how few Indians could be entertained but how many foreigners could be dispensed with The old order had changed yielding place to new It was a far cry from Gokhale's modest proposal for ' Provincial autonomy " and a Cabinet ' of six members, three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians " to the Quit India demand of the Gandhian era.

Most wonderful of all, the methods of our fight for freedom have been novel, and not unoften derided by the more aggressive nations of the West as puerile and lacking in a sense of political realism Curiously enough these methods have not failed us during many a trying and stormy time in recent history.

Never in all history had there been a leader of such transcendent gifts, so forbearing, so patient and yet so wise and heroic, wielding an influence over the hearts of his countrymen such as no pomp or power of kings could have exerted

Gandhi s non-violent technique would appear to have heralded a new approach to political and social problems an approach that must compel attention in the future as we realise more and more that the old methods are failing us Sure enough the attempt to impose the virtues of vegetarianism on a carnivore is by no means easy and has not succeeded so far in history But as Gokhale said in another context

> "It may be that the history of the world does not furnish an instance where a subject race has risen by agitation If so we shall supply that example for the first time The history of the world has not come to an end, there are more chapters to be added, therefore we must not be discouraged by the lessons which some people profess to draw from history."

Events have moved fast since the last war And now at the end of an eventful period we find ourselves transported to a new world India is no longer a subject country and the "Quit India" demand found its fulfilment on Independence Day in August 1947. An extraordinary combination of causes and circumstances has contributed to this great denouement We may leave to history to assess in what proport the credit for this achievement shou go to Mahatma Gandhi's non viole technique, the revolutionary tactics the I N A under the inspiring leaders of Subhas Bose and the sudd awakening of British justice a magnanimity It was undoubtedly d to the cumulative effect of all the and to the pressure of world ever which made the freedom of India t keystone of the United Nations the World

Another date that will go down world history as even more memorab is the 30th January 1948 wh Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of t Nation and the Architect of our Freed died the death of a martyr at t prayer meeting in Delhi when he fe down with hands folded as in a la gesture of farewell to the world h loved and served so well for half century. It was as if the Sun ha been suddenly blotted out of the heaven "The glory has departed" said Pand Nehru, "and the sun that warmed an brightened our lives has set and w shiver in the cold and dark "

> O good grey head which all men knew
> O voice from which their omens all men drew
> O iron nerve to true occasion true
> O fall n at length that tower of strengt
> Which stood four square to all the winds that blew

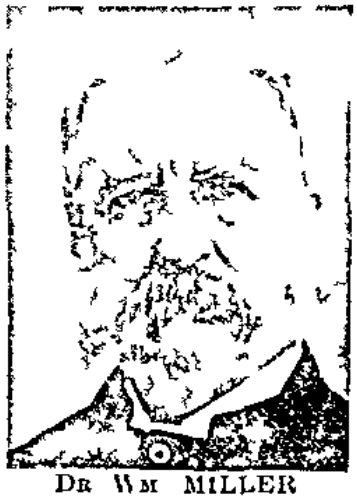
It is for us now to show by ou efforts that Gandhiji has not lived an laboured and died in vain and that th freedom that we have won is not th freedom of this class or that, but o the whole nation, irrespective of cas or colour, and that it means sufficien

HAIL AND FAREWELL, G. A. N.!

BY DR PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

President Indian National Congress

FIFTY years ago when I passed out from the Christian College I attended an annual meeting of the Old Boys Association of the College Dr William Miller the great Educationist and Missionary of the city of Madras was the principal of the College and our professor for Shakespeare He spoke at the Old Boys Day and incidentally in a tone of utter pride and self satisfaction referred to one of his old boys—not very old at that time who had started a Printing Press and was contemplating the starting of a monthly magazine as well The Old Boy was G A Natesan who was already popular with the student folks of the day and who was indefatigable in his activities—mostly connected with literary and debating societies He had graduated recently and his competitor—rather a collaborator in the field was (afterwards Sir) A P Patro whose son is the Commissioner of Police in the city of Madras today Both of them were behind all literary and historical and Debating Societies and were prominent at all public meetings It did not matter if Mr G A Natesan went late to a meeting It did not matter if hundreds of spectators were standing round in addition to thousands seated, he would relentlessly work his way through them all to t platform Who is this pushing you man?—people asked And instantly ca the answer— On he is the Editor the Indian Review—Mr G A Natesa don t you know The essence of t remark was in the last sentence It w a defect of equipment a sign backwardness a mark of ignorance n to know by sight at least so well know a man He was slim with his dh worn tidily and folded correctly h long short coat or if you please h short long coat and his quadrilateral trapezoid turban Dr Miller was pro of him because he was such a contra to the young graduates of those d who however brilliant were keen Government service or the Leg profession Even (Sir) A P Patro w a Law student in 1900—but here was youth of parts and promise of ene and activity hope and con dence of vi and vivacity w would not touc the trodden pa but cut his wa across ups a downs acre brush an hawthorn acro byeways an high ways on to his destination —he himse knew not what but he knew the direct on It was not North to Law East t Medicine South to Engineering or We to Teaching It was not Governme service high up in the Heavens no



DR WM MILLER

already in vogue for the elected seats to the Legislative Council of the day This event created a mild sensation for Mr Natesan was a popular leader But Mr Natesan served the Congress steadfastly though he left the Congress when the Congress ceased to be in Moderate" hands It was about this time that Sree Natesan made friends with Gandhi who attended the Madras session as a delegate from South Africa and who popularized the Transvaal problem in India Natesan became his friend and confidant his representative in India and agent for South African work—a mission which he continued to fulfil till Gandhi took up the Congress

Of Mr Natesan s Municipal and public activities little need be said for he soon became a Councillor and remained so far a period of over 25 years He was the Father of the Corporation when he passed away though towards the end he sought relief from Municipal duties Very early he bought 60 Thambuchetti Street and after dwelling for 16 years in it he moved over to Mylapore to a fashionable quarter and a commodious mansion He had very early bought his office premises in Sunkurama Chetti Street and developed a huge Book shop I once travelled with him when he was returning home from a session of the Council of State to which he had been nominated from Delhi to Madras and these fifty two hours fellowship in the train revealed the real man in him He was generous at heart hospitable to a degree sincere in his friendship and outspoken in his views He was an intense nationalist but believed in the necessity of honourable compromises in this world of perpetual adjustments He had won alike the good will of Government and the people and must be regarded as one of the chief builders of the city and civic life of Madras His advice was always eagerly sought by Mr C Rajagopalachariar I remember how he spent a few hours in quiet repose with him when the Police caused him some unrest by not arresting him soon after he had resigned the Ministry on October 26 1939 on the outbreak of the Second World War In days when party tends to become factions and differences of opinion and tactics tend to be obscured by malice and ill will it is no small compliment to Sree Natesan that he should have won alike the confidence of all parties. Whether he was a nominated member of the Council of State for years or an elected member of the Corporation for decades whether he was Editor or public man he maintained scrupulously his high sense of dignity and decorum in social and public life and his career is one worth studying in detail not merely by his sons and friends but by posterity He was one of glorious band who built up Indian Nationalism though his contribution may not in recent years have attracted the wider publicity of the contributions of those who had a more spectacular and sensational time of it All the same like the bricks which lie in the foundations of an edifice with its rising plinth imposing walls and towering spires and which support them all he and his colleagues who had been dubbed Moderates were patriots who laboured hard in the early days to build up the Congress organization and along side of it to develop the beginnings of democratic Government in this ancient land and to rid it ultimately of foreign domination Sree Natesan led a strenuous and well filled life and died full of years and honours

And how can a man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods?

A PIONEER OF POPULAR CULTURE

BY THE HON'BLE MR B G KHER
Premier, Government of Bombay

SOCIAL education has been defined as 'education for adult men and women which will give them the minimum essentials of knowledge, appreciation, habits and skill to enable them to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of citizenship



in a democracy.' Education in this country was so long confined to a fortunate few. The level of general knowledge was very low Even University graduates rarely learnt anything beyond a couple of plays of Shakespeare and Mill Burke Morley or Carlyle with a smattering of modern history and literature of England, and the word education was almost synonymous with knowledge of English The main object of receiving education was not attaining knowledge but of securing employment The British Isles were the axis round which revolved all our interest in the field of literature, philosophy and politics With but rare exceptions our educated people admired Scotland's Lake District scenery, they heard the songs of the skylark and the thrush neither of which they had cared to see, they were thrilled by the stories of Stuart and Tudor Princes and Princesses and held up the British system of Government as the ideal Naturally even for reading outside school and college we selected books written by Englishmen for Englishmen Adult education in India at that time was confined to novels of Dickens, Scott and Reynolds dramas by Shakespeare and Sheridan and essays by Macaulay, Addison Carlyle Mill and Spencer. Educated people rarely gave a thought to Indian literature—that is to say literature written in Indian languages and it was a fashion to relegate to rubbish, books in English written by Indian authors Even acknowledged masters like Ranade, Surendranath Banerji Sastri, Gokhale, Pherozshah Mehta and Dadabhai Nowroji were read in newspapers alone

Against this background we can very well understand what type of books whiled away the hours of leisure and recreation of an average educated man All the training he received for "shouldering the heavy responsibilities of citizenship" was largely confined to the articles of political leaders in newspapers and books written by the leaders of the liberal school of thought in England While this was good enough so far as it went the snag was that it did not go far enough In England and in Europe new forces, the importance of which the Liberals in England had not yet been able to assess fully, were rising Few leaders in the western

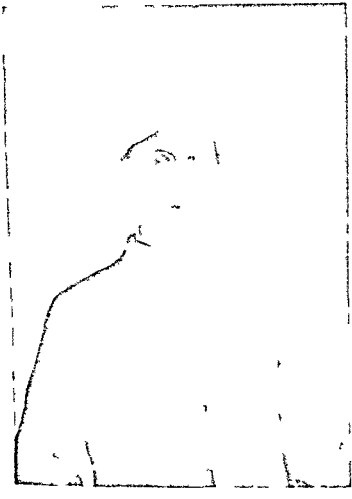
world had enough foresight to understand the full significance of the rumblings in Asia—the vast continent which was taken for granted as a preserve for colonial exploitation despite the rude shock given by Japan Leaders in India were striving to lift the political movement for the emancipation of the country from the plane of a constitutional upper class movement to that of a mass movement embracing the people as a whole For the success of their efforts an enlightened middle class was essential Apart however from a few political newspapers which did excellent work by way of building up an enlightened and politically conscious public there was great need of popular books which could provide general knowledge create self confidence especially in the section of the public which was under the spell of western civilization by putting before them the achievements of Indians in various fields of life in their proper perspective Amongst the pioneers of this work was the firm of Shri G A Natesan of Madras This firm came out with a series of books on political religious historical and social subjects which not only because of their novelty but more because of the simple and interesting manner of the presentation of subjects of burning interest contained in them and their cheap price got a grip over the mind of the reading public A glance at their catalogue would give an idea of the wide range of the interesting subjects on which the firm was the first to enlighten the public We find in the catalogue sketches of the lives of famous Parsis and famous Indian Christians pamphlets on Indian Home Rule Congress Presidential Addresses Indian National Evolution Indian Tales of Fun Folly and Folklore, books on Sakuntala and Maitreyi on Sri Rama on Jesus Christ and Sankaracharya the Epics in abridged form and so on There were others on the three Great Acharyas North Indian Saints Chaitanya to Vivekanand, Famous Battles of Indian History Malabar and its Folk speeches and writings of Dr P C Ray of Sir William Wedderburn Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Poetical works Popular classics Junior classics and so on—what a wealth of variety in instruction and entertainment! Most of them were priced at Rupee one or one and a half! No doubt for a population hungry for literature on topics of the day or topics of interest to self respecting Indians Natesan's was a veritable school of adult education. It is indeed difficult for a population which has hundreds of publishing houses competing to serve a wide reading public such as Pelican Penguin Nelson etc to realise the full value of the service rendered by Natesan in the pioneering days of Indian publications

I am no expert in the publication line On this occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the *Indian Review* I want to pay my tribute to the valuable pioneering work done by it in providing an excellent means of adult education when the very concept of adult education was yet unknown in this country I send my good wishes

ONCE MORE!

Counsel Now Sir did you or did you not on the date in question or at any time previously or subsequently say or even intimate to the defendant or anyone else whether friend or mere acquaintance or in fact a stranger that the statement imputed to you whether just or unjust and denied by the plaintiff was a matter of no moment or otherwise? Answer did you or did you not?

Defendant 'Did I, or did I not what?



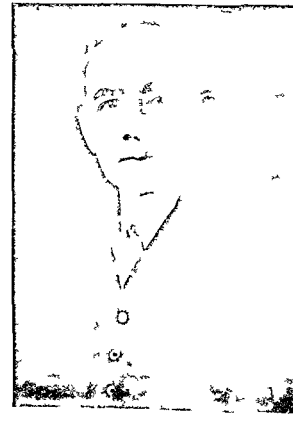
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DEENABHANDU ANDREWS



PROF D K KARVE



SIR B L MITTER

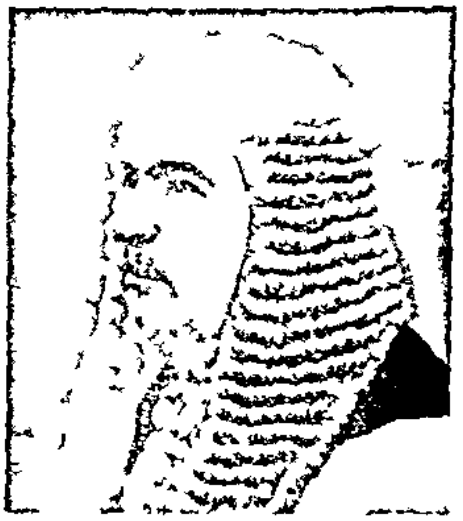
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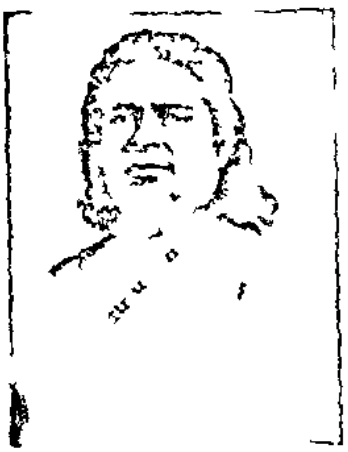
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YONE NOGUCHI



BABA BHARATI



LORD SINHA



V. P. MADHAVA R[illegible]

PEACE, THE TRANQUILLITY OF ORDER

BY THE MOST REV. LOUIS MATHIAS
Archbishop of Madras

THE International gathering of Pacifists early this (December) month at Santiniketan is an event of considerable significance. Delegates belonging to widely differing religious persuasions and of various walks of life from almost all countries of the world assembled for the first time in India to discuss ways and means to promote the cause of pacifism and to banish war once for all in the settlement of International disputes. These representatives are conscientious pacifists who hold that even resistance to a war of aggression is unjustifiable on moral grounds. Nowhere was the voice of a national leader heard with greater force and effectiveness than in India for Mahatmaji had always been an unflinching advocate of non-violence and ahimsa. It seems to be singularly appropriate that a meeting of this kind should have been held at the spot hallowed by the labours and the memory of the poet-pacifist Rabindranath Tagore, two years after India attained her nationhood.



Reading through speeches and messages, one feels that the approach to the problem of peace does not give the correct lead. It is true that Shri Manilal Gandhi echoed the voice of his revered father at the session on December 4th, when he declared that, "without the grace of God and without humility we can do nothing." Shri Acharya Kripalani also struck a similar note when he emphasized the need for 'the observance of the moral law' and the 'use of right means to obtain our ends'. The end, namely attainment of a just and lasting peace, is devoutly wished for by all classes of people throughout the world. No one likes war. The last two wars have given an idea of the terrible destruction of life and property by means of the modern weapons of war, including the atom bomb. A German proverb says: A great war leaves the country with three armies—an army of cripples, an army of mourners and an army of thieves'. Thinking people are asking if we cannot find a peaceful and humane solution to settle International disputes than the old and brutal method of destruction.

The Pacifists have noble aims and desire to attain them by right methods. With their aim the whole world may be in agreement, but whether the means proposed are such as would lead us to the desired goal is a doubtful proposition. Mere desire for the progress of humanity, a feeling of sympathy towards fellowmen and an effort to reduce pain and suffering can never offer a sanction for the laws of God nor for the fundamental distinction between truth and error, right and wrong and good and evil. It is only the principle of justice and of charity based on the immutable laws of Almighty God that can serve as a basis to educate the world in the philosophy and arts of peace. Public welfare and the amenities

of civilised life can have no guarantee of stability when right is subverted and virtue despised and ridiculed

The pursuit after peace and happiness is a natural craving of human nature An ideal of life based on tranquillity of order amity brotherhood and mutual co operation is not something new In this respect men differ from one another not only in their conception of what peace and happiness mean but also in respect of the means to attain the same Such a conception is logically quite different in a man who believes in God and in things that belong to the spirit and conversely in a man who is a materialist to the very marrow of his bone In the mind of the materialist the shortness of life and the eagerness for pleasure will determine his behaviour Whether he likes it or not material pleasure will be the *summum bonum* of his life He will be an opportunist at heart and none will be able to say how long he will be law abiding and follow the path of peace

Materialism has a destructive influence which poisons men's minds and hearts It exalts the passions of men instead of teaching them to control and subdue such passions It is a school of thought that wants to command respect through the false assumption that it is a logical corollary of science or the consequence of human search for truth It is a negative doctrine that simply denies the existence of spiritual or supernatural things and feels so sure of itself that it does not take any pains to prove its premises It aims at the destruction of its most powerful foe Religion There is scarcely any important movement against orderly life within the boundaries of a country or against international peace in the comity of nations that cannot be traced back to materialism Should such a movement succeed awful are its devastating effects in the moral and temporal life of the unfortunate country which becomes its victim Religion will be persecuted Licence will take the place of liberty and those who today fight for right and liberty guaranteed by law will openly deny such rights and liberties to others and they will suppress with a ruthless intolerance freedom of conscience and of expression

Materialism is responsible to such a large extent for the evils that afflict mankind at the present day that it seems to overshadow all other destructive influences which bring misfortune to and hatred between men and nations Materialism is in itself a potential cause of war This is the real danger of democracies Abusing the freedom granted by the democracies materialists will grow in strength and spread with impunity their propaganda until they feel that they are strong enough to crush democracy and introduce in its stead their totalitarian methods This was and is the way Nazism and Fascism of yesterday and today's Communism have imposed to realize their goal

The unbeliever or the materialist cannot be a pacifist at heart The more a man believes in God and in the spiritual values the more he loves peace and works for it Mahatma Gandhi that matchless embodiment of serene imperturbability has exerted a powerful influence on his fellowmen because he pinned his faith on peace and non violence and non co-operation

with evil But he died a martyr to his creed of non-violence on the altar of non-violence at the hands of a violent assassin

What is this peace desired alike by all men? The greatest minstrel of peace as understood by Christians was Saint Augustine In his word "The City of God" he wrote:

"Such is the good of peace, that in this mortal world, nothing is heard of with greater joy nothing coveted with greater desire, nothing is more welcome when it comes Thus the peace of the body is the well-ordered organisation of its parts, the peace of the irrational soul is the well-ordered repose of its sensual desires, the peace of the rational soul is the well-ordered agreement of thought and action, the peace of the body and soul together is the well-ordered life and health of the living being, the peace of mortal men and God is the well-ordered obedience of living in faith under the eternal law, the peace of men is the well-ordered concord, the peace of the home is the well-ordered concord of its residents, in giving commands and in obeying them, the peace of the city consists in the well-ordered concord of the citizens, both commanding and obeying, the peace of the Heavenly City is the perfectly ordered and completely concordant association of those who enjoy God and cherish one another in God *The peace of all things is the tranquility of order*"

Order is, therefore, a primary requisite of a good society and according to Saint Augustine himself, order is precisely the disposition of both equal and unequal things which gives to each of them its proper place Peace is the very condition of liberty It is the anchor of our soul, preventing us from drifting into the unfathomed waters of the unchartered seas of *laissez-faire* in thought and action Man needs tollerance towards intolerance. Absolute equality among nations is not possible Order demands that some nations be great and others small. The achievement and maintenance of peace demands that the nations through their leaders recognise this essential inequality and respect each other.

"The sword" said Pope Pius XII, "can impose peace It cannot create it" It is a matter of moral rectitude and goodwill Distributive justice among the nations must be at the base of their mutual relations It is here also a matter of giving on one side and receiving on the other But peace has its beginnings above all in the hearts and minds of men As the great Angelic Doctor of the Catholic Church Aquinas says.

'If it is indirectly the work of justice in so far as justice removes the obstacles to peace it is directly the work charity, since charity according to its very nature, causes peace Love is a unitive force ... and peace is the union of the appetite's inclinations'.

We Christians are, according to the words of Pope Pius XI, convinced that "unless we are ready to accept the willing and principles of Christianity, fundamental prepared to observe the teachings and obey the law of Christ, then true peace, the peace of Christ, is impossible, whether in public or in private life" This subtle thrill of peace should stir and captivate our minds and inspire us all, with an intellectual and spiritual stimulus to peace amongst all men

I am writing these words a few days before Christmas—a feast which announced to the world the joyous tidings of peace to men of goodwill If only leaders and statesmen realize their moral duties towards God and their neighbours and inculcate them into the minds of the people as a whole, the causes of the that lead to war can be eliminated, if not altogether suppressed Peace is the greatest blessing men can have Let us hope that the efforts at Santiniketan will help in promoting mutual good understanding and harmony among the different nations of the world.

A National Savings Movement for India

BY SIR V T KRISHNAMACHARI KCSI

THE devaluation of the rupee and the rise in prices have drawn pointed attention to the economic problems facing the country and the Finance Minister has announced an Eight point Programme for meeting the situation Intensive campaigns for increased production and



for savings figure prominently in this programme The object of this article is to deal in broad outline with the latter subject—a drive for savings on a nation wide scale

A well known economist has said In any industrial society it is estimated that economic health can be maintained only if 10 to 15 percent of the national income is being invested in fresh capital development All Governments in India are committed to programmes for bringing about an appreciable increase in the standard of living of the people within as short a time as possible and it may be said without exaggeration that with the achievement of this objective is bound up the security of the State These programmes—or reconstruction of agriculture and development of cottage small scale and large scale industries—call for large capital outlays A fair proportion of these must come from internal savings and it is only if the internal economy demonstrates its soundness in this manner that foreign capital can be attracted on resonable terms The present national income of India is estimated at between Rs 5 000 and Rs 6 000 crores and the aim should be to begin with to secure savings to the extent of about Rs 300 crores a year (5 to 6 percent of the national income)—increasing steadily as the national income increases

In 19th century England most of the capital needed for industrial development came from successful businessmen These derived large profits which were re invested in industries As taxation came to be employed as an instrument of social justice and tax levels on higher incomes increased the investment habit spread among the middle classes The extent of the shift that has taken place can be judged from the following figures The number of persons who retained incomes of £6 000 and over a year after paying income tax fell from 7 000 in 1938 39 to 45 in 1945 46 and the number who retained income from £250 to £500 after paying income tax rose from 1 820 000 in 1938-39 to 5 225 000 in 1945 46 The two processes began many years ago though in recent years taxation rates have risen steeply on larger incomes

A similar change is taking place in India In the 19th century and the

early years of this century much of the capital needed for industries came from successful businessmen and to some extent from the upper middle classes in large cities. In the last few years, the taxation of large incomes has brought about a reduction in the numbers of such persons and in the margin of their savings.

This article is not concerned with the question whether the policy actually followed for taxation of large incomes is sound, It is concerned with the facts as they are. In his speech on the budget last year the then Finance Minister pointed out that a person with an income of Rs. 10 lakhs paid Rs. 8.99 lakhs in taxes and a person with an income of Rs. 30 lakhs paid Rs 28.37 lakhs. He added that, in that year, there were in India 415 persons with incomes of Rs. 2 laks and over and that these had an aggregate income of Rs. 19 crores of which they paid Rs. 11.66 crores in taxes; they were thus left with Rs. 7.34 crores of which only a portion could be available for new capital development. It is not possible to say that these figures correspond absolutely to facts: they are almost certainly under-estimates. No information was gtven about the income groups between Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 10,000. Among these, the investing habit is widely prevalent. There also are the sums expended on permanent agricultural improvements through the co-operative movement and in other ways and those that will be saved under the compulsory schemes recently started. Even after allowing for these, there will be a large gap to be made up to reach the target we ought to aim at. The deficit thus remaining will have to come from classes of the population who are not in the habit of saving and to whom spending power is now passing, In the same speech the Finance Minister said that there were 1,75,436 persons on incomes ranging from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 10,000 a year with an aggregate income of Rs. 95 crores who paid Rs. 5-86 crores in income-tax. We have, however, no analysis of the groups comprising this middle class and the manner in which the rise in the cost of living has affected each of them. Those in receipt of fixed incomes, like Government servants, have been hard hit and they are covered by the compulsory savings schemes: but it is possible that other sections comprised in this category can be brought within the scope of a national savings movement. Then again, there is evidence that landholders and tenants—the large and medium ones—are now receiving a larger share of the national income than before, due to high prices of food grains. What precisely the extent of this is it is not possible to say as no systematic studies have been made of this subject. Formerly these landholders and tenants invested their savings mostly in land. Owing however to proposals made in the last two years for fixing a maximum limit on individual holdings, it is likely that such savings as are made are now spent on unproductive purposes. Another class may also be singled out for mention. Industrial labour has benefited by increases in wages and it is desirable—and essential from many points of view—to encourage the savings habit among them. Efforts made in this direction in an area in

Western India from 1943 onwards have shown striking results It must, however, be emphasised that as conditions vary widely in different parts of India, the classes to whom increased purchasing power is passing will not be the same all over the country they will differ from region to region and in the same region there will be changes with changes in economic conditions

There can be no doubt that the change in the distribution of income to which attention has been drawn has become a permanent feature of India s economy and that the tendency will be for large inequalities in income to disappear The levels may vary from time to time and the process may take a longer or shorter period but the trend will be steadily in this direction The aim of a campaign for national savings should thus be (i) to study continuously in every region the changes in the pattern of distribution that take place from time to time and (ii) to inculcate the habit of saving among classes to whom increased incomes accrue It is not the intention of this article to suggest what detailed organisations should be set up but some general remarks can be made Firstly, the intensive efforts needed for ensuring that the campaign reaches the remotest areas in the country can only be made by Provinces and States Secondly, there should be, for each local area like a tahsil, a joint organization of officials and non officials which would establish close contact with all classes of the population and utilise all agencies available—the co operative movement, branch banks, postal savings bank etc These local organisations should be linked up with similar district and provincial organisations Thirdly, the Central Government should agree to pass on to Provinces and States a definite portion of the investment in their areas for development schemes in which they are interested The Central Government will guide the whole movement and regulate policies and possibly also come to arrangements with labour organisations for spreading the movement among industrial labourers

More than anything else, there should be a nation-wide realisation of the vital need in the country s interests of a drive for savings It follows inevitably that all Governments in India should ensure the conditions of stability and security under which alone efforts on such a large scale will become possible.



50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

From an article on "The War in the Transvaal"

On Wednesday October 4 the Boers seized all the week's shipment of gold from the Transvaal mines, giving the total value at £800 000 and promising indemnity to the banks concerned Finally on Monday the 9th October, the Boers presented their now famous ultimatum to the British Agent (Here follows the substance of the ultimatum) .

When the ultimatum was received in England all parties in Parliament closed their ranks and declared that it was not such as any civilised power would tolerate. The reply, however, sent by the Colonial Secretary, is characterised by great dignity and reserve It expresses regret that President Kruger should have taken the serious step involved in addressing a communication of such a nature to Her Majesty s Government, and announces that "Her Majesty's Government has no further communication to make to him at the present moment"

The time fixed in the Boer ultimatum expired in the afternoon of Wednesday the 11th October, and from this date the two nations have been at war

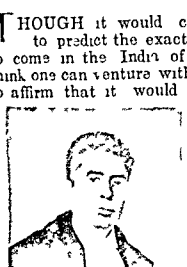
The Place of Administrative Law in the New India

BY THE HON BLE MR JUSTICE P V RAJAMANNAR

Chief Justice, High Court of Judicature, Madras

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THOUGH it would certainly be rash to predict the exact shape of things to come in the India of the Future, I think one can venture with some confidence to affirm that it would be a country in



which national life is more orderly organised and planned than it has ever been Increased efficacy of mechanical inventions, advanced facilities for transport and communication and co ordination of economic factors in different parts of the country all these are bound to lead to an intense and intensive activity, commercial and social Specialisation will be a common feature and not an exception

One obvious requirement for the success of intensive specialised economic and social activity would be a method to overcome the proverbial delays in deciding disputes which appear to be inevitable in a recourse to the ordinary Courts of the land and to provide for a speedy, final and satisfactory solution of disputes It is here that administrative law and delegated legislation will come to occupy a prominent place in all activities of the India of the Future

In spite of the great work done by the concept of the reign of law for the maintenance of the liberties of the individual subject it apparently brought in its train features in the administration of Justice which necessarily led to delay, formalism rigidity and paradoxically at times to a negation of justice It is impossible to dwell at length on the different aspects of the rule of law and the defects of a system of legal administration entirely founded on it But it is necessary to touch in outline some at least of the salient defects of such an administration The rule of law has often been relied upon as being the foundation of a doctrine of equality of all litigants in the eye of the law But is it not the cry of the common man the world over that there is one law for the poor and another for the rich, or the more serious cry justice is only for the rich and none for the poor' The complicated machinery of the Courts of the land and the enormous expense entailed by legal proceedings justify to a great extent this criticism Laws delays and the law's expense do certainly exist though the fault cannot be laid at the doors of the Judges or the Lawyers In fact, the fault is really of the system Then again, there is also the justifiable criticism based on the rigidity of the legalistic rules applied in the administration of justice sometimes if not often without regard for the rule of equity of the cause How often have not eminent Judges said that no doubt a particular course is equitable but unfortunately it is not in accordance with law A system of complicated rules with subtle exceptions and highly technical procedure is bound to fill the mind of an ordinary citizen with suspicion and uncertainty This uncertainty itself sometimes works great hardship because varying interpretations by a hierarchy of appellate tribunals will completely bewilder a lay man As an American writer exclaims 'what is the law? It is what a superior Court Judge may decide to-day, the Court of Appeal within six months, the Supreme Court in a year and the Privy Council in two years' Due variations in time for India may be made That is fine for the lawyers but it certainly is not fine for the masses

If the legal system in vogue has not satisfied the common man in the pre-war world, undoubtedly it would be found hopelessly inadequate and ill-suited to the problems and situations of the economic life in the post-war world All

the defects which I have just mentioned would be exaggerated a hundr dfold and almost certainly the system would find itself not being able to inspire confidence in or render real assistance to the nation

It is not difficult to envisage that to meet the new demands legislation itself will under the new order substantially change its character Much less time of the great legislative bodies will be taken up with the drafting of long Acts and debating at great length clause by clause detailed provisions In the future the functions of such large and f assemblies will I expect be only to approve or decide upon the general principles leaving details to be filled in by smaller and more competent and specialised bodies Here is an outline of procedure suggested by one of our leading writers on political thought A Government wishing to legislate on a particular subject should in the first instance introduce and pass rapidly into law an enabling Bill clearly laying down the general substance of what is wanted and referring to a special commission either standing or *ad hoc* to work out all details The detailed measures thus drafted should then go to a conference representing public bodies chiefly concerned *e g* regional or provincial councils or bodies responsible for the conduct of nationalised industries and services or recognised institutions in charge of education or public health or whatever the subject matter of the Bill may be

Necessarily detailed administration and enforcing of such legislation must be in the hands of special bodies or boards or committees composed of persons who have intimate knowledge and experience of the departments of national activity in respect of which a particular legislation has been undertaken

Indications have not been wanting even from some time preceding the beginning of the Great War of an attempt to stress the importance of maintaining within the larger administrative spheres smaller units of local self Government for direct control of important services The Electricity Board Board of Education Board of Trade Agricultural Marketing Committees and other similar councils have been established and have been functioning

A survey of legislation in England and particularly during the last quarter of a century will show to what extent Governments have already attempted to meet the demands of a new order Several administrative Boards have been set up under the supervision of the Ministers some of which have also been given the right to make their own laws for the detailed administration of several departments of national activity entrusted to them

Such trend in legislation has not escaped severe criticism at the hands of eminent Judges lawyers and public men Lord Hewart C J characterised it as the New Despotism In a recent issue of the *Canadian Bar Review* a learned writer laments on the encroachment on the traditional reign of law which according to him is being replaced by a system operating without science careless of right legal principles and outside the jurisdiction of our established courts a negation of a reign of law He draws rather an alarming picture of the rapid development of administrative law and delegated legislation Here is an extract from his condemnation

> What do we face if administrative Boards and Commissions continue to submerge the general and well understood principles of law under thousands of regulations administered and enforced by them without special science without professional draftsmanship without lawyers presiding over and appearing before them without appeal to the Courts of His Majesty without precedents and without any ordered and scientific reporting of decisions each an independent quasi judicial unit independent of the other administering its own particular brand of regulations imposing fines interpreting the law putting us to expense and loss and even in jail controlled by no fundamental legal principles and knowing no precedents except those of its own making even

assuming that it chooses to follow them"

That is one side of the picture But one cannot brush aside the growth of a system from out of the spontaneous development of a new outlook and a new approach simply because it may not coincide exactly with present notions and age long traditions After all, the rise of administrative law and justice even in countries like England and America has been inevitable because of the extension of the functions of Government to one new sphere after another In many fields like Public Health, Housing, Town-planning, Unemployment Insurance and Education, the Public Administration of Social Services for the common good has superseded "the old and unregulated individualism of the first three quarters of the 19th Century' It is easy to imagine the large volume of work involved thereby on account of the several pieces of consequent social legislation If all the judicial work in respect of and arising therefrom had been thrown on the existing judicial bodies, they would not have coped with it In England for instance, the unemployment insurance scheme alone gives rise every year to tens of thousands of separate cases in which claims are contested If all these cases had to be determined by the ordinary courts of law the judiciary would have to be expanded considerably; and even then the law's delays would be something enormous Then again, as a result of what I may call the socialisation of public services like Education, Insurance etc the old standards have been found hopelessly inadequate to the new circumstances—standards of fitness for human habitation, standards of medical service, standards of sanitation, standards of conditions of employment, standards of educational needs It will be almost ridiculous to look for such standards in the musty volumes of the Law Reports A determination of these standards requires expert knowledge and social experience in particular fields

As I already stated, it does not serve any purpose to simply decry the growth of administrative tribunals which really have come to stay. In future India they are bound to increase in number as well as in strength Inevitably socialisation of services will increase beyond measure and the municipal and social activity of the State will compass almost every field of national life This phenomenon, I am presuming, is certain This extended State activity will necessarily call for Tribunals to adjudicate upon disputes arising in several departments and covered by different enactments and it would be foolish to expect that such tribunals can be the regular judicial courts of the land

It is better therefore to find out generally the advantages and disadvantages of these administrative tribunals and in planning the Government of the Future to so devise ways and means as to retain the advantages and get over the disadvantages as effectively as possible without destroying the efficiency of the system

The advantages of administrative tribunals have been summed up by Professor Robson thus in his book 'Justice and Administrative Law" "Cheapness and speed with which they work, the technical knowledge and experience which they make available for the discharge of judicial functions in special fields, the assistance which they lend to the efficient conduct of public administration, and the ability they possess to lay down new standards and to promote a policy of social improvement" On the advantages of cheapness and speed I need not dwell These qualities appear to be absolutely essential for a satisfactory working of new schemes which will be inaugurated in the future Many of these schemes are likely to trench on the private rights of citizens either because they involve compulsory acquisition of property or unavoidable damage to or injurious affection of property There are also likely to be disputes in the working out of the details of the scheme, in the approval of plans, in the fixing of standards and in the allocation of burdens The different claims and disputes arising out of these new ventures will require speedy and cheap determi-

nation Otherwise the machinery will get clogged and there will be a stalemate

One advantage of great value in the system of administrative justice and delegated legislation is greater flexibility with which the administrative tribunals will be able to discharge their functions than Courts of law Chief Justice Hughes gives as the primary justification of the delegation of legislative power flexibility and practicality For one thing administrative tribunals will not suffer from being tied down to a precedent if a better conclusion is possible in the light of subsequent knowledge

It has often been said that another advantage possessed by these tribunals is that they can decide unhampered by rules of law evidence and procedure In theory no doubt there is much to be said in favour of this feature How often do we not find a Judge saying that equity would require a particular decision but as he is bound by the rule of law he had to decide otherwise or again a Judge saying that though he is convinced of the existence of a fact yet on the evidence on record and in strict accordance with the procedural rules the fact has not been proved But at the same time it must be remarked that it is this feature that is likely to lead to abuse and injustice

Professor Robson sums up the disadvantages attached to administrative justice as lack of publicity which attends the work of most tribunals the air of mystery and secrecy in which their deliberations are shrouded failure in most cases to give reasons for the decision or to publish reports of decided cases the denial of a hearing in the majority of instances and the poor quality and insufficient amount of the evidence on which decisions are often based I have no time to deal at great length with each one of these disadvantages In England opinion has been sharply divided on some of these features which have been explained as really no disadvantages but appear so because we are inclined to look at things prejudiced by traditions of 'the rule of law'

In future India whatever party or parties may come into political power I see the inauguration of vast enterprises industrial and commercial the undertaking of great schemes of national welfare in the matter of industries Public Health Education and Labour And the new extended state activity must be departmentalised if it is not to run to waste in the sands of procrastination Neither the present administrative machinery nor the present judicial equipment will be adequate to meet the needs of the new situation consequent on new legislation which is bound to be undertaken to effectually put into operation any large schemes such as I have mentioned above I feel that within the following departments of national activity Administrative Law and Justice and Delegated Legislation must be resorted to They are Railways Public Health and Sanitation Unemployment Insurance Education Transport and Communications and Labour conditions I find that in respect of some of these departments there are already beginnings of a scheme of administrative justice But the system must be considerably developed

It is impossible to have any system which is fool proof In India where political and administrative activity is still in its infancy one is bound to commit mistakes But they do not matter What really matters is the effort the continuing effort to remedy defects as and when they occur or are revealed Further it is also necessary that we should benefit by the mistakes made and discovered in other countries and not simply to copy wholesale a system obtaining in another country however highly developed it may be in matters political Keeping in mind the peculiar difficulties which beset India I must mention one danger to which the system of administrative justice may subject i e the likelihood of political interference from the Government for the time in power with the determination of the administrative tribunals The late Professor Dicey was obsessed by the fear of this danger even in

England. Sir F. Pollock was also apprehensive on the same ground. In any system to be evolved this danger must be eliminated as far as possible

As it is, it is too soon and premature to work out in detail a scheme of administrative justice covering all departments of national service. I shall content myself with throwing out a few suggestions to be considered when the time for the establishment of such tribunals arrives.

1 As far as possible an attempt should be made to insist on separation of judicial and administrative functions of all the specialised bodies I would even advocate the members of the Administrative Tribunals who have to exercise judicial functions to be officers chosen by an independent commission independent of the party in power

2 The hearing before these tribunals should be open to the public and unless inexpedient there should be a right of hearing if it is desired by the party

3. Tribunals should be required to give reasons for their decisions

4 There should be provision for a right of appeal in important matters to a superior administrative tribunal

5 The decisions of these tribunals should be open to review by a Court of Law, though on very limited grounds, for instance, complete lack of jurisdiction, bias pecuniary interest and failure to observe the fundamental canons of natural justice which term I agree is very vague but vague terms often act as safety valves

6 Lawyers should not be barred from appearing before such tribunals

No doubt much will depend upon the personnel chosen to fill these tribunals and particularly so in the beginning. I hope and believe that when the occasion comes, men and women of India will rise to it and work successfully even a complicated political machinery with which they have not been familiar before

Dr. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

I continue to look into "The Indian Review" regularly, as I have done these last 50 years, and it has been to me a matter of profound regret and sorrow that your revered father did not live long enough to bring out the Golden Jubilee Number of the "Indian Review", which you now propose to do, and to which effort of yours I wish success from the bottom of my heart.

With my kind regards and good wishes,

PATNA
Nov 6, 1949

Sachchidananda Sinha

Europe and Russia—An Essay on Soviet Diplomacy

By Prof M Ruthnaswamy M A

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AS I went about from place to place in Europe last year the question I heard on everyone's lips was Will there be a war soon The international



situation during all those months was tense enough for that question to be framed and to agitate men's minds The battle of Berlin had already commenced before I left India last July The battle over the Danube was to commence during the latter part of my visit in September I use the word battle deliberately To the question Will there be a war it would be oracularly true to say there won't be a war for there was one already It was not merely a war of nerves that the Russians were waging over Berlin the Danube and the other questions that they were called upon to concern themselves with by their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations There was an economic war going on over the blockade of Berlin One of the incidents of a state of war is the prohibition of free intercourse between states That prohibition prevailed between Russia and her satellite States and Western Europe Not only was the Iron Curtain difficult to pierce There was a Satin Curtain behind which the allied powers were trying to set up Western Germany and which it was impossible to lift and pass through without official permission impossible to get for any but those proceeding on official business And there was war within half a dozen States in Eastern Europe Now that the World War II is over and the danger of Nazi and Fascist invasion are past the totalitarian one party governments in power in Poland Yugo-Slovia Czecho Slovakia Hungary have begun to persecute religion and to trample under foot the rights and liberties of those that do not belong to the party in power as did the Nazis in Germany and Fascists in Italy before the war And elsewhere in Italy and in France the Communists were bent on producing disorder as they could fish to the profit of their party in troubled waters There was war in practice if not in formal and regular shape all over Europe so that the question whether there will be a war in Europe was rather otiose It is like asking a diabetic whether he is suffering from diabetes just because the carbuncle has not appeared

Formal full dress war there is not and will not be for another year or two For none of the possible parties is prepared for it The U S A will not think of it lest her post war prosperity be imperilled Russia has not recovered from the ravages of war—the German invasion has so badly damaged it that it will require another year or more before it can think of another war And why should Russia resort to war when she can get most of the things she wants without war? One of her major objectives is to weaken the moral and economic condition of the Western powers and this she does through the Communist parties in these countries —who keep these countries in a constant condition of disorder and thereby reduce their productivity and delay if they cannot altogether prevent their economic recovery And then there is the diplomatic technique of the Soviet government which gives one hope that there will not be war in the near future A reading of the former U S A Secretary of State Byrne's Memoirs and observation of the tactics of Soviet representatives at meetings of Security Council or the U N O gives one the impression that the real objective of their diplomatic *demarches* is not what they ask for at any particular moment in such strident and intransigent tones but something else quite remote and quite different from what they are making the

whole world think they are after Time after time Byrnes has reported that when Soviet representatives at the conferences that he attended were foaming at the mouth over some claim that they made the world understand they would either get conceded or perish in the attempt, they were really after something else the whole time and which once granted they soft-pedalled their demands over the original question It may be that while they were crying *Non possumus* over the Berlin blockade they were really after something more important to them *viz* Russian participation in the control of the Ruhr It may also be that when Vyshinsky was so violent and insulting—and all this violence and vehemence is done to order from Moscow—over the International Commission of the Danube, he was really after something else perhaps a Russian outlet into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea So it would seem that the only way to put an end to Soviet intransigence is to put all the questions and claims that the Soviet is interested in into a pool and to consider them and decide on them as a whole Take all the claims and demands of the Soviet together in their relationship to one another and in their relationship to the rights and liberties of others and the peace of the world and give Russia what is due to her For, as a Vatican diplomatist told me, even Russia has to be dealt with in justice and equity—so much for the alleged Vatican hostility to Russia Russia required warm-water outlets for her trade and commerce and the other powers must set about conceding it with due regard to the rights of others in the neighbourhood and with due precautions for the peace of the world

There was another shrewd observation made by this Vatican diplomat and which gave me a clue to Soviet diplomatic technique—and that was that each people must solve its problems in its own way For instance he said, the French would solve their problems in the French way by means of febrile agitation by periodical revolution It is no use asking them to solve their problems by the English way of compromise by the parliamentary method And, following this advice, when I thought of the Russians my memory went back to some exhibitions of Russian ballet—dancing that I had seen where there was much violent throwing about of hands and feet and bending and straightening of knees with angry facial expressions but the whole of this performance ending in peace and quiet The methods of Vishinisky at diplomatic gatherings reminded me of the Russian dance It is the Russian way of doing things and it seems to me that if the other parties at these diplomatic gatherings keep their temper and show their strength which must be supported by strength on the home front rearmament economic efficiency and all-round preparedness, Russian diplomacy will end like the Russian dance in peace and quiet Russians may be violent at times and in places but in the end Quiet flows the Don

THE FIRST NUMBER



SIR ARNOLD WHITE
(Chief Justice, Madras)

DEVALUATION

By Dr Sir C P RAMASWAMI AIYER KCSI

IN language whose implications are obvious Pundit Nehru has explained in Canada that normally India would not have had to devalue but that she had to do so because the Rupee was linked to the sterling In his own language even the sterling balances themselves have been subjected to various absorp tions and adjustments It is clear that although the decline of the sterling was proceeding apace never the less the actual decision as to devaluation came upon India as a shock It need not have done so

As early as the 23rd of May 1949 Mr Wintrop W Aldridge Chairman of the Chase National Bank of New York stated at a luncheon given by the Pilgrims at the Savoy Hotel that when the Marshall Plan came to an end the countries of Western Europe and their overseas territories would be faced with substantial annual dollar deficits if their standards of living were to be maintained at their present levels. He added that the deficit could be met only in three ways viz firstly increased exports to the U S A secondly by increased travel from the U S A. and thirdly by increased American investments in or loans to Western European countries and their overseas territories He insisted on political stability as a condition precedent to the last programme—such stability involving (a) the elimination of the threat of Communism (b) arranging that the nation which wanted the debt must have its external economy in balance In other words the exchange rates of its currency *vis a vis* the American Dollar must have a realistic relationship to the price levels existing in both countries and must be such that it could be maintained in practice

Following this line of thought Lord Elibank in a letter to *The Times* in June 1949 propounded a definite plan for currency devaluation so as to bring about a parity basis with the dollar and an increase in the price of gold It is manifest therefore that both in America and in Europe the currency developments that have taken place were regarded as inevitable and were definitely foreseen.

Nevertheless when the United Kingdom balanced its last budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer asserted not only that its overseas trade position was good but that there was not the



slightest idea of devaluation and in fact the English papers began to lecture to other countries about the virtues of thrift and planning This was a *political gesture but very* soon thereafter the Continental press began to blame Britain for its bilateral pacts and the overvaluation of the sterling and its selfishness in not helping to reduce Europe s trade deficits

At the Washington Conference the full extent of Great Britain s difficulties was perceived and Mr Snyder in his directives suggested the stock piling of commodities and the relaxation of the Marshall Plan by giving greater freedom to the United Kingdom to buy goods outside the dollar area In addition the encouragement of the investment of American capital was also envisaged. This arrangement was finalised on the

12th of September. In the Commonwealth Conference, cuts in the dollar imports and an export drive were recognised as inevitable

Almost overnight after the Commonwealth Conference, the deterioration of the economic position of the United Kingdom and the countries associated with her was recognised and proclaimed and the people of the sterling area assumed a mental attitude, which in the language of John Ruskin may be described as a hesitation between ungrasped hope and unconfronted fear

In dealing with this question we are apt to concentrate on England and India without reference to American developments In order to appreciate the situation, the following facts cannot be ignored

After the end of the last war 15 000 million dollars were invested by the U S A abroad in oil fields mining and public utilities Taking this in conjunction with the Marshall Aid Plan it has been pointed out that from 1952 when the Marshall Aid Plan will end 2 000 million dollars will become available annually for commercial investment In dealing with such investments we may bear in mind a statement made quite recently by the American National Association of Manufacturers which laid down that before U S A makes any investments it is necessary to insist on treaties whereby the borrowing countries agreed not to introduce any measure prejudicial to private enterprise or discouraging business incentive The *Wall Street Journal*, analysing the whole position went so far as to suggest the obliteration of the Sterling

It is thus clear that America from the point of view of its own self interest and to preserve its economic industrial and financial stability and maintain its wage levels must find investments abroad So far as England and countries allied with England are concerned such investments were contemplated in connection with the realisation that the sterling was overvalued and must be devalued

As a reaction against this American trend of thought, the *New Statesman* has argued that it is fantastic to believe that increased exports to dollar areas will close the gap when Marshall Aid ends and it is pleaded that instead of seeking closer inter-dependence with the New World every economic consideration demands lesser dependence upon and lesser imports from U S A

The Atlantic Pact not having eventuated in any effective political and economic union England notwithstanding the assertions of Sir Stafford Cripps, found itself at the end of its tether and had to devalue The gold and dollar deficit of the whole sterling area, calculated at the old rate of exchange of 4 03 dollars to the pound was 133 millions in the 3rd quarter of the year Marshall Aid amounted to 71 millions and the gold and dollar reserves on the 30th September amounted to 351 million pounds at the old rate of exchange as against 471 millions in the first quarter These figures demonstrate the imperative necessity for devaluation of the pound

In his very candid speech during the Devaluation debate Sir Stafford Cripps has made three points clear, viz,—(1) that England's imports have risen and exports have gone down, (2) that an austerity regime is indispensable and (3) it would be a very difficult job to repay her sterling creditors In fairness, however it should be added that a non-official commentator has emphasised that the last portion does not necessarily refer to past indebtedness

Linked as we are to Sterling India had perhaps no alternative but to devalue although opinions will vary as to whether India acted wisely in announcing a devaluation before finding out what other Commonwealth countries were doing It may be remembered that the Canadian dollar has been devalued by only 10 per cent, whereas Pakistan has declined to devalue her rupee In any case, we are now confronted with a devaluation of 30½ per cent—one dollar being now worth 4 76 rupees as against 3 309 rupees

nature inelastic consisting mainly of manufactured jute, textile goods tea and manganese

Remembering that all devaluation is inflatory in character the inescapable and indispensable programme for India must comprise rigid price control the attraction of fresh capital and the release not only of hidden accumulations but an adoption of compulsory saving on the part of agriculturists and workers who have specially profited by the recent industrial development and the progressive rise in wages Finally we must imitate the very strenuous tightening of the belt and eschewal of luxury products on the lines so triumphantly demonstrated in England

When all this is said there still remain two alternatives Is India to proceed with a big programme of modern mechanized agriculture and industrial development even at the risk of importing American plant and personnel at enhanced prices or is India to place a full stop on her development programme so as to live within her present means and await events ? The answer from the long term point of view is surely in favour of the former alternative That alternative involves far sighted rationalization of industry and centralised planning with a view to develop those resources and in those localities which can best conduce to all India progress which will not merely subserve local interests or satisfy local political or electioneering ambitions For a time we may have to borrow heavily even on seemingly unreasonable terms to pay for our imports of capital machinery for mechanised agriculture and basic industries like shipbuilding machine tool manufacture and steel and chemical plants Such investments will repay themselves in the long run and India s fundamental economic position is sound Finally the complementary character of the import and export positions of India and Pakistan necessitate a speedy settlement of their differences without which there is bound to be an economic set back in both the regions

THE REVIEW AND ITS FOUNDER

By The Hon Mr P S KUMARASWAMI RAJA

Premier of Madras

THE *Indian Review* was born at the beginning of this century In those early days it was not easy to start a magazine of the calibre of the *Indian Review* So far as South India is concerned the *Indian Review* could indisputably take the credit of its being the first journal of its kind This novel adventure in journalism in those days could be attributed to the many sided attainments and the youthful enthusiasm of Mr Natesan His special training in journalism which he underwent on the completion of his collegiate career would seem to have caused an urge in him for embarking on journalism independently Necessarily he had to face difficulties in the beginning but being a man of courage and vision he faced those difficulties and succeeded The *Indian Review* made a steady progress and became a popular organ ventilating its views on politics literature culture and various problems social economic educational etc



The variety of articles and subjects in his journal catering to the variety of tastes and views of the readers would speak well of his versatility and journalistic acumen His affability is reflected in his possession of a large circle of friends of different nationalities whose valuable contributions stand as a unique feature of his journal.

IN FREEDOM IT FOUND ITS GOLDEN JUBILEE "

Rajendra Prasad

I am very happy to send my warmest greetings to the *Indian Review* on the happy occasion of its Golden Jubilee. We salute it in pride and gladness for it deserves the nation's heartiest greetings and sincerest gratitude. For the *Indian Review* has been one of our National Institutions.



The young generations of today should know the proud history of this journal. In the dim days gone by when even to recite or read certain passages from the Gita was sedition the *Indian Review* under the guidance of the great pioneering spirit of Sri G. A. Natesan took courage in both the hands and ventured on this hazardous and what to many must have seemed a very doubtful voyage. The mission was to impart political education stimulate the youthful minds and educate the unlearned. Politics was taboo. To think aloud to speak through the pages of a journal to discuss in a literary forum was still a daring act. And the *Indian Review* did it effectively and successfully. Month after month year after year the *Review* unfolded itself like a book of revelation. Men with doubts with a question mark with troubled minds waited with bated breath for this wise journal to speak to them. It braved all the political storms the many national ups and downs. Today it stands as a great national institution happy that it served and served well the country and the people. It is in the fulfilment of our dream of freedom the *Indian Review* must find its greatest satisfaction more than in any tribute that anyone can pay to that pioneering soul Shri G. A. Natesan. For in freedom it found its Golden Jubilee. Effort and achievements can never be measured in years or decades but in the striving for the goal itself. That goal is nearly reached and the *Indian Review* and all who had a hand in its success may feel justly proud of their contribution to that realisation.

THIS QUEER WORLD

BY H E DR K N KATJU

Governor of West Bengal

SOMETIMES I feel as if we were living in a strange world of make believe We profess one thing and do exactly the contrary Life seems to be so full of contradictions On the one side you hear wonderous stories of iron lungs being rushed across the seven seas with which lives of young children stricken with polio may be saved and they may be restored to normalcy after years of sustained skilful treatment, on the other side in the same breath you hear stories of organised assassinations and liquidations (so it is euphemistically put) of masses of human beings on one pretext or another International law has been endeavouring for the last four centuries to humanise warfare but now we have the scientists contribution which enables belligerents to exterminate and maim for life not only combatants but innocent civilians men women and children in thousands and hundreds of thousands in the twinkling of an eye Societies for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals have shed genuine tears of tortured sympathy at the sight of pain caused to animals taking them in units but now under the stress of economic difficulties and the search for food a new problem of men *versus* monkeys and cows parrots and sparrows has come to the fore and the latter stand the fearful prospect of total or partial extinction It is really a queer world and it is no wonder that many old concepts make no impression on many minds All talk of non violence in thought and word and deed seems to be so futile if it is limited to the conduct of human beings towards one another And then again as between man and man old philosophies and systems of morals and ethics are losing their hold because it is contended that they are mere adjuncts of a particular set of economic doctrines Different economic doctrines it is urged beget moral and ethical codes of their own In the conflict of ideologies words have evidently lost their meaning Instead of illuminating the mind or the intellect they engender darkness and obscurity The same sets of words are being used by different people to express completely divergent and even contradictory ideas Everybody swears by Democracy The conception of Democracy however varies from country to country and from speaker to speaker Simple folk cry for clarification of ideas and I believe all decent men everywhere clamour for a little more precision of thought and accuracy of expression Capitalism Socialism Communism Fascism fill the air with a babble of tongues and noise overpowering Each offers the panacea for all ills and a sovereign remedy for the cure of all maladies in the body politic Each seems to be agreed on a demand for one world with the mental reservation that that one world should be of the pattern of his choice



We in Asia seem to be experiencing the full blast of these loud and mutually contradictory preachings and the task before the coming generations is verily one of the noblest and also the hardest imaginable On their right choice of belief and action may depend the welfare and happiness of humanity in this vast country

REMEMBER IT IS MY FIRST CHILD

Banff Springs Hotel Banff Alberta
19th Sept 1948

Darling
to hear that you are working
up the business well Remember
it is my first child
Dad

(From a letter to his son Manan Natesan)

G. A. N.—SOME HAPPY MEMORIES

BY MR H S L POLAK

IT has been a happy and a sad fact that many of my closest Indian friends have been several years older than myself Happy, because I have learnt (or tried to learn) so much from their more mature experience Sad, because most of them have now passed on, leaving me bereft and rather lonely; for so many of my own age, or a little younger, have come to regard me incorrectly, as an "ancient of days," living in retirement



Among my earliest Indian friends was G A Natesan, whom I met during my first visit to India in 1909 as a solitary pioneer on the South African Indian question My three Indian colleagues had been imprisoned, as passive resisters at the instance of the Transvaal Government in the hope that thereby the delegation to India might be prevented from leaving South Africa My tour had been arranged, at Gandhiji's instance by G K. Gokhale It was Gokhale who, through the Madras members of the Servants of India Society, and especially V S Srinivasa Sastri, introduced me to G A. N.

In those days, hospitality to an Englishman in a Brahmin home was somewhat difficult, so Natesan arranged for my accommodation, as his guest, first at the Y M C A, and later at a nearby hotel Here I noticed that I was under very close observation by some fellow-guests I discovered, too, that, whenever I took a 'gharry' to pay a visit, someone always travelled ('unseen') at the back of the vehicle I mentioned these things to G A N., who told me that I was evidently under police surveillance as a 'suspicious character'. He had already asked me to let him publish a book, entitled 'The Indians of South Africa. Helots Within the Empire', that I had written, and also a monograph on Gandhi (later incorporated as a Preface to "Speeches and Writings of M. K Gandhi") It was the first material published in India on that great man

When I told G. A N of my hotel and local travel experiences, he said that he had discovered that some of the police had been surreptitiously trying to obtain from his printing-house some pre-publication proofs of my MSS As I expressed strong resentment of these underhand police-methods, he suggested that I should consult V Krishnaswami Aiyar, his close friend, who had just been appointed to the Governor's Executive Council G A N took me along to see him, and when I explained what had happened he asked me humorously why I should expect to be treated differently from a British member of Parliament I could not quite see the connection until V Krishnaswami explained that during a recent visit, Keir Hardie, M P, had undergone a similar experience to mine. He then advised me to write to the Chief Commissioner of Police, informing him that I had nothing to conceal and that if he would send a senior police-officer to interview me I would gladly give him all necessary information I did so, after showing G A N the draft of my letter, and had no further cause of complaint Indeed, shortly afterwards, I was granted an interview by the Governor to whom I explained the South African situation, and who expressed his warm sympathy.

G. A. N was one of the first prominent Indians to interest himself specially in the problems of Indians overseas, and he organized and became the active secretary of a public body in Madras concerning itself specially with those problems, and the 'Indian Review' became the vehicle of much valuable information to the Indian public on the subject. He was also the principal organizer of the first public meeting that I addressed on the South African Indian question in Madras. It was presided over by Sir Subrahmania Aiyar, and its most eloquent speaker was Mrs. Annie Besant.

MAY IT GROW FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH

BY HON SRI B GOPALA REDDI

(Finance Minister Madras)

I am delighted to find that the *Indian Review* is completing its Golden Jubilee in January next I am painfully reminded of the recent death of the Founder Editor Sri G A Natesan who was in the public life of the Province for a long time and who unseen and in an unostentatious way helped Indian nationalism to grow His ability sound judgment and wise statesmanship brought him to the top of Indian journalism *Indian Review* is continuing the good work under the able management of his sons



When we look back the fifty years preceding the Golden Jubilee were replete with vast changes in all spheres from subordination to an alien rule we have emerged triumphantly after the inauguration of the Republic We must congratulate ourselves on the leadership we had during these years, giants among men with their spirit of self sacrifice moulded the country into a mighty State Even in the educational field we have made tremendous progress though unfortunately illiteracy is still the badge of the majority While we derive great satisfaction at what has been achieved we have yet to cross many a hurdle and progress in many more directions before we can truly be a powerful state Consolidation of what has been achieved and an eagerness to produce more must be our mission and motto The hay day of communalism has gone leaving in its trail much bitterness and misery The dangers that I envisage are from communism and provincialism Communism is too wide a sphere which blazes on the imagination of the people as a world movement On the contrary provincialism grips our outlook and narrows it down to small territory jeopardising the prestige and authority of the Central Government Both are to be avoided in order to ensure a steady and solid progress political economical and social There is hope in the future but hard work also is in store for us

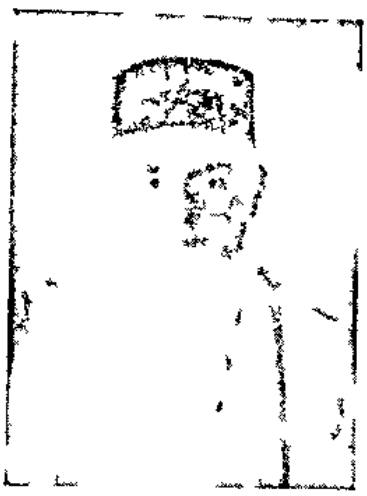
I am sure the *Indian Review* will be alive to the needs of the country and give its dispassionate comment and criticism in a progressive and constructive manner May it grow from strength to strength and guide us through our difficult times

A TRIBUTE TO A PUBLISHER

BY DR C JINARAJADASA

President The Theosophical Society

IT is a long gap of time between 1901 and 1950 Yet it was in 1901 that I met Mr G A Natesan for the first time I had come from Ceylon to the annual Theosophical Convention held at Adyar and friends took me to see Mr Natesan I was delighted to make his acquaintance and feel something of his enthusiasm for his work It was much later in 1914 when I settled in India that I got to know in fuller detail concerning the work that Mr Natesan was doing on behalf of the Indian public and Indian culture



The Indian Review has always been remarkable—it was the first of the kind—to give an all round view first of what was happening in India particularly by giving summaries of articles in the principal Reviews and later a general survey of the principal world events When I have been away from India I have been glad to see *The Review* and to know what was happening in India the States etc

But I think a work that will never be forgotton is what Mr Natesan has done for the dissemination of texts with translations of various important works in ancient Indian literature One of the first actions along this line was to get permission from Dr Annie Besant to print her translation of *The Bhagavad Gita* with Sanskrit text paying her no copyright though the work had been copyrighted I know that Dr Besant knowing Mr Natesan s philanthropic activities was only too glad to give him the opportunity of a cheap edition of the *Gita* with the Sanskrit to be put on bookstalls at railway stations originally for four annas I can imagine that nearly a lakh of copies of this gem must have been distributed

Then in addition we know later what he has done to bring condensed summaries of *Ramayana Mahabharata* the *Bhagavata Purana* the work of Sankaracharya etc This popularisation at moderate cost of these great works even in condensed form has very greatly helped to strengthen the awakened movement of Indian culture

Perhaps not less important is the work that Mr Natesan did to give the biographies of various principal Indian leaders These have been most valuable not only for the general public but particularly for students who without these works would not be able easily to get at the biographical facts required for purposes of study

Mr Natesan has earned the gratitude of many generations for the work that he has done to strengthen the revival of the life of the Motherland

DR SIR S RADHAKRISHNAN

(Indian Ambassador Moscow)

I am glad to know that the *Indian Review* started by your father the late Mr G A Natesan will complete 50 years by the end of this year It is a remarkable achievement for an Indian monthly journal Your father spent a good deal of his time and attention on the maintenance of high standards in the journal and it is now for you to keep up the standards and enhance if possible the usefulness of the journal I hope the journal will have a prosperous future





BAL GANGADHAR TILAK



S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR



MANOHAR LAL



MARGARET COUSINS

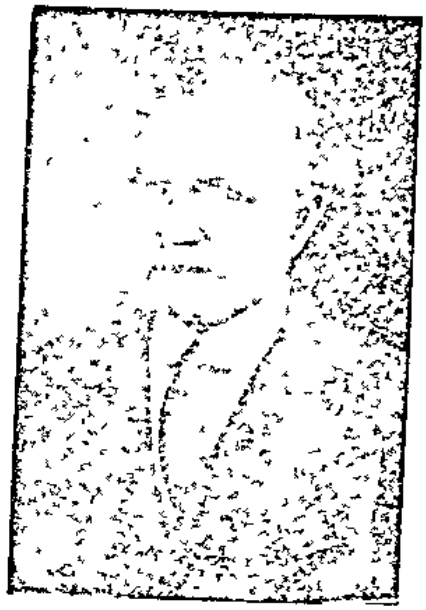
AMONG CONTRIBUTORS TO THE "INDIAN REVIEW"



SIR JADUNATH SARKAR



V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYER



SIR ATUL CHATTERJI



SIR T. V. ACHARYA



SIR H. P. MODY



DR H. C. MUKHERJI



SIR FRANCIS LOW



G. K. GOKHALE



PROF. A. R. WADIA

Democracy and Discipline

BY MR N RAGHUNATHAN

Asst Editor, "The Hindu" & President, Southern India Journalists' Federation

FREE India has now framed her own Constitution and her children have been exhorted to defend it against all comers The Universities Commission has



sought to provide a moral sanction for this by urging that university education should seek consciously to realise the ideals embodied in the Constitution Curiously enough one heard during the last stages of the discussion in the Constituent Assembly many loyal supporters of the Congress confessing to grave disappointment with the finished product Some felt that the concept of the Secular State was a negative one which could not be expected to rouse generous emotions Others found that there was nothing distinctively Indian about the Constitution on which so much time and labour had been spent

Much more outspoken is the hostility of those who, like the more extreme parties of the Left, consider that the Constitution has not sufficiently emancipated itself from the shackles of the past The political ideas which we have inherited from the British connection and have sought to embody more or less in the Consitution are for form's sake denounced by these critics as carrying the bourgeois taint But they are themselves so deeply stained by them without knowing it that this routine disapproval of what is called empty political democracy merely serves to divert attention from their true purpose And that is to further in every way and complete at the earliest possible moment the corrosive action upon the corpus of Indian thought and culture of the acid of westernisation Though they talk in terms of One World they are all for converting India into a vast suburb, only they violently differ on whether it shall attach itself to London or New York or Moscow

It is therefore hardly surprising that their reaction to the Constitution which today is a "thing done" is characteristically western Some of their authoritative spokesmen have said that when they gain power they will tear this Constitution to tatters, and further, if they cannot secure that power otherwise they will not hesitate to employ violent means We may ignore this as bluff or at any rate, as a remote threat But it is worth considering whether the disruptionists might not find the way made easier for them by the loyal friends of the Constitution utilising the powers and opportunities it provides in ways that must encourage mental attitudes favourable to violence, Majority rule may

of Kangra and other northern paintings A good deal of the second day went into fulfilling a request for a memorandum on the preservation and arrangement of the art treasures of the city

From 7 to 11 next morning the bus sped along a one way road between the surging Beas River and steep sometimes overhanging cliffs We saw why Alexander the Great thought it best to make this the margin of his Oriental expedition Half way at a widening of the road we crossed the reverse bus and in a short pause tasted the air and foot hold of the country At 2 in the afternoon we were at Katrain two miles below our destination Here we were given the choice of ponies or chairs for the ascent to Naggar at 5 800 feet We chose the lazy chairs so as to be free to revel in new views of nature and humanity In an hour after many enthusiastic pauses and exclamations at beauty we were at Urusvati Institute welcomed heartily not only by Nicholas Roerich himself but by Madame Helena who though unwell mounted the 200 steps from their home to the flat assigned to us over the botanical museum in which their Himalayan researches in medicinal herbs were preserved Their son Svetoslav following his father as a painter was also present Dr George their scholar son was up hill by pony on a research



NICHOLAS ROERICH

problem as to how flowing water managed to cease to flow

The tea altogether in our neat living room was breathless with exchange of reminiscences convictions aspirations psychic experiences ideas the verbal paraphernalia of the approach of kindred spirits to a sympathetic unity enriched by racial and temperamental diversity Ablutions a rest and rummaging for heavy clothes against low temperature kept us indoors to the edge of night But we snatched time to get a glimpse of great deodars above and below us and far off snow ranges on three sides of our small plateau and to catch the hurrying sound of mountain streams

Sunrise was early in the latitude of Naggar and we were up at 5 30 for our first day in a natural and artistic paradise We tried to read and write but one eye on work and another on white ranges did not collaborate and we succumbed to the Snows At noon we were escorted downhill by a path shaded by blossoming apple trees to the Roerich home for lunch with the family George had descended from the secret of drought completing the triumvirate of Russian beards and there was a Russo Turkish doctor whom the Bolshevik revolution had driven from his dispensary to roam Asia until he subsided at Naggar as family physician and medical godfather to the scattered inhabitants of the district In the background were two well favoured Cossack girls who had been discovered by Madame Roerich when she accompanied her famous husband on one of his expeditions in China and added to the Naggar household as helps

Then began a daily routine of lunch with the family The spacious dining

room, being somewhat removed from external light, was illuminated by a row of candles on the long dinner-table This gave the act of eating a " dim religious " atmosphere, which however, was broadened by the collection of Tibetan banners that filled all available wall-space. But neither candles nor banners intimidated conversation or put a long-drawn face on it

The major portion of our chats at luncheon and at other festivities was concerned with super-normal experiences and their implications, and with the essential place of art in life as a means of elevating and refining human quality. Time in getting together, of attaining mental and emotional community, was saved by the affinities of conviction that we had reached along our own and very different ways the way of the almost complete Celt meeting the way of the Russian of Swedish origin on the paternal side, with a hint of eastern Asia in his almost almond-shaped eyelids that came, we ascertained from a Mongolian ancestress Biographical details were gathered outside lunch-time from Svetoslav These, added to our former contacts (a visit to Adyar in 1925, when the painter himself brought ' The Messenger as a gift in memory of his fellow-country-woman, Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky , and a year s residence in an apartment above the Roerich Museum in New York, which housed 1 000 of his masterpieces) helped us to build up the Himalayan achievement that stood invisibly behind and above the simplicity of natural and all-round greatness Rarely, and only in illustration of something under discussion, did Roerich senior s association with world-renowned writers and musicians (Maeterlinck, Rimsky-Korsakav, Stravinsky, and others) arise. Impersonality and universality were the constants of conversation The occasional mention of local and personal details was by way of illustration and ratification Gossip, being a shallow thing, was rare ; the Roerich attitude to life was normally deep

The contributions of Madame Roerich to conversation were seldom speculative. One knew she knew things, but knowledge is not always conducive to the play of speculation forgetting is an essential preliminary to the pleasure that comes from the revelations of remembering We were acquainted with the unsigned books that had we knew come through her mind and hand from superconscious sources each a collection of related aphorisms that like those of Patanjali, yielded up their souls only to much contemplation The original record was in Russian and was turned into English by a collaboration of the family in which the international voice of the younger generation (Svetoslav from America, George from France) was of special service

A diversion arose when the painter's eye of Svetoslav spotted me in what he recognised as a pictorial attitude when he came to announce lunch I had been reading in the pre-lunch interval, on the upper verandah on which Svetoslav usually painted while Mrs Cousins talked occultism with Madame Roerich in her boudoir I had laid the book on the arm of my chair, and held my pince-nez in my left hand while I looked along the side of the hills to a distinctive little temple a mile away that I had registered a vow to visit What the artist saw when he came to call me to lunch, was

the liquidity of water the colossal solidity of great mountains the transparency and irridescence of atmosphere are rendered with intense conviction Beauty is ever present even where least associated with pleasant sentiment behind the human distress in Armageddon there is the terrible beauty of flame beauty to Roerich was obviously no cheap sensuous allurement but a solemn satisfaction of the spirit We had a second but smaller view of paintings by the two Roeriches during a three days visit by Ravishankar Rawal of Ahmdabad an artist of the Indian renaissance This time we made a selection of items for possible exhibition in South India a speculation which was duly fulfilled

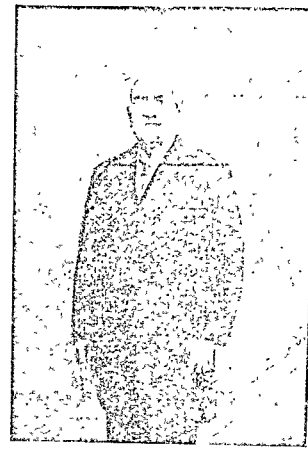
During their excursions into the surrounding districts the Roerichs had retrieved a number of old sculptures and had set them up around their home in the garden These had attracted the attention of the priest of a local temple to the Goddess Tripura Sundari He got into a routine of coming on special mornings to worship them On one such occasion we were called to see the procedure with the sprinkling of water (for purity) the presenting of flowers (for beauty) and the chanting of holy verses (mantrams) which expressed devotion to the powers behind life a simple but significant little ritual in which the three aspects of life sub human and super human were engaged

Dr George Roerich took Mrs Margaret Cousins for a drive to the end of the motor road at Malani where the track to Little Tibet began at 6000 feet up At the end of the road was the home of the British Colonel Mahon who had retired to cool quietness after a busy army life He and his wife had lunch with us one day and had all the feeling of miracle hunters like ourselves about them On the occasion of their visit we were interested to see the profund respect that Colonel Mahon paid to our host He addressed him as 'Your Excellency' and in every way referred to him as a superior person. Discreet enquiry elicited the fact that Professor Roerich had been a real Professor not a lion tamer or tight rope walker who permitted politeness to title him for placard purposes and once a Professor always a Professor During his time as head of the State Art movement in his young manhood in Russia he had been admitted to the inner circle of the Czar's court advisers and as such had acquired the prefix His Excellency and it stuck The excursionists to Malani returned wet but happy Rain they agreed had made driving on an unfrequented road a feat Their host and hostess had been more than just hospitable they were cordial According to the truth telling Irish woman two servants were sent up to the summer snow line to bring real Himalayan snow to garnish tea time

When we arrived at Kulu the apple trees were in full blossom When we left the branches were touching the ground on each side of our path with the weight of the famous Kulu fruitage For our departure we were escorted by all the Roerich family save Madame to Katrain where the Roerich car awaited us to take us over the same riverside way to the Kangra Valley railway station Rain had softened the single traced road at places and made driving occasionally a terror and being driven a horror But the expert carefulness of Gani the loyal man of all works of the household got us through without damage to find that owing to a change in the railway time table we were late for the train we had counted on and had to stay overnight in the special inadequacy and discomfort that a small out of the way station in India can achieve But we voted unanimously that a month in the environment of a great artist and his beautiful noble and spiritually endowed wife and distinguished sons was worth all the labour and trouble that might have come to us and didn't



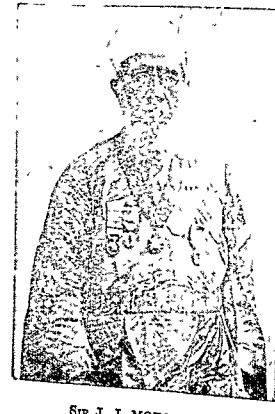
N. C. KELKAR



PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI



BHUPENDRANATH BASU



SIR J. J. MODY



DR. K. S. KRISHNAN



SIR MIRZA ISMAIL



DR. R. C. MAZUMDAR



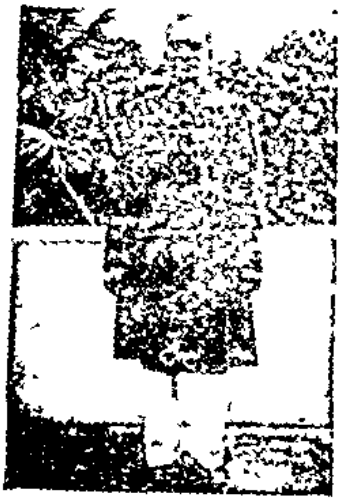
SIR AKBAR HYDARI



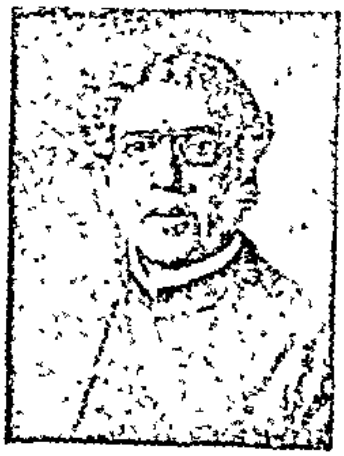
SIR ALBION BANERJI



SIR MD. SULAIMAN



MR. V. V. GIRI



SIR J. C. BOSE



DR. BHANDARKAR

OUR CHILDREN

By Mrs. K. Satthianadhan



[Kamala Satthianadhan is one of our oldest and earliest contributors In fact her story "All's well that ends well" appeared in the very first volume of the *Indian Review*—April 1900—fifty years ago It is just like her to have responded so promptly to a request for an article for the Golden Jubilee Number. The future of the world is with our children who inherit the traditions of past generations, and the shaping of their mind and heart by proper education to face the new world is the first and most vital duty of the State Mrs Satthianadhan's treatment of this all-important theme shows her awareness of the many pitfalls that beset the path of the young She has kept abreast of the current thought on education and her call to renascent India is couched in words of wisdom and experience and fortified by the authority of modern philosophers like John Dewey and Bertrand Russell —ED *I R*]

CHILDREN are not only the legacy from the old generation, but also the heritage of the new Hence, there are two factors, the old and the new, which must influence them These have a tremendous field to work in, a field glowing with flowers and fragrant with perfumes, not only in palatial, well kept, gardens of towns, not only in well cared for country parks, but also in the wilderness, ' among the moor lands and woods and even in the darkness of the streets " vast in variety, yet all exhibiting the special qualifications of childhood, purity, simplicity, innocence, freshness, eagerness, hope, frankness, confidence, faith, carelessness of danger, ambition, arrogance and humour , a 'Kingdom of Heaven' as Christ asserted, which promises to be the real influence in the regeneration of the afflicted world. As has been said, ' children are our immortality and we commit the blotted manuscript of our lives more willingly to the flames, when we find the immortal text half engrossed in a fairer copy "

Our children,—how are they to be trained? In the two worlds, which are emerging to day, one "slightly becalmed, floating gently in the backwater," the other "leaping down a sort of Niagara Rapids," and practical, hard headed, direct and restless, there are naturally implicated two methods, of which the last is materially in the ascendant I have never cared to learn much about the latter, hence perhaps, my remarks will be found old fashioned, for which I apologise. Yet, one must go a little by results.

What are they? Some of the grace of life has gone,—reverence for old age, real appreciation for the artistic and the beautiful, fine consideration for others, absolute altruism in work, etc , and instead have come business concentration, hard headedness, greediness, money making, slackness of habit sheer enjoyment of life and a devastating optimism Some of this is expected and part of it is good and even necessary in modern times, provided it is toned down by the aesthetic instinct and the moral sense There are seen some desirable results also, such as determined decisiveness, real efficiency, fine self-confidence, wholesome fondness for sport,

of the mind. In a sense, the schools can give us only the instrumentality of mental growth. The rest depends upon our absorption and interpretation of experience Real education comes after we leave school, and there is no reason why it should stop before our death'

And again, to quote Bertrand Russell

"It is quite conceivable, for example, that education could mould opinion to admire art more than wealth, as in the days of the Renaissance, and could guide itself by the resolution 'to promote all that is creative and so to diminish the impulses and desires that centre round possession' This is the principle of growth, whose corrolaries would be the two great commandments to a new and natural morality, first the principle of Reverence 'that the vitality of individuals and communities is to be promoted as far as possible,' and second, the principle of Tolerance that the growth of one individual and 'one community is to be as little as possible at the expense of another.'"

Aristotle is said to have affirmed with regard to education

"The growing citizen must be taught obedience to law, else a State is impossible. It has been well said that 'he who has never learnt to obey cannot be a good commander' Let youth be taught the great boon it has in the State the unappreciated security which comes of a social organisation, the freedom that comes of law. 'Man, when perfected is the best of animals but when isolated, he is the worst of all. Wherefore if he have not virtue, he is the most unholy and savage of animals, full of gluttony and lust' and only social control can give him virtue In an ordered State, the individual has a thousand opportunities and avenues of development open to him which a solitary life would never give"

"With such methods, education may prove the great slovent of our life, it may even make of our children's children the new men and women who must come before the new society can appear There is nothing that man might not do if our splendid organisation of schools and universities be directed intelligently to the development of human character. Our schools are the Open Sesame of Utopia"

Then, perhaps, our dreams of an ideal state will come into existence. As George Santayana said,

'This would be Government by men of merit and honour, every man and woman would have an open road according to ability to the highest offices in the State But the road would be closed to incompetents 'The only equality subsisting would be equality of opportunity.' Under such a Government, corruption would be at a minimum, and science and the arts would flourish through discriminative encouragement It would be just the synthesis of democracy and aristocracy which the world pines for in the midst of its political chaos to day. Only the best would rule, but every man would have an equal chance to make himself worthy to be numbered among the best'

THE INDIAN REVIEW

(January 1900)

The first number of the *Indian Review*, which has been just issued is a modest but interesting Magazine of 56 pages The *Review* is conducted by the enterprising firm of Messrs G A Natesan & Co, who have made a new departure in the field of periodical literature in India It deals with a variety of topics sure to be of interest to the Indian reader The editorial notes are well written and interesting These are followed by short articles * * * * * These are supplemented by reviews of current periodicals On the whole the *Review* promises well, and we hope as a monthly periodical it will be welcomed by the public We wish the Magazine the success it so well deserves Periodical literature in India is yet in its infancy, people have yet to cultivate a taste for it But there can be no doubt that enterprises of this sort will mark the beginning of a new era of periodical literature in this country, affording as they do, not only interesting reading to the public, but also scope for the exercise of literary talent among English educated Indians —*The Hindu*

Interpreting Indian Thought to America

By Dr T M P Mahadevan, M A., Ph D,
University of Madras

An American professor who was lecturing for sometime in India used to introduce his talks by saying that he was talking American and not English It is quite true that the Americans though



largely Anglo-Saxon by race, have developed, an English which is far different from the King's English. Certain phrases and turns of expressions current in the U S A are so peculiar that they baffle an outsider, though proficient in English Such a simple word as 'check' is a case in point This little word is used in a variety of meanings, The Bank cheque is called a 'check', so also the hotel 'bill' When you take a room in a hotel you are said to 'check in', and when you leave you 'check out' When you want to ascertain if some information is true about a thing, you 'check on' it, and what you do about it is to 'check up with' someone who may be in possession of the 'know how'. Two American friends who received me at the La Guardia Airfield in New York took me to a restaurant and said 'We shall check your baggage first and then have some refreshment' My bewilderment left me only when I observed my baggage being put into a locker for safety, and understood that 'to check' meant this and nothing more A similar experience was repeated a few days later when, on arrival at a Railroad station for boarding a train a porter (they call him 'Redcap' in the U S) took charge of my baggage and said 'Shall I check your baggage?' What he meant was, Shall I leave your baggage with the Railroad Company for transporting it to your destination?'

Such instances could be multiplied endlessly But what I have said is enough to make one understand the initial verbal difficulty that an interpreter of Indian thought to America should face and overcome It is no use assuming that because you speak English you will be understood in that country Many of the books written in English on Indian philosophy are unsuitable to Americans because they are composed in a style unfamiliar to them. Even professers of philosophy interested in and teaching Indian philosophy, I found, were unaware of an authoritative work on Indian philosophy by a great scholar of South India In one American University where a course in Indian Philosophy is taught the text book that is being used is entitled 'Hindu Philosophy' by an American author The average American reader is attracted to books with telling titles, beautifully printed in an intelligible and crystal clear language, using an idiom which is straightforward and current, and without footnotes An American professor of philosophy said, in the course of a conversation, that if the book *Peace of Mind* (with three monosyllabic words for its title) had been given some other name, say, *Quietitude of Consciousness* it might not have become one of the best sellers Another friend of considerable experience in teaching and publishing wondered why there should be

footnotes at all in a book What is stated in a footnote is either important or un important If it is important it must be incorporated in the body of the text if it is unimportant why state it?

So any exposition of Indian thought to the American either through the written or the spoken word has to be popular without being inaccurate intelligible without being verbose and interesting without being ornate The American hates leisurely accounts of anything which are dull and drab It will not be difficult to under stand him when we get to know his attitude to *time* As some one remarked there seems to be an abundance of every thing in America except time There are so many things to do and so little time to do them Hence the great tempo of life which has become proverbially American The various types of automatic gadgets and slot machines are the products of the human genius confronted by the problem of economising time I was told there are even Institutes for training people in fast reading The slogan Always on the move gives substantially a correct picture of American life

Another characteristic feature of the American is that he has a forward look and seldom looks backward The American loves to forecast predict and guess the probable course of events He may go wrong as most of the pollsters and News paper w zards miserably failed in their prophesying role in the last Presidential election but there is something in him which makes him anticipate and take time by the forelock as the saying goes In announcing a lecture of mine entitled The World and Its Becoming the Juvenile editor of a University newspaper said So and so is going to speak on the World s Future Inviting me to speak in his college on India s Freedom a professor of philosophy remarked Of course you are going to dwell on the philosophical implica tions of Indian Independence A young nation with a recent history and intent on making rapid progress has to look forward and not brood over the past The past comes if at all as embellishments in the form of curios and *objects de art* that are to be found in the antique shops that abound in the most modern of American cities and in the drawing rooms of those Americans who can afford to buy them It is the present and the future that are of vital concern to the American Becoming and not Being is the concept which captures his imagination

To a nation which is in a hurry and pressed for time to a people who are not inclined to turn to the past the task of teaching Indian philosophy is not easy Philosophy is a zealous mistress and requires on the part of the votary constant devotion and exclusive attention This is especially true in the case of Indian philosophy whose systems arose in the forest abodes of ancient days But still it ought to be possible to adjust the methods of teaching philosophy—even Indian philosophy—to the conditions of the crowded halls of modern times One cannot wait for the breakers to stop lashing against the shore It must be remembered that Yajnavalkya taught not only in his forest hermitage but also in the council chamber of King Janaka and that teachers like the Buddha and Sankara preached in cities and towns like Varanasi and Mahishmati In the most whirling of places on the earth one can always find a quiet spot and there are many people in the United States who are

tired of the fury and futility of a life of hasting speed, and who, therefore, seek an inner quietitude so essential for self-enlightenment.

The people in America that are drawn to Indian philosophy are generally of two kinds: (1) non-academic men and women who are interested in the practice of *yoga* and the teaching of *Vedanta*, and (2) academicians who in their search for knowledge find something valuable in Indian thought—something which, if understood, may serve as a corrective to the Western modes of life and canons of science. The former variety of people are to be found in the various Vedanta Centres of the Ramakrishna Mission and similar organizations. Among the academicians interested in Indian philosophy are those engaged in language-studies, philosophers, and even some scientists. Obviously, the mode of approach adopted by one group differs from that favoured by the other. The simple folk who turn to *Yoga* and *Vedanta* are motivated by a desire to reform their lives, (I am not referring here to those who may pursue pseudo-yoga with a view to find 'short-cuts to material success.) They do not have much reverence for logic; they rely more on faith. They seek a teacher who not only teaches but lives the spiritual life, follow his directions implicitly, and check up from time to time by taking counsel with him the progress they are able to make in their inward life. Some of these seekers even renounce life in the world and take to the monastic order of life, as, for example in the Vedanta Centres at Hollywood and San Francisco. The other group of persons, the academicians, are mainly, interested in a theoretical study of Indian philosophy. They will not accept anything that is not certified by reason. It is the theoretic quest that concerns them; and any theory that is not supported by intelligible facts they will not countenance.

It is interesting to note that the system of Indian philosophy which usually appeals to the two categories of Americans mentioned above is Advaita-Vedanta. The reason for this is not far to seek. There are parallels to the non-Advaitic *darsanas* in the western systems of philosophy and schools of religion. Advaita stands as a class by itself. Not even the metaphysical system of Bradley is comparable, in its essentials, to Advaita. So, there is something in Advaita which is new and fascinating to the inquiring foreigner. Even those American philosophers who are apt to quarrel with Indian philosophy do, in fact, quarrel only with Advaita. It is also true that the popularity of Advaita-Vedanta in America is due to the fact that most of the teachers of Indian philosophy, beginning with Swami Vivekananda, who have gone to that country to teach have been Advaitins.

Teaching Vedanta to those who aspire to mould their lives in accordance with its precepts does not present a serious problem. The only difficulty is to find sufficient men to teach at the Vedanta Centres that are at present functioning, and to found new centres where they are required. Interpreting Advaita-Vedanta to the academicians, especially the philosophers is a different matter. Quoting the authority of Scripture to support a doctrine, however sacred that authority may be to those who are brought up in the Vedantic tradition, will be of little avail in the task of bringing conviction to the American intellectual. What he needs is remorseless logic, the method of disco-

very and proof which has been so successful in the realm of science Any mention of mysticism or intuitive experience' puts him off the track He does not want to believe a doctrine to be true he wants the doctrine to be true before he can believe Whatever may be the status of 'the pragmatic spirit in contemporary American life and thought the American philosopher is prepared to adopt only the rationalistic attitude towards alien doctrines Is it intelligible? Is it warranted by relevant facts? Such are the questions he asks concerning any philosophical doctrine presented to him In interpreting Advaita to him what should be the *modus operandi*?

One may draw a useful lesson in this *connection from the example* set by Gaudapada a pre Sankara teacher of Advaita He lived in an age when Buddhism was dominant in India To him fell the task of expounding the Upanishadic philosophy *in such* a way that even the followers of Buddhism may accept it So in his well known four chaptered work *Mandulya Karika* what he does is to borrow from the Buddhists their own logic in order to show by argument the reasonableness of the Vedantic doctrines After explaining the text of the *Mandukya Upanishad* in the first chapter he defends in the other three the tenets of the Vedanta through logical reasoning So far does he go in using the method of dialectic that he is even mistaken by some for a Buddhist

In interpreting Vedanta to the Westerner reference to *sruti* texts must be kept at the minimum level The rational method of inquiry should be pursued as far as it can go Reason is not enough *only* for the immediate experience of the Absolute Spirit It is not as if keenness of intellect is not essential for understanding the truths of Vedanta *More* than intellectual alertness and honesty is required for *Vedantic knowledge not less Even where* reason fails its limitations have to be demonstrated through reason The law of non contradiction may suffer shipwreck at the entrance to the harbour of truth But its help is undeniable in taking us thus far It is through logic that we must show the absurdity of the doctrine which maintains that the scientifically unverifiable is meaningless It is through logic again that the Vedantin has to *refute systems* of thought opposed to his own Reason can at least assure us that what the Vedanta teaches is not impossible

The task of the teacher of Vedanta it is true does not end here He has to stress the need for not stopping with a theoretic interest in Vedanta Vedanta is for realization Its goal is not an *unseen* result an achievement in a hypothetical hereafter but is one which is reachable *here* and *now* In order to drive home this truth to the Western philosopher what should be done is not to ask him to set aside his notion of philosophy but to invite him to widen its scope That philosophizing is not mere *viewing* or *thinking* that it is *whole living* is what a student of Indian philosophy has to learn It is not easy to teach this even in India It must be much more difficult in a hemisphere of the globe where the philosophical tradition has been quite different from the dawn of what is called the modern era But it is a task which must be attempted in an increasing measure India has the most precious treasure in the form of Vedanta to offer to the modern man To the most modern of the world's peoples the Americans the message of Vedanta is not only necessary but urgent

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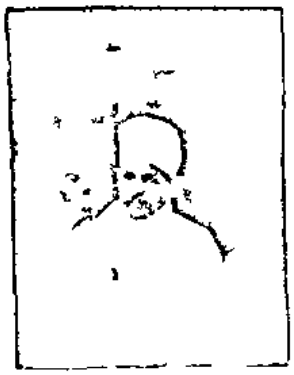


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THE POLICY OF PROTECTION IN INDIA

By Dr. B. V. NARAYANASWAMY NAIDU, M.A., PH.D., B.COM., BAR-AT-LAW.
Member, Tariff Board.

TARIFF POLICY BEFORE WORLD WAR I.

THE tariff policy pursued by the Government of India since the middle of the nineteenth century falls into two distinct and well defined stages. Until the I World War the policy was one based on free trade principles in keeping with the English tradition. Being an industrially advanced country depending mainly on the import of food-grains and of industrial raw materials from her colonies, it suited England to follow a policy of free trade. Such a policy ensured cheap raw materials for her industries and cheap food-grains for her population thriving maiply on these industries. The position of India was entirely different. She was still an agricultural country which had both the resources and the ambition to develop her industries. It might have been better for her, as it proved to be so in the case of countries similarly situated like the United States of America and Germany which came into the industrial evolution later than England, to have followed a policy of protection. But being in the position of a Dependency unable to assert herself in such matters, India was compelled to follow the same policy as was followed by England. Free trade was thus thrust upon this country. Even when Government was obliged to levy duties on imports owing to financial stringency it was made clear that such duties would be levied for revenue purposes only. Further whatever incidental protection they afforded to indigenous industries was nullified by counter-vailing excise duties. The excise duty on cotton manufacturers is a well known illustration of the policy.



FISCAL AUTONOMY CONVENTION

The constitutional reforms initiated by the Montagu Chelmsford Report of 1917 set the stage for the next step in the evolution of the Indian Tariff. The principle of self determination implicit in the reforms that followed and the Fiscal Autonomy Convention that was adopted in 1921 as a logical consequence of this principle marked a definite turning point in this evolution. The convention required the Secretary of State to avoid interference in the tariff arrangements agreed to by the Government of India and its Legislature and, when such interference was desirable, to limit it only to the extent necessary for safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire. But as the Secretary of State still wielded large influence in the new constitutional set-up and as the interests of India and of the British Government which he represented were often conflicting, the benefit of the Fiscal Autonomy, in its actual working did not prove to be as substantial as it appeared at first.

FISCAL COMMISSION

The Fiscal Autonomy convention was soon followed by the appointment of the Fiscal Commission, which is a landmark in the evolution of the Indian Tariff. The Report of the Commission was published in 1922 and its main recommendations

were accepted by Government in the succeeding year The policy that was pursued by the Government of India during the years that followed based on the recommendations of the Commission came to be known as Discriminating Protection. The "Discrimination' lay in the fact that not all industries were eligible for protection but only those that satisfied certain conditions As stated by the majority report of the Fiscal Commission, those conditions were —

(1) That the industry must be one possessing natural advantages such as an abundant supply of raw materials cheap power, a sufficient supply of labour or a large home market

(2) That the industry must be one which without the help of protection either is not likely to develop at all or is not likely to develop so rapidly as is desirable in the interests of the country

(3) That the industry must be one which would eventually be able to face world competition without protection

THE "TRIPLE FORMULA

The tariff policy of the Government of India during the inter war period was mainly guided by these conditions which came to be known popularly as the Triple Formula' The Formula was based on the infant industry argument that protection should be afforded only to such industries as have a reasonable chance of establishing themselves in the country and only so long as would be necessary to enable them to surmount the initial period of struggle Although the basic principle was sound in itself its actual working in practice was the subject of much criticism

Since an industry in order to qualify itself for protection or assistance had to establish that it was conducted on sound business lines, the cases of "embryonic' of potential industries were out of the purview of protection Since the development of the raw materials industry itself depended to a certain extent on the development of the finished products industry, the stipulation regarding the availability of raw material as a condition precedent to the grant of protection hindered the growth of certain industries Similarly as regards the stipulation about the existence of a large home market and skilled labour A large home market may as well come into being after an industry has been enabled to put forth satisfactory goods on the market and need not precede the progress of the industry Skill in labour is to a large extent a matter of acquisition and in a country where there is an abundant supply of unskilled labour, with a satisfactory tradition of skill in labour in the past in addition it should not have been impossible for an industry to train its labour given the necessary stimulus

THE INTERIM TARIFF BOARD

These defects were apparently recognised by Government and consequently the terms of reference to the Interim Tariff Board which was set up in 1945 to investigate the cases of war time industries were somewhat more liberal In modification of the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission the Interim Tariff Board was asked while investigating into the claims of an industry for protection or assistance to consider whether it satisfied the following conditions —

(1) That it was established and conducted on sound business lines

(2) That having regard to the natural or economic advantages enjoyed by the industry and its actual or probable cost it was likely within a reasonable time to develop sufficiently to be able to carry on successfully without protection or state assistance

(3) That it was an industry to which it was desirable in the national interest to grant protection or assistance and that the probable cost of such protection or assistance to the community was not excessive

In making its recommendations the Board was also asked to give due weight to the interests of the consumer and also consider how the recommendations affected industries using the articles in respect of which protection was to be granted

It will be readily observed that these conditions show a marked change in out look and emphasis from the conditions that guided the tariff policy of the country during the inter war period This change was in keeping with the new industrial policy of Government that was necessitated by the circumstances created by the second world war The total stop page of imports during the course of the war and the increasing demands on the industrial potential of the country to satisfy the needs of the war created a large number of new industries and gave an enormous fillip to the already established ones While the war lasted, these industries enjoyed a period of boom, but with its cessation the threat of their decline if not total extinction became very real Government recognised this threat and felt it was their duty to come to the succour of these war time industries, which had helped to sustain the national economy during an exceptionally difficult period In 1945 therefore Government assured their support to such of these war time industries as were established on sound lines. In pursuance of this assurance, the Interim Tariff Board was set up to investigate the claim of these industries for protection or assistance

Thus the Interim Tariff Board was constituted primarily for investigation into the question of protection or assistance to war time industries although it did in fact examine the question of continuance of protection to certain old industries established before the war like cotton textiles, steel, paper and sugar During its term of office of an year and a half the Interim Tariff Board considered, and submitted its report to Government, on 42 cases. On account of the unstable and uncertain conditions of the post war period, the recommendations of these Boards were limited to a period not exceeding three years This was in striking contrast with the *ad hoc* Boards of the inter war period which were set up separately for each industry They conducted detailed inquiries extending over considerable lengths of time and their recommendations were not limited to three years only

In conclusion I may mention that Rao Bahadur G A Natesan, the great and noble founder of 'The Indian Review' was a member of the Tariff Board specially appointed to inquire into the protection for Steel Industry in 1933

57 ELM PARK GARDENS.
SOUTH KENSINGTON
S W

I thank you for sending me this review I have read it with interest and appreciation

Yours truly
John Matthai

Feb 18.1950.

THE TOY CART THEATRE

By Mr G VENKATACHALAM

THE importance of the stage in national affairs is apt to be overlooked by those sober citizens who regard the theatre as either outside the bounds of respectability or waste of time Even in the West not so long ago it was considered as a luxury for the few a pastime for the rich and an interesting investment for the capitalist To day theatre is considered as one of the most provocative of the arts and a great factor in the evolution of a nation



Before India can truly enjoy her hard won freedom she must perforce completely and unreservedly change her attitude to the art aspects of her national life The Indian public must realise that the arts as much as politics and economics are among the most powerful forces in the creation of national feeling and solidarity Arts are strong weapons for those who would strike at tyranny and injustice ignorance and abuse and no country ever became really great merely by its politics and armaments India is now free but she must also become creatively great as she once was

There is perhaps no greater instrument of popular education than the theatre and certainly there is no more impressive way of moving and convincing the populace than by the graphic exposition of the enactment of a drama This is especially so in India where the great majority of people are illiterate but intelligent Devoutly religious minded and artlessly simple as are the millions of this country it should need very little skill and dexterity of dramatic manipulation to excite and educate the sensibilities of the Indian masses and even the classes and evoke their earnest enthusiasm on behalf of any righteous cause

But unfortunately in India the theatre is looked down upon by the so called respectable society—at any rate it was so till very recent times—and it was therefore no wonder that it had fallen wholly into the hands of the uncultured and the unworthy The few amateur attempts by the educated have not been of productive of any lasting good The themes of Indian drama dealing as they are for the most part with puranic and epic stories have always kept a high standard of level but it is in their production and acting that they have sunk into vulgarity and crudeness Even the films have not fared better

Drama to be an effective power must be truly national and it must deal with the life and the problems of the times as well as of course with the glories of the past to inspire and guide It is the duty of the cultured citizen not to stand contemptuously aloof but to create a demand for good drama and by the help encouragement and patronage of the theatre to raise the standard of the art and with it the self respect and status of the artists themselves At the same time it is their duty to insist on the production of plays artistically in decent theatres in good surroundings and with a clean atmosphere and refuse to patronize those that fall below a certain standard either in moral qualities or stage effects

It is of course to the artists that we must look for the creation of such an ideal

theatre but the public must also be educated to discriminate a good play from an indifferent one, an artistically produced play from a gaudy, tawdry, tinsel one, as Indian theatres usually are. The first and the immediate task, therefore, will be to educate public taste, to change its morbid attitude and to make it demand a higher and better form of dramatic art, which will truly reflect the national sentiments, feelings, thought, imagination and aspirations of the nation.

It will be really impossible (as everyone who knows anything about our modern theatres, both amateurs and professionals, with rare exceptions) to attempt any radical reform or change or create a new stage out of them. A National Theatre is yet to be, and it must be built of new materials and on entirely different lines. The present stage in India is "too wooden and anti-deluvian" to be of any use in such a reconstruction. A model theatre, with modern equipments, must first be built in the big cities of India for experimental purposes, and from such a modernised stage something decent and beautiful may be expected in the way of entertaining and educative plays.

There is enough talent in the land but it is for the moment isolated, unguided and unconsolidated. In the production of a play, the painter, the designer and the musician have as much important parts to play as the actor or the producer. The cooperation of artists is half the success in any artistic endeavour. The theatre must be used not merely for the proclamation of national ideals but for national needs. Plays dealing with the fundamental questions of the moment must be staged both for educative and propaganda purposes. The plays staged must show to the people the spiritual, moral, economical and social values of these questions and how best to answer them to suit their present needs. An ambitious task, no doubt, but not impracticable.

The Toy Cart Theatre, sponsored by a few enthusiasts in Madras, under the inspiring guidance of Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, and which would soon come into existence, aims at the establishment of such a stage in the immediate future. The Toy Cart Theatre will be the work of the united effort and collective enthusiasm of a group of artists and not of any single individual. It will be an experimental venture first. The founding-members will be five hundred, first, who will contribute a sum of hundred rupees each, and which will be the initial outlay for the starting of the theatre. Both the Central and the provincial Governments will be approached for help and support. Membership will be open to the public as soon as the scheme materialises.

The theatre will attempt at new methods of production and stagecraft, new technique of acting, new types of plays, new stage settings and even new dance-dramas. Folk dances and village dramas will be revived and presented in new ways. Harindranath, the greatest poet and playwright after Rabindranath, will be the president-Founder and Director. The General Council will consist of such eminent people, both in public life and in the art world of India as the Hon. The Chief Justice Sri P. V. Rajamannar, the Hon. Sri. B. Gopala Reddy, the Finance Minister, the Hon. Sri Madhava Menon, the Education Minister, Sri Manian Natesan, T. Pattabhi Rama Reddy and Mrs. Reddy, Mrs. B. T. Singh, Y. G. Doraiswamy, G. Venkatachalam and others.

Gandhi's Approach to Gita and Upanishads

By Mr V KRISHNA RAO

THE great library at Alexandria was burnt The matter was reported to the Caliph He asked if a copy of the Koran was spared or available When it was represented that a copy was available he declaimed Let all the libraries in the world be burnt for all the wisdom is contained in the Koran' Commenting on this incident Emerson (Ralph Waldo) says "I do not know, if it is true of the Koran I have not read it, but I know it is true of Plato' No one can deny that the 'Republic is a great book of wisdon It dominated the thought of the western world for a long time

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the students of the Hindi High School some time in 1927, asked them if they had a copy of the Gita if they had not, they should at once purchase a copy of it He said further ' do you know Sanskrit, if you do not learn the language at once, it is worth your trouble for the Gita contains all the wisdom that the world needs" The Mahatma was not a fanatic and did not counsel burning up of libraries in his enthusiasm for the Gita He believed with the poet, that "when the light comes, it comes not through eastern windows only" The commendation only indicates, the great value set upon the teachings of the Gita

' Today, the Gita is not only my Bible or my Koran, it is more than that—it is my mother I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago but this eternal mother has completely filled her place by my side ever since She has never changed. She has never failed me When I am in difficulty or distress I seek refuge in her bosom' (*Harijan* August 24 1939)



MAHATMA GANDHI

Elsewhere he calls the Gita, his Kamadenu his guide, his open sesame On numerous other occasions he has paid his tributes to this great Gospel of humanity The purpose of this article is not to canvas his opinions on this book or the literature it represents, but to show the peculiarity of his approach to the Gita and the Upanishads and kindred literature Gandhiji's mind works on single ideas, or images or pictures He opens a book, happens upon an idea his mind is arrested by it, the rest of the book fades away, the idea grips him like a vice

All the energy of his mind is directed to it His meditations are continued He correlates it with his experience and works at the possibilities for future guidance His mind gets an illumination

Whilst in England he writes my contact with two English friends made me read the Gita My knowledge of Sanskrit was not enough to enable me to understand all the verses of the Gita unaided They placed before me Sir Edwin Arnold s magnificent rendering of the Gita I devoured the contents from cover to cover and was entranced by it The last 19 verses of the Second chapter have since been inscribed on the tablet of my heart They contain for me all knowledge The truths they teach are the eternal verities There is reasoning in them but they represent realised knowledge *Young India* (November 12 1925)

The said 19 verses 54 to 72 of the chapter entitled Sankhya Yoga give a description of what the Gita calls the Stitha pragna the man of controlled wisdom Sure in the knowledge of the verities with a discriminated experience which gives an insight into the nature of things such a man rises beyond the pairs of opposites He has feelings neither of exultation nor depression He neither rejoices nor hates He is in perfect poise with his surroundings and there is an abiding peace in his heart Such a man is a blessing and a benediction He is an ideal man The contemplation of the characteristics of such a life gives an illumination which resolves all confusions and contradictions which embarass us in practical life Gandhiji writes in *Young India* November 12 1925

> These verses are the key to the interpretation of the Gita I would even advise the rejection of the verses that may seem to be in conflict with them But a humble student need reject nothing He will simply say It is the limitation of my own intellect that I cannot resolve this inconsistency I might be able to do so in the time to come

Addressing the missioneries in Calcutta in the same year he said

> I confess to you that when doubts haunt me when disappointments stare me in the face and when I see no one ray of light on the horrizon I turn to the Bhagavad Gita and find a verse to comfort me and I immediately begin to smile in the midst of overwhelming sorrow My life has been full of external tragedies and if they have not left any visible and indelible effect on me I owe it to the teaching of the Gita

Regarding the message that the Gita has for him he delivers himself thus

> Even in 1888 89 when I first became acquainted with the Gita I felt that it was not a historical work but that under the guise of physical warfare it described the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind and that physical warfare was brought in merely to make the description of the internal duel more alluring This preliminary intuition became more confirmed on a closer study of the religion and the Gita A study of the Mahabharata gave it added confirmation I do not regard the Mahabharata as a historical work in the accepted sense of the word The Adiparva contains powerful evidence in support of my opinion By ascribing to the chief actors superhuman or subhuman origins the great Vyasa made short work of the history of kings and their peoples The persons therein described may be historical but the author of the Mahabharatha has used them merely to drive home his religious theme The author of the Mahabharatha has not established the necessity of physical warfare, on the contrary he has proved its futility He has made victors shed tears of sorrow and repentence and has left nothing but a legacy of miseries
>
> In this great work the Gita is

the Crown Its second chapter instead of teaching the rules of physical warfare, tells how a perfected man is to be known In the characteristics of the man of the Gita, I do not see any to correspond to physical warfare Its whole design is consistent with the rules of conduct governing the relations between warring parties'

A pure metaphysical interpretation has no modern inspiration to offer Hence the value of this approach He appropriately calls his Guzarati gloss on the Gita—Anasakthi Yoga

Look again at this attitude towards the Upanishads Isavasya is one of the finest and shortest of them It has sent into ecstacies, the modern prophets like Raja Ram Mohan Roy Debendranath, Rabindra nath etc The first Rik or verse of this Upanishad, as rendered into English by Gandhiji reads thus

'God, the Ruler pervades all there is in this universe Therefore renounce and dedicate all to him and then enjoy or use the portion that may fall to thy lot Never covet anybody's possessions

Gandhiji observes on this verse that if all the Upanishads and all other scriptures, happened all of a sudden to be reduced to ashes, and if only the first verse aforesaid were left in tact in the memory of Hindus, Hinduism would live for ever It seems to me he continues, to satisfy the cravings of the Socialist and the Communist I venture to suggest to all who do not belong to the Hindu faith that it satisfies their cravings also What more can a man in the street want to learn than this that the one God and creator and Master of all that lives pervades the universe The three other parts of the mantra follow from the first If you believe that God pervades everything that He has created, you must believe that you cannot enjoy anything that is not given by Him, And seeing that He is the creator of His numberless children, it follows that you cannot covet anybody's possession If you think you are one of His numerous creatures, it behoves you to renounce everything and lay it at His feet That means the act of renunciation of everything is not a mere physical renunciation but represents a second or new birth It is a deliberate act not done in ignorance It is, therefore, a regeneration The mantra closes with this magnificent thought "do not covet any body's possession" The moment you carry out these precepts you become a wise citizen of the world, living at peace with all that lives It satisfies one's highest aspirations on this earth and hereafter

Alongside of this, read the comment of a very renowned South Indian Vaishnavite commentator, on this verse The first query he raises is, who is the 'Isa' referred to in the verse? Is he Siva or is he Vishnu? It cannot be Siva because he does not possess all the graces It must be Vishnu and Vishnu only because he posseses the eight Aisvaryas, and a number of excerpts are given from the sacred texts I have no quarrels with the commentator He may have scored a success in the theological or sectarian field The juxtaposition is made to point out, how at the touch of this sectarianism, the high inspiration of the text is lost

The beginning of scholasticism in India, suppressed all original thought That is why latter day India has bred a race of rabid commentators whose work, instead of winning men to the ways of god, has given rise to undesirable social disharmonies and embitterd social life Religion and philosophy are not meant to divide but bring together, fellow beings Our latter day intellectuals have, with a lexican on the one hand and

on the other, so mangled the nings of the words of our scripture all their permutations, that in the ocess the spirit and the inspiration ve vanished The poet deplored, "She lucked the Rose and left the thorn with ne" We have been offering worship only to the letter and have lost the virility of a spiritual life

Long ago Swami Vivekananda made an appeal for a new class of Scholars who with adequate equipments of Tarka and Vyakarna, would reinterpret our original scriptures to give us a modern inspiration and revivify our faith

We are thinking in Global terms today and our aspirations are towards a world unity India is renascent and the world is awaiting her leadership and if India is to be true to the leadership she must deliver her message, in the clearest terms of spirituality Her sons must draw a fresh inspiration from the original founts, in the manner suggested by Gandhiji That is the value of his approach to our Scriptures

RAMAKRISHNA AND VIVEKANANDA

THE DREAMERS OF A WORLD—REPUBLIC OF RELIGIONS

By Dr NANDALAL CHATTERJI M A Ph D, D Litt.
University of Lucknow

THE Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist is to become a Christian, but each must assimilate the spirit of the



SRI RAMAKRISHNA

others and yet preserve his own individu ality," That was the epoch making message of Modern India's greatest mystic, Sri Ramakrishna, as it was summed up by his great disciple Swami Vivekananda. The principle of unity in diversity, enunciated by Ramakrishna, marks the birth of a new spirit which has yet to reach its fulfilment in human history Mankind will however, be ever grateful to the Saint o Dakshineshwar for having revived th ancient Indian doctrine and lived up to all through his own life.

The foremost feature of Ramakrishn spiritual '*Sadhana*' was the unique sp of enquiry which he showed throughout life His aim was to realise God—consci ness through the avenue of every rel known to him And, for the first be demonstrated, by his own example, all religions are like so many roads le to the same goal—the realisation of He boldly experimented with the s Vedic truth that God is one, thou has many aspects and is worshipped many names and forms He was s among the Hindus, a Muslim am

Muslims and a Christian among the Christians To Ramakrishna religion was no finality but a continuous experience embracing man s whole spiritual life Nor did he regard religion as a boquet of choice flowers picked from diff rent gardens of religions and held together with the thread of intellectual synthesis He was no eclectic in the ordinary sense of the term but an over inquisitive seeker after God He did not approach a religion through an eclectic process but lived it in its entirety in a syncretic manner That was why he did not follow different religions at one and the same time He would practise the whole creed and ritual of a religion to enjoy its potency as a means to God It was in this spirit that Ramakrishna successively underwent the spiritual disciplines of various religions Ramakrishna was a veritable explorer in the realm of religion

Ramakrishna may well be regarded as the first cosmic humanist in the history of the modern world Having practised each faith or cult in its totality for some time he could worship the one in all and the all in one so that the difference between matter and spirit no longer existed in his eyes In his trances he experienced God—intoxication in its most serene form the like of which has been rarely witnessed in recent times His quest after God is indeed one of the marvels of this age

It was through his emphasis on the fundamental unity of faiths that Ramakrishna glimpsed the ideal of a world republic of religions in this age of philistinism agnosticism and communalism This idea was based on his unique equation of *Jiva* (man) with Siva (God) This affirmation of human divinity was a rarefied form of spiritual democracy which alone can bring salvation to a world sick of mere political or even economic democracy Much of the intolerance and orthodoxy arises from our notions of inferiority and superiority



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

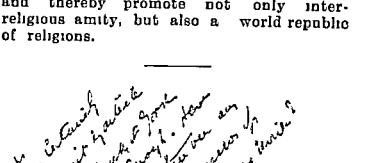
Votaries of every religion consider their *own to be the best just as every child* regards its own mother as the best But no child ever thinks of forcing its mother on other children That is some good sense among children which religions might well emulate in the interest of religious amity and peace

No less removed from the blind vanity of the orthodox who were steeped in bigoted exclusiveness than from the romantic sentimentalism of the newly educated who had no idea of India s spiritual heritage Swami Vivekananda despite his English education and Western rationa

lism, accepted Ramakrishna as his *Guru*, and renounced the world to preach his Master's gospel of "*Yata Mata Tata Patha*" (*i.e.* as many faiths, so many paths) in the light of the ancient *Advaitic* Vedantic thought Such was the effect of his remarkable address in the World Parliament of Religions held at Chicago that the American Press acclaimed him as the greatest figure in that august assembly, and said, "After hearing him we feel how foolish it is to send missionaries to this learned nation".

In the domain of religion, Vivekananda was a revolutionary Vedantist, determined to fight the evils that had crept into Hindu society It was a slashing attack that he directed against the irrational superstitions and with a biting sarcasm he reminded his fellow Hindus 'Our God is the cooking pot and our religion is 'Don't touch me, I am holy. "And, he said, more in agony than in anger," 'How I wish to demolish the barriers of *don't touchism*" Like his Master, he saw God immanent in the entire universe, including its lowliest creature and humblest individual. 'So long as even a dog in my country is without food, my whole religion", he said, "will be to feed it" It was not of rituals and ceremonies, gods and goddesses that he spoke It was "*Daridra Narayana*" "*my God the miserable*" and "*my God the poor*" of whom he never tired of reminding his countrymen, and that is how he preached a new order of spiritual socialism to a materialist world The great organisation of the Ramakrishna Mission which is one of the finest legacies of Vivekananda symbolises the spirit of his Master's *Advaitic Karma Yoga*

The spiritual message of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda is of vital importance to humanity at a time when it is perilously perched on the brink of destruction by violence. It is on the basis of spiritual democracy and concord of faiths, as inculcated by Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, that world peace can yet be secured to mankind. It is faith which divides man from man. But, that faith can be made a true and lasting meeting ground of humanity is the message which Ramakrishna and Vivekananda have left unto us This alone would lead to the ultimate realisation of God in man and man in God, and thereby promote not only inter-religious amity, but also a world republic of religions.



TAMIL AT THE CROSS-ROADS

By Prof K SWAMINATHAN M A

Principal Govt Arts College Madras

AMONG all living Indian languages and indeed among all living languages in the world Tamil holds a most peculiar position because of its antiquity A co eval of Sanskrit Tamil



had attained classical status by its literary achievement alongside of Sanskrit and it had till quite recent times been content to look backward rather than forward and to judge itself by written rather than spoken standards The demands of modern life were met more easily by other Indian languages which were not burdened with so heavy a heritage of tradition But within the last hundred years or so Tamil has received the impact of English and the challenge of modern thought and it has been forced to choose its future status to make up its mind once for all whether it should continue as a perfect literary vehicle divorced altogether from the currents of contemporary thought and feeling or whether its literary form should change and progress and approximate more closely to speech which of course has gone on changing and will continue to change in response to the passing needs of each succeeding generation

As Mrs Sarojini Naidu said at the Jaipur P E N Conference India is one and indivisible While her children speak with many tongues they only speak with one undivided heart The basic thought underlying every language the one common unifying thought ideal and focus has been the mythology of India the ancient lore of India the ancient songs of India and they extend from the banks of the Brahmaputra to Cape Comorin

For the last two thousand years the literature of Tamil like the literature of the other Indian languages was not a distinct independent literature but only Indian literature in one of the Indian languages Differences in language counted for very little among peoples like the Tamils Telugus Bengalis and Marathis who agreed so profoundly in their fundamental beliefs habits of thought and systems of feeling The moment Tamil took up and made its own contribution to the general Indian mythology and the general Indian metaphysics the superficial differences of language were swept away before the fundamental unity of faith and emotion and their artistic expression which form the essence of culture Till the end of the 19th century therefore it was proudly and gratefully recognised that the best writings in Tamil were only Indian poetry in a Tamil garb just as the best writings in Telugu were only Indian poetry in a Telugu garb and so on

Into this atmosphere of accepted harmony discordant notes crept in from two directions Some missionaries started the Aryan Dravidian controversy and cast Tamil for the role of Dravidian leadership in opposition to Sanskrit Again the late Pandit Swaminatha Iyer the greatest single name in the whole history of scholarship in any part of the world by his heroic efforts brought to light and made easily available many of the classics of the earliest Tamil literature which revealed the vestiges of a predominantly Tamil civilization before the mingling of the races and cultures which mixture was of course the one thing known and familiar for twenty centuries before his time

Problems of race language and culture are always complex and need delicate handling We are all dwelling in a dark primeval forest haunted by grim spectres and ancestral voices prophesying war

afraid of each other and afraid to lop off a single dead branch and let in sunlight Owing to a certain artificial hereditary stratification of South Indian society during the last three centuries and owing to the special royal favours showered upon Sanskrit scholarship during earlier times the most obvious and indisputable facts are to day denied from two extreme positions and the most astonishing and untenable claims of racial and linguistic purity are being advanced in Tamil Nad to day This fallacious and mutually destructive situation has done and is doing so much damage to language as a living force as well as to literature and social relations generally that it is time some one viewed these problems scientifically and critically (The sad case of S Vaiyapuri Pillai the one and only true successor to Dr V Swaminatha Ayyar in the strictly academic approach to literary problems is a reminder at once of the need and the danger of sane scholarship in an atmosphere charged with delirium His attempts to re open the traditional date of the Kural on linguistic literary and historical grounds have led to a furious onslaught against him)

The facts of the matter are that there are no pure languages and there are no pure races anywhere in the world to day and least of all can it be claimed that the people of South India consist of a series of mutually exclusive pure races and that the Tamil language is or has at any time during the last 20 centuries been a pure language Racial purity is a pure myth and Brahmins and non Brahmins are inextricably intermixed biologically and culturally Sanskrit does not belong to the Brahmins as no Brahmin in South India has ever spoken it as his mother tongue and as quite a number of great Sanskrit writers have been non Brahmins Tamil does not belong to the non Brahmins exclusively as all Tamilian Brahmins speak that language from the cradle to the grave and as some of the greatest Tamil writers and scholars from the earliest times down to Dr Swaminatha Iyer himself and Subrahmania Bharati have made the most valuable contributions to Tamil literature The attempt therefore to draw a line of cleavage between Tamil and Sanskrit and to use this as a reinforcement of the communal conflict is based on a perverse and passionate ignorance of facts

The great Tamil poets of the past non Brahmins as well as Brahmins took full advantage of the sources of knowledge and models of form available to them in the Sanskrit language and made full use of them in creating masterpieces of their own which often outstripped their originals In the result it may be claimed that almost everything of value in Sanskrit that can at all be absorbed has already been absorbed into the Tamil language The question therefore of the relation of Tamil to Sanskrit is now only of academic interest except in the matter of vocabulary of which Sanskrit is still an inexhaustible reservoir from which all Indian languages can draw

But it is far otherwise with the question of the relation of English to Tamil The potential influence upon Tamil of English literature and of world literature made available through English is absolutely unlimited and that influence has scarcely yet begun to operate Few masters of Tamil till now knew English and *vice versa* few persons who had come completely under the influence of English read Tamil or tried to express themselves in Tamil Tamilians who in the old days mastered Sanskrit imported Sanskrit elements into Tamil with the lordly ease with which Shakespeare and Milton used Latin for their own creative purposes But till the other day English and Tamil moved in two distinct spheres and the effect of English on Tamil has been either slight or not very healthy Vedamanikkam Pillai B R Rajam Ayyar A Madhaviah V V S Ayyar T Chelvakesavaroya Mudaliar were the pioneers who brought English influence into Tamil The great change brought about by the national movement though very obvious has not been profound and is not likely to be permanent When the history of contemporary Tamil literature comes to be written and the final place of Subrahmania Bharati assigned to him the importance now being given to his patriotic poems will be found to be greatly exaggerated and he will take his rank among the immortals of Tamil poetry by virtue of his devotional and narrative poetry rather than of his national songs

Other languages may show quick results in the wake of foreign influence but an ancient language with a strong and persistent tradition of form would take a long uneasy time to come to terms with new subject matter with new linguistic borrowings or with new literary techniques but what it takes from outside it would assimilate all the more thoroughly It is thus not an accident that the greatest poet of patriotism in modern India has also been the most conservative poet of the most conservative of Indian languages Much has been said of the revolutionary quality of Bharati s poetry but the truth is that he has not departed in any essential particular from the prosodic grammatical or stylistic tradition of the long line of his ancestors Even the subject matter has been transformed by the myth making and image making faculty of our Tamil poet so that modern ideas come disguised as only the latest manifestations of the most ancient deities of our pantheon

Dr Swaminatha Iyer a scholar of amazing thoroughness and conscientious accuracy who reconstructed and published for the first time many of the ancient classics known till then only by name or in fragments and Subrahmanya Bharati a poet who found a truly traditional Tamil voice for the thoughts and aspirations of the modern world—these two names represent one the critical and the other the creative aspect of modern Tamil literature The opening of this century will always be remembered by future historians of Tamil as the golden age of Dr Iyer and the poet Bharati

Problems of the relation of spoken and written language of the relation of archaic and current forms of pure Tamil and borrowed terms of literary Tamil and journalistic Tamil such problems did not worry either of these great men partly because they were great and were far too busily engaged in great tasks to attend to such trifles and partly because these problems became acute only within the last two decades For a study of the effect of these vexed controversies on Tamil style it would be best to take leave of the great masters and to observe the extraordinary change in the general quality of school text books during the last two decades A comparison of the two translations of *Sakuntala* by Swami Vedachalam is revealing A school text book of 1920 would be in a language closely approximate to that of speech and only slightly more formal than that of the journals of the period but a text book of to day is in a language altogether different from that of common speech and far more archaic and puristic than the style of the popular journals In other words Tamil pandits who whether as authors or as teachers ultimately determine the language of text books have declared themselves in favour of establishing a literary Tamil which bids fair in its divorce from current speech to become as artificial and as dead though of course as *classical* a language as Sanskrit itself Not only Tamil pandits but the Tamil people generally have now to face this dilemma and choose to the extent to which they can whether the future state of Tamil should be like the present condition of Sanskrit *pure* but *dead* or whether the future state of Tamil should be like the present condition of English *impure* but *living* The choice before the Tamilian is exactly like the choice before the proud and conservative possessor of any cultivated perfection say for example the Brahmin You can cling to a perfection that *has been* a perfection that has served its purpose in its day and you may be like the Grecian Urn beautifully cold and dead or remembering the past with gratitude but pressing eagerly forward into the future in fruitful conduct you may live in the living present and grow and achieve again a new and yet alas only passing perfection Bharati unhesitatingly made the choice of life instead of death he pleaded for intermarriage and intermixture and his prose which our Tamil pandits have rejected is the prose of current speech full of borrowings from English Hindustani and Sanskrit and what not Whether our school Tamil should look back to the past and be arrested and inanimate is no doubt left to our learned pandits to decide But the language itself belongs to the millions who speak it and to the many thousands who read it in their dailies and weeklies and this language which is the true living and growing Tamil language is bounding

forward with energy derived from contact with modern thought and with English and Hindustani

The rage for linguistic purism is closely connected with a racial fanaticism which has brought about great confusion of tastes and values Epics and dramas have been written to show that Ravana was a much misunderstood hero, that Hiranya was a noble patriot and Prahlada a foolish misguided victim of Aryan seductions that Vibishana was a Quisling, and so on The vast bulk of Tamil poetry from the earliest times, like all other Indian poetry in various Indian languages, has been built on the moral values and accepted relationships of the ancient Indian epics and puranas These old stories of love and hate, of warfare and wanderings, have no doubt been variously handled, filled with varying degrees of beauty and significance by many generations of poets but the broad distinction between the admirable and the despicable had never been questioned or denied The possession of such a vast reservoir of poetry, charged with accepted dramatic and allegorical significances, has been a source of enormous moral energy to the people of India and its unifying and elevating power has been noted with envy and admiration by many anthropologists and aesthetic critics of Europe and America The success of Gandhiji's appeal to the masses (which was more direct and went deeper than his appeal to the educated classes) has been explained in terms of this common possession of a poetical understanding of life and its problems, which the popular religion of India, with its poetry and music and architecture and rituals, kept alive in the masses down the centuries Poetic truth is not less valid and for practical moral purposes it is far more valuable than historical truth or scientific truth No doubt, poetic truth is different from, and should never be confused with, historical or scientific truth But taken with its limitations and in its own sphere, poetic truth is a most precious way of approach to the whole Truth which is Reality We, the people of India, and most of all we the Tamils, are extremely lucky to possess this capacity even now and to have thus conquered time in much the same way in which the people of Europe and America have conquered space The Englishman knows and exploits far away places and is at home in them, but he rarely feels at home in the 5th century B C or in the 16th century A D The Alwars and Kambar and our other poets have made us contemporary with the most distant ages It will take long before scientists and geographers make us feel equally at home with far away places In a sense which is profoundly true, Rama and Sita Krishna and Kumara, have not merely an immortality of their own but a contemporaneity with us which renders us too in our turn and in our measure immortal To sacrifice these friends for the sake of any passing advantage is to sell the soul for the body which may be sound modern business, but is thoroughly un Indian Creatures of a day, we touch eternity in the living and life giving tradition of Tamil poetry, which has justified itself anew not only in the social miracle of Bharati's vogue but in the individual spiritual miracle of Sri Ramana

While there is no danger whatever of Tamil being swept off its feet by the latest experiment in modern European poetry, there is the opposite danger, the *not* taking seriously anything however momentous which happens outside Tamil Nad or which happened in Tamil Nad more recently than, say, a hundred years ago Such is the stolid self centredness and conservatism of the typical Tamil

The two powerful forces that have shaken this impassivity of the Tamil writer have been the great movement for political freedom during the last 40 years and the irresistible expansion of journalism in its wake Not only essays and controversial articles but short stories and even novels make their appearance for the most part in periodicals, so that instead of journalism being inspired and lifted up by contact with literature our literature itself owes its very existence to journalism The vast bulk of Subrahmania Bharati's work appeared first as ephemeral outbursts or daily pot boilers Poets like Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai, Kavimani Desia Vinayakam Pillai and Bharati Dasan compose many of their poems in response to the importunity of editors who require special features for their special numbers,

If this is the genesis of much of the poetry of our best poets we can well imagine the *origin and inspiration of our* many prose writings Journalism is thus proving 'something between a hindrance and a help to true literature and the same doubtful status may also be assigned to the Film Many writers who in the old days might have relied on literature whether as a crutch or a walking stick are now well provided with various not too strenuous and yet fairly lucrative jobs by the Cinema industry The reading public is not sufficiently large and is not sufficiently critical to keep alive a number however small of persons who could devote themselves to serious literature In such a state no question of specialization can arise Most writing is amateurish and occasional and some of it is whimsical or attitudinizing rather than deeply self revelatory Individuals develop special skills and exploit them—like Kothamangalam Subbu and 'Sarabha But there is no continuous growth or development of any literary kind A frank reasoned and strictly academic criticism seems to be the one thing necessary to make Tamil literature conscious of its own destiny and purpose Alike from the point of view therefore of the writer and of the public the development of critical effort is not only called for urgently but is in the present predicament the only thing within our power of providing Creative genius is the gift of God a Bharati occurs when God wills it but a persistent critical activity in the wide sense of the phrase in which Matthew Arnold used it is both the clear duty and well within the powers of the educated public to provide Tamilians who have been doing all their reading and writing in English till now should begin to study old Tamil with reverence and to read current Tamil literature in a spirit of sympathetic criticism and should record in simple Tamil their reactions not only to current Tamil literature but to any English books that they may read We can all become critics in Tamil critics both of current Tamil literature and of books in English that we read We should not sit back and leave everything to T K C But by a big concerted movement in criticism we should set going a current of ideas which in the years to come will certainly lead to a revaluation and rehabilitation of our classics and to the production of a great new creative literature in Tamil Of the inherent and unlimited capacity of the Tamil language a capacity which is fully equal to that of English there is no doubt whatever On the most varied and abstruse subjects of philosophy Tamil has formulated ideas which it would baffle some of the best English writers to express There is a combined subtlety and strength in the language which in the hands of the best users of Tamil make it a vehicle of unparalleled versatility

The purists and the fanatics like the English Saxonists of the mid sixteenth century and the anti Hindi Urdu extremists or the anti Persian Hindi extremists of to day can never leave a permanent mark on the growth of a living language But they can be a nuisance Ascham in his *Toxophilus* proudly claimed to write an English book on an English craft to English children in the English tongue He belonged to the school which suspected and hated Latin as the language of the accursed Papists and Spaniards and foreigners generally But a few years later Shakespeare brought hundreds of Latin words into English and very soon English men discovered that the Pope had as little to do with Latin as one day our Tamil friends will discover that the Brahmins have to do with Sanskrit Meantime our best writers are cheerfully following the actual speech of the Tamilians with its sensible admixture of terms of Sanskrit Hindustani and English origin and are forging a rich new modern language which alone will survive and flourish

Languages (to those who love them and know how to use them) are not really enemies but the best of mutual friends One lighted candle does not put out or hinder the burning of another lighted candle Each helps the other and an array of lighted candles adds brightness and beauty to any apartment What do they know of Tamil who only Tamil know?

Message from H. H. Ebrahim

I heartily wish that the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Ahmedi Anjuman-i-Islam founded in 1909 may be successfully celebrated with success. The Journal has excellent prospects to be started, and its Editor has every thing to guide him in every way. I pray that the Almighty may bless the Anjuman and enhance its usefulness and Members and the forthcoming Issue of the Souvenir may be successful in every respect.

H. H. Ebrahim

MAHATMA GANDHI

Dear Mr. Nehemiah

My wishes for a bright future for your Institute are worth very little. Yours sincerely

17.12.24 M. K. Gandhi

RAJAH SIR HARNAM SINGH

COUNCIL OF STATE

If I was asked to give my confession of faith in as few words as possible I would point to the Silver Jubilee as an signal example of a permanent result started at a time when nothing favourable existed except energy, love and sacrifice in the service of humanity. The Silver Jubilee of the Anjuman is an occasion for rejoicing not only among those who, like myself, have watched with sympathy the progress of the Anjuman Press for over fifty years but also for all lovers of Literary Effort. The special publication of the Anjuman Press will, I am sure, be a very valuable contribution to the literature of the day and will maintain the high standard of its publications. I heartily congratulate the Editor, one of my colleagues, on the Silver Jubilee of this excellent paper and wish it all success.

Harnam Singh
Rajah Sahib

UNFORGETTABLE AUTOGRAPHS

DR ANNIE BESANT

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
ADYAR
MADRAS S

[illegible] 12 [illegible] 1924

My dear Nilkanta,

I am late in sending you my word of congratulation on the Indian Review reaching its Silver Jubilee. You & I are very old comrades in the political struggle & while naturally we are not always agreed, we have never let our differences cloud our friendly relations. May it be so to the end. We work side by side for India & that is enough for me.

With love,

Annie Besant

THE ANAGARIKA DHARMAPALA

[illegible]
Kandy, Ceylon
9 December [illegible]

I am delighted to learn that the Indian Review completes its 25th year on the 25th instant & congratulate its energetic founder & Editor G A Natesan for having successfully guided the destiny of the Journal.

The Indian Review in truly Cosmopolitan & page after page has each week for many years been a tabernacle of religious tolerance thereby affording enjoyment of every phase of religious thought to expound the fundamentals of his own faith. The readers of the Indian Review know that we are a part & parcel of their sympathy & were given the opportunity to contribute many articles on the life of the Lord Buddha to the pages of the Review due to see the golden jubilee of this popular Review and may its pages help to harmonize the conflicting forces now visible on the Indian sky.

The Anagarika Dharmapala

MR G A VAIDYARAMA AIYAR

The choice of a career for any young man is determined by his personal organic drawings always difficult me and as my Karma & Upanishadic dharma I am solemnly happy that in 30 years I have been highly successful in and you are able to celebrate the silver Jubilee of the Indian Review.

The Review today contains all the features which it had started and some more. Please continue it in the future as a history of the past twenty five years.

Remember that agriculture all the world over are poor and I am an agriculturist country. Men should be taught to put some bread into each mans mouth and there should be possible of the government a good and just one. Let the purpose of the Review be to decrease such government.

Remember the motto with which the Review was started as about Mundus the communal quarrels so rampant now a day will disappear in due course when under proper education people realize the true sphere of religions, moral and social codes. If only the British in India will act & conduct himself that was begun to think he is one of us and not over us then the friendship of a good and just person must be well and truly [illegible].

May you live to celebrate the golden Jubilee and may I be celebrate the Centenary as the Lord's prayer of your ever affectionate brother

Manbaram G A Vaidyarama Aiyar
7/11/25

RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

Bangalore City
4 January 1925

My dear Natesan

We didn't exactly hitch our wagon in those early days to a star, but we aimed pretty high and, heaven be thanked, never fell. Many things helped, but I am not cynical in suggesting that one of these was the inviolable rule you made at the start of giving a small pocket allowance to every one who contributed to the Review. We had our difficulties, to be sure. Not the least came from one of the editorial board, who, you may remember, had conscientious scruples in complying with the attendant exactions of English orthography and English syntax. As one looks back on our beginnings through all these years, it seems a wonder but our success was a seldom in doubt. I well remember the care and the labour of that time, the anxieties and the vigils do I recall. I do — the thrill of joy we felt when an English friend came to your office and congratulated you on the unprecedented and unexpected event of your having reached the first birthday? Since then you have achieved a great deal and, if I may so far offend your modesty, even the distinction of a gubernatorial warning circulation, influence, fame, wealth, staunch friends, unforgiving foes, all the marks of efficient public service have come to you in abundance. May you have more of these and ever more!

Yours as always,
V. S. Srinivasan

G. K. GOKHALE

101 Circuit House,
Poona.
20th July 03

My dear Mr. Natesan

I congratulate you on the success which your magazine has so far achieved & I sincerely hope that you will keep it up.

Yours Sincerely
G. K. Gokhale

LALA LAJPUT RAI

I am sorry I have not been able to write an article for your Jubilee No. I am unlucky to be so for the last few years. Your name has the power of calling political associations in the country on whose behalf you have rendered a service to your country. I can remember [illegible]

Lalaji
Yours Sincerely
Lajpat Rai

UNFORGETTABLE AUTOGRAPHS

LORD SINHA

17, ELYSIUM ROW
CALCUTTA
(23rd Dec.

Dear Mr Natesan

Just a few words to convey to you my sincere congratulations on the Indian Review completing its 25th year. It has been a model magazine throughout these formative years and I hear cheers coming from all the corners of the Empire.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S P Sinha

SIR SIDNEY LEE

11th November 1911

I offer my warmest congratulations to Editor of the Indian Review on the attainment of the silver jubilee of its permanent existence.

I hope that the periodical may continue to merit the Indian public the high measure of support & appreciation which has hitherto rewarded its enterprise & industry.

Sidney Lee

C F ANDREWS

My own friendship with Mr G A Natesan has been unbroken during the whole period of my life in India, which has now extended over twenty six years. I came into close contact with him, when C had started work on behalf of South African Indians and I carried a message of affection from him to Mahatma Gandhi, when I parted from him in Madras at the end of November 1913. The cause of Indians abroad has found in him an unflagging worker, and now, in the Council of State I have named him in my own mind "The Member for Indians Overseas". I came to know him first soon after my arrival in India through the pages of the Indian Review. Soon after that I began myself to contribute articles to its pages and I have continued to do so ever since. I have found his heart at all times open & sympathetic with the sufferings of the poor. It is a privilege to be allowed to write these pages in his honour in the Indian Review Jubilee Number.

C F Andrews

DR WHITEHEAD

[illegible]

December 1911

BRITISH ANNEXATION POLICY IN INDIA

By Prof. C. S. SRINIVASACHARIAR,
(Principal, R D M. College, Sivaganga)

I

THOUGH the pace of annexations became intensified under Lord Dalhousie, even from the days of Clive and Warren Hastings land-grabbing had been a marked feature of British policy. Occasional protests were made from time



to time against the injustice and impropriety of the pursuit of territorial additions and monetary assignments on every kind of consideration like the securing of the frontier, provision for the proper maintenance of subsidiary troops, concern for the good government of the peoples of states that were held to suffer from misgovernment and the exercise of the Suzerain's right of forfeiting states, principalities and fiefs on alleged failure of heirs according to English notions. One plea that was put forward was that in the case of states which had been actually created by the British Government or restored to their rulers after conquest there was much greater justification for annexing them on their pretext.

At the time of the Great Mutiny the view asserted itself that the policy hitherto pursued towards the States should be put an end to. Sir Edwin Arnold thus remarked in 1865 "We are all for native states nowadays and very delicate about the rights of Rajas and the advantages of an aristocracy." When Bishop Heber who lived a generation before the Mutiny asked an intelligent Indian if he would wish to become subject to British rule, he got a straight reply—"Of all misfortunes keep me from that!" A main charge against Dalhousie was that he ignored consciously and knowingly, the spirit of treaties the British had entered into with the Indian States and put forward spacious arguments justifying annexation on the ground of precedents which he could never substantiate. His earlier prototype, Wellesley, had done the same.

II

In the Carnatic, in Tanjore, in Surat and in Oudh Wellesley's policy was glaringly annexationist. Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah of the Carnatic (1749 95) with whom the British were closely allied and through whom they were able to destroy French dominion and to establish their own supremacy in South India, was not made aware for a number of years of the fact that his sovereignty over the Carnatic was distinctly recognised by the nations of Europe in the Treaty of Paris of 1763. Against the Company's maltreatment of him and of his honour, the Nawab sought the protection of King George III and as early as 1768 secured a royal envoy to his court, who was to stand between him and the Company's Government, which

hotly resented this interference from Home. In 1792 for military reasons Lord Cornwallis took away the substance of sovereignty from the Nawab, leaving him "the comfortable shadow of it in the shape of a pension" His successor Nawab Omdatu'l Umara (1795 1801) was pressed by Lord Hobart the Governor of Madras, to assign the entire revenue of the kingdom to the Company in a manner that was considered inconsistent with his dignity by Sir John Shore the Governor General Shore told Hobart that the magnitude of an advantage could not warrant the prosecution of it by improper means But while the Directors recalled the erring Governor, they gave a free hand to Shore's successor Wellesley who unfeelingly prejudiced and prejudged the legitimacy of the claims and even of the birth of Ali Hussain the son of the Nawab and his nominated successor and suggested the possibility of other claimants being supported by the Government With Lord Clive II Governor of Madras he planned how best he could take away from the future Nawab the entire administration avoiding open rupture or violent coercion Fortunately for them the so called Seringapatam Correspondence between the two Nawabs and Tipu Sultan, lately unearthed from the Seringapatam records were inquired into by an one sided commission and judged to contain proofs of a criminal correspondence between them Wellesley with the sanction of the Home authorities made up his mind to use this 'proof of treachery' of the two Nawabs for taking over the kingdom on the ailing Nawab's demise The heir, Ali Hussain, whose legitimacy was questioned was asked by Lord Clive whether he would be willing to transfer the administration to the Company, as a condition of his recognition as nominal Nawab, and if he should not consent a similar condition was to be extracted from his cousin and rival Azimud daula, who having had no expectation whatever easily consented to a treaty by which the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic was transferred for ever to the Company while the Nawab and his heirs were to preserve their title and dignity and receive 1/5 of the net revenues (1801) In 1805 Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, pompously wrote to the Nawab that the British 'unwilling to degrade the illustrious house of Arcot, was pleased to establish your Highness upon the throne, reserving to itself the administration of the civil and military affairs of the country' When this Nawab died in 1819 his eldest son was not immediately recognised as successor on the plea that the treaty of 1801 made with him was personal and not hereditary When in 1855 Nawab Muhammad Ghaus died childless, Lord Harris, Governor of Madras and Lord Wellesley, Governor General took up the startling position that Prince Azim Jah the late Nawab's uncle and heir at law had no right to succeed to the musnad on the grounds that (1) the treaty of 1801 was exclusively a personal one (2) the late Nawab left no male heir and (3) he and his family had abused their dignity and squandered their revenue Thus went the premier South Indian State out of existence

III

Tanjore was the milch cow of both the British and the Nawab in the 18th century and exploited by British adventurers in the name of the Nawab There was even a scheme to oust the Maratha dynasty and plant the second and favourite son of Nawab

Walajah on the throne Raja Serfoji, the well known patron of arts and letters, was adopted by Raja Thuljaji, but his claim was not recognised on the death of his adoptive father Subsequently, largely through the influence of his teacher and guardian, the missionary Swartz, his right of succession was recognised. But immediately after this recognition he had to resign the administration of the kingdom to the Company (1799) and spent his time in making Tanjore, over which town alone he had jurisdiction, the Home of Learning and Art Serfoji's son was allowed to succeed in 1833 but on his death without male issue in 1855 the Directors declared that 'by no law or usage has the daughter of a Hindu Raja any right of succession to the Raj and the British should not create such a right for the sole purpose of perpetuating a titular principality at a great cost to public revenue'

The manner in which even the private properties of the Raj were sequestrated was not at all edifying The senior widow of the late Raja Rani Kamakshi Bai filed a bill in the Supreme Court at Madras for the recovery of the personal and private estate of her husband The Privy Council Judgment in that case was ambiguous, while it justified the seizure of the Raja's properties as an act of state of the Company's Government, which could not be questioned in any municipal tribunal, it declared emphatically but ineffectually that the Raja was 'an independent sovereign of territories undoubtedly minute and bound by treaties to a powerful neighbour, which left him practically but little power of free action, but he did not hold his territory such as it was as a fief of the British Crown or of the East India Company, nor was there any pretence for claiming it on the death of the Raja without a son by any legal title either as an escheat or a bona vacantia'

IV

The injustice of the Satara Annexation has been detailed with a wealth of impeccable evidence and great vigour by Major B D. Basu The justification of this annexation is an illustration of the official attitude of the Dalhousie School of Politicians towards the Indian Princes Pratap Singh, a direct descendant of Sivaji, was released from the custody of the Peshwa (in 1818) and given back his kingdom of Satara He received on several occasions lavish praise from the Bombay Government and compliments from the authorities at London, but he was deposed in 1839 for alleged actions of disaffection and replaced by Appa Sahib his brother. Both the brothers were childless and both adopted sons shortly before their deaths in 1848 Sir Bartle Frere, then Resident at Satara, and Sir George Clerk, Governor of Bombay, both urged that the adoption made by Appa Saheb should be confirmed But the Bombay Council, guided by Willoughby, who might be said to be the 'foster parent, if not the actual father,'' of the strange doctrine of lapse, Governor Falkland who succeeded Clerk, in the Governorship, Lord Dalhousie, the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control were wholly for annexation When a section among the Directors were inclined to pass a vote repudiating the annexation in the Court of Proprietors, the question was cleverly decided by a carefully managed body of absentee voters who were specially assembled for the purpose The whole episode illustrates the truth that "the hypocrisy is not the less or the tyranny a jot abated because they are shared amongst many" The Directors declared gravely, four years after the annexation, that they were not prepared to find the annexation of Satara would prove a drain on the general revenues of India.

V

The well known annexation of Jhansi in 1853, when the Raja died, though the

adoption of a son was officially reported to the British authorities is an example of similar tactics, pursued in a more arbitrary manner Dalhousie pleaded that as the principality had been erected by the British Government in 1817, it was not one of the old independent states of India and therefore could be justifiably annexed under the operation of lapse The Rani pleaded that her husband's house had ever been faithful to Government and that the treaty of 1817 did not bar succession in accordance with the laws and usages of the country When she was driven by a sense of revenge into participation in the Mutiny she behaved in such a manner that by all accounts she was deemed the life and soul of a formidable rebel army Colonel G B Malleson thus records his opinion of the Rani

'Whatever her faults in British eyes may have been her country women will ever believe that she was driven by ill treatment into rebellion that her cause was a righteous cause that the treatment she received at the hands of Lord Dalhousie was one of the main causes of disaffection in Bundelkhand and Central India in 1857 58 To them she will always be a heroine

Was the annexation worth such a sacrifice ? asks Major Bell

VI

Nagpur was by far the largest state annexed by Dalhousie His arguments questioning the validity of the adoption of a son by the senior widow of the deceased Raja, Raghuji III were strange and contradictory and totally subversive of Maratha custom and practice Appa Sahib the adopted heir was a grand nephew of the deceased Raja, and proposed for adoption as a son by the royal widows The aged and venerable Rani Banka Bai grand mother of the deceased Raja suggested that the adoption ceremony should take place immediately after the funeral but that no public celebration should be done until the approval of the Governor General should have been obtained, and she had the full support of the widows of Raghuji III the wishes of the Ranis were forthwith communicated by the Resident to the Supreme Government Soon, Lord Dalhousie recorded a minute that there was no heir or representative of the Bhonsla family and no claimant to the *musnud* of Nagpur and the sovereignty had therefore reverted and lapsed to the Paramount Power He further asked whether the state of Nagpur which had been once bestowed as a gift on Raghuji III in 1818 should now be conferred on some body else as a gift a second time In the course of his Farewell Minute dated 28th February 1856 Dalhousie reviewing his administration in India declared that

the Nagpur Raj was transferred by a simple order to the possession of the British Crown and that, beyond the Palace walls not a murmur had been heard and in no single instance throughout the districts had the public peace been disturbed

He declared the adopted Prince to be but a Maratha youth and a stranger ' and denied the validity of his adoption unless it should have been confirmed by the Paramount Power He also held that the British Government was not bound to recognise succession by adoption in the Bhonsla family merely because it had chosen to recognise the right of adoption in the elevation of Raghuji III to the *musnud* in 1818 He further maintained that the state of Nagpur had, even in 1818 been undoubtedly at the disposal of the British Government by full right of conquest but had merely waived those rights from motives of generosity and policy allowed the next of kin to succeed

Maratha custom clearly confers the right to be adopted upon the nearest

relative whose parents consent to resign him In the case of Yeshwant Rao Aher Rao, the adopted boy, no shadow of doubt had ever been entertained as to his right to be adopted by the widows of Raghuji III Lord Dalhousie held that Raghuji III did not exercise his right to adopt during his life time, partly because he did not like to acknowledge his inability to beget a son and partly because he feared that the existence of an adopted son might some day be used as a pretext for deposing him.

Thus the Nagpur Raj became a British possession and Government ordered the British Commissioner to allot the Ranis a quantity of jewels, furniture and other personal property suitable to their rank, while the rest of the personal property was to be sold and the amount so realised constituted as a fund for the benefit for the Bhonsla family The Ranis sent a memorial to the Governor General that their palace was surrounded by an armed force under the orders of the Commissioner and the treasures and the family jewels of the late Maharaja, estimated at two millions sterlings were forcibly carried away Sir John Kaye the contemporary historian, wrote of the auction of the different items of the Bhonsla family properties thus

"The livestock and dead stock of the Bhonslas were sent to the hammer It must have been a great day for speculative cattle dealers at Sitabaldi when the royal elephants horses, and bullocks were sold off at a price of carrion, and a sad day, indeed in the royal household when the venerable Banka Bai was so stung by a sense of the indignity offered to her, that she threatened to fire the palace if the furniture were removed But the furniture was removed, and the jewels of the Bhonsla family, with a few proprietary exceptions, were sent for auction to the Calcutta market And I have heard it said that these seizures, these sales, created a worse impression not only in Berar, but in the surrounding provinces than the seizure of the kingdom itself"

VII

The last great annexation of Dalhousie was that of Oudh in 1856, Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland had warned its rulers to reform their conduct and improve the administration In 1837 Lord Auckland forced the Nawab to agree to a new treaty but the Directors disallowed it In 1847 Lord Hardinge warned the King in person that, if he should not reform his rule within two years, the entire administration would be taken away from him according to the recommendations of the Court of Directors made in 1834

Colonel Sleeman of Thaggi fame was now appointed Resident He submitted an exhaustive report detailing the miserable condition of the people and oppressive character of the officials and land holders while the King—as the Nawab Vizier had been allowed by the Company to style himself from 1818, lived a life of slothful ease among corrupt favourites Sleeman opined that the British Government could no longer forbear to take over the administration in view of its duty towards the miserable people Sir James Outram, the new Resident, was ordered to institute a searching inquiry into the state of administration and the condition of the people He declared that there was no prospect, nor any possibility, of any improvement Lord Dalhousie thereupon drew up a most comprehensive minute in which, strangely enough, he stressed the unswerving loyalty of the Nawabs and recommended that the Ruler should be allowed to retain his sovereignty, but that the Company should take over the whole of the civil and military adminis-

tration of the state on a permanent basis Dalhousie's recommendation was rejected by the Court of Directors, the Board of Control and the Cabinet, who were unanimous in ordering the annexation of Oudh and the abolition of its throne. Troops were moved up to the Oudh frontier, the King broke down in grief when he was asked to abdicate, refusing to affix his signature to the treaty proposed and thereupon a proclamation issued that Oudh was incorporated into the British Empire of India

VIII

The only serious protest that was made against annexationist policy was by the India Reform Society that was started in March 1853 and functioned by the energy and enthusiasm of John Dickinson, assisted by such doughty men as Henry St George Tucker, John Sullivan, Captain W J Eastwick H D Seymour John Bright and Richard Cobden Mr J B Norton at Madras was a stout friend of the Indian princes and chiefs He was the special advocate of Her Highness Kamakshi Bai widow of the late Raja of Tanjore He put up a hard pleading for the continuance of the Nagpur Raj He condemned not only these acts of deprivation, but also the manner in which the deposition of these ruling families was carried out The Tanjore case was, according to him, even more iniquitous than the Carnatic spoliation He held, as many others did, that Nagpur was annexed, because its possession would materially help Britain then in getting raw cotton for her factories , and he wrote of the annexation in the following words 'and so cotton stuffed the ears of Justice who is deaf as well as blind " He was most vigorous in his condemnation of the class of Residents at the courts of Indian Princes and described that the typical Resident was "the most pestilent form of an Indian Official" and as being a sort of "Cerberus uniting the three separate functions of spy jailor and dry nurse," whose main feature was "the most overweening idea of his own importance Norton regarded the annexation of Oudh as the last, as well as "the most scandalous and the most fatal of our aggressions "

In the critical years 1856 59, what were commonly called Native ' interests though really of national and Imperial importance were swallowed up in the departmental changes effected in consequence of the transfer of Government from the Company to the Crown All matters of private and class interest attracted much more attention and excited more discussion among the legislators and electors of England than had ever been aroused by some high handed act or elaborate measures of the Indian executive, involving the continuance of a dynasty or a State, and affecting the fortunes of millions "

One outcome of this new attitude was a proposal of Mr John Bright He protested against the excessive centralisation of the Indian Government and put forward a plan to break up the Indian Empire into at least five Presidencies based on differences in language and geographical position whose Governors were to be perfectly equal in rank and salary and were to be assisted by Executive Councils composed half and half of European and Indian Members and who were to be empowered to correspond directly and independently with the Home Government. Thus he preferred five modest Presidencies to one grand and colossal Indian Empire He had no love for the very name of Empire, because

an Impartial policy, such as that pursued by Lord Dalhousie, was wholly obnoxious to him It was an Empire that most effectively destroyed friendly dynasties and conservative and well disposed princely estates, and it was a dominion that was the ideal of Lord Dalhousie and that aimed at changing India from a congeries of states into an Empire, one and indivisible Bright urged Englishmen to abandon their practice of depreciation of the Natives of India to grant a general amnesty through the mouth of the Sovereign of England, to promise to the Indians a security for their property as complete as that which existed in England and to put an end to "all those mischievous and irritating inquiries which had been going on for years in many parts of India as to the title to the landed estates, by which you tell the people of that country that unless each man can show an unimpeachable title to the property for ninety years you will dispossess him " He urged Parliament to hold sacred the right of adoption by Indian princes, which has prevailed for centuries and to establish a court of appeal for the settlement of disputes in India itself between the Government and its subjects, instead of the Privy Council at Home

THIS LAND OF OURS

o



Miss MIRA BEHN

[India is to be called Bharat—a sacred name round which has gathered a great deal of legend There is a grand hymn in the Atharvaveda, describing the greatness and glory of this land of ours Miss Mira Behn has given an excellent English version of this magnificent Vedic hymn In releasing it to the press she calls on all men and women to ponder over every verse "Let the leaders of political and cultural parties search in their hearts, let the merchants and financiers search in their hearts, let the Government and its servants search in their hearts, and let all the people of India rich and poor, enthrone this hymn in their hearts and daily pray that we may, by penitence and mutual effort, once more become worthy of the sacred name of Bharat"—ED *I. R*]

Eternal Truth, righteousness, vigour,
Consecration, dedication, knowledge and sacrifice,
It is they that uphold this land
May this Earth, sustainer of that,
Which was, which is, and is to be
Extend unto us, broad and ample space

This Land where, free from quarrelling or oppression,
Men dwell together

This land of heights and depths and level plains,
Who beareth all kinds of vegetation,

May this Earth of ours stretch wide and yield us joy

This Land where cultivators diligently labour,

This Land whose wide regions yield crops of corn,

She who fostereth all that breathe and move,

May She, our Land sustain us in plenty,

With cows and grain

This Land where our forefathers lived valiantly,

This Land of happiness, for cows and horses,

And other beasts and birds,

May She our Land, grant us splendour and bravery,

This Land, Who in the beginning, Lay in the midst of the waters

Whose immortal heart pervaded with Truth dwells on high,

And whom wise men have nobly served,

May this Earth bestow upon us, in our glorious domain

Lustre and strength

This Land where the waters, flowing in every direction,

Ripple ceaselessly day and night,

May this Land of ours, with its many rivers,

Endow us with prosperity and lustre

O Earth! may Thy vast forests,

And Thy mountains of eternal snow,

Be favourable unto us

O Earth! grant unto us the strength,

That we, Thy children, may ever speak harmoniously together

Give unto us the honey of sweet speech

This widespread, firm set Land of trees and herbs,

Sustained by the Eternal Law,

And yielding unto us prosperity and joy,

May we ever serve Her!

O Land! Thou art our united home

And so dost Thou expand.

Great is Thy speed, and Thy pulsating movement,

Only the great Lord can unerringly protect Thee

Even as Thyself, may we shine with the splendour of gold

And may we know no hate

Whether we be moving or sitting,

Standing or stepping

With our right foot or our left,

Let us not hurt our land

O Land! Thou supportest, as in one home, Peoples of all kinds,

Of diverse tongues and diverse laws,

O steadfast Earth! even as the constant cow of plenty,

Yieldeth up her milk,

So yield unto us Thy streams of wealth

Whatsoever villages or forests,

Whatsoever assemblies, battles or other gatherings

There be upon Thee O Land!

May we therein, speak ever to Thy glory.

O Land! may we, Thy children,

Be free from sickness, free from withering disease,

May our lives be long, and may we, ever wakeful,

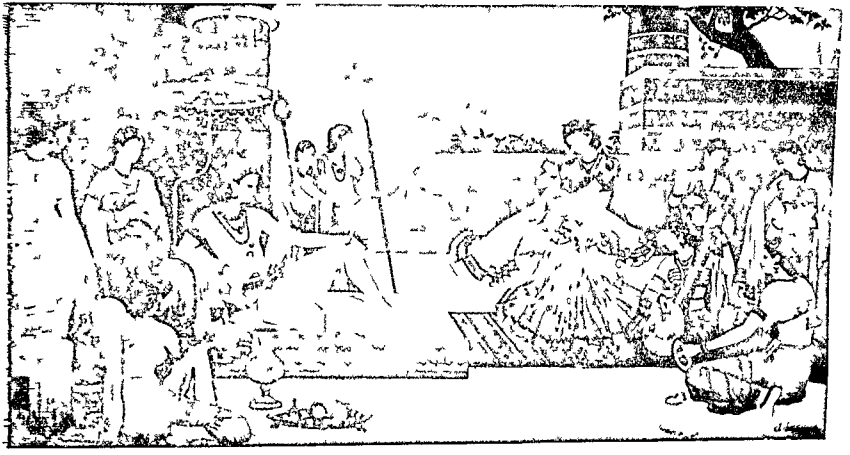
Be bringers of offerings unto Thee

O Motherland! establish us firmly in that which is good

O wise One! day by day may we grow in wisdom

Grant unto Thy children wealth and prosperity

———— o ————



PRINCE SIDDHARTHA AND THE DANCERS

S N Chanchur

BY COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Shushil Kumar Mukherji is one of the most striking artists of our time As an imaginative painter he has been acknowledged by critics of art as outstanding, his colour-schemes being rich and original.

As a man Sushil Mukherji is sensitive to life and its aches and hungers, he possesses besides his rare genius for artistic expression that rarer, genius (which most men of his ilk lack) for genuine friendship and the appreciation of others' works free from the taint of envy. In a word he lives a life of art combined with the art of life—a difficult and noteworthy harmony in an artist

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA



MOTHER

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Kannappan or the Hunter of Kalahasti

A LYRIC PLAY

By Mr. HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA



[The story of Kannappan, one of the greatest Bhaktas in the spiritual history of Southern India, is also one of the most romantic and colourful. Kannappan may be said to have been a fullfledged revolutionary who refused to conform to the canons of worship laid down by conventional priesthood and framers of religious laws. He treated the Lord Siva as an intimate friend and approached him with an air of utter nonchalance and daring which, if at times it overshot its mark, the Lord forgave because He saw behind the crust of his spontaneous crudities and knew that his spirit was illumined even beyond the hunter's knowledge. The Light judges man by the intention not the deed, while the Shadow of shadows judges him by the deed alone. Enthralling Images of Kannappan wrought in stone and metal can be seen at Kalahasti Temple which he has immortalised with the sacrificial offering of his eyes.]

Scene One

A Forest. A herd of deer leap past behind dark trees in the background. Forestage, TINNAPPAN, the Hunter, appears with bow and arrow, followed by his little dog.

HUNTER *(absent mindedly)*

Lord! what a dark forest! not this, I mean, not this, but the world of men. What thoughts wander through their minds, what crooked ugly thoughts! Greed like a crocodile with hideous jaws and wrinkled body; selfishness, a wild boar ready to rend human flesh in chunks with its sharp strong snout; injustice, a sniffing hyena, and exploitation, man-eating tiger in love with the smell of human blood.....

(suddenly, a WOOD CUTTER appears behind a tree)

Hallo! brother!

WOOD-CUTTER

Salutation, friend Hunter! your bow is the most heartless thing in the world, and your arrow the most shameless, since it thirsts for the blood of innocent creatures.

HUNTER

My arrow is not more shameless than your axe which lops the limbs of trees and peals off their barks, with such callousness!

WOOD CUTTER

But trees are different; they have no life, they do not bleed.

HUNTER

That's what you think! Brother! life is in all things—the Lord's breath is everywhere. Nothing is free from the presence of the Lord.

WOOD CUTTER

I must start on my job now. Unfortunately, philosophy doesn't feed a man!

(begins to lop a tree)

HUNTER

Your axe-blows crash as terrible as thunderbolts—making animals slink away into their hiding-places. That's unfair—It hardly leaves my arrow a chance!

WOOD-CUTTER

I am sorry, but my axe is only doing its duty; and I must take back a pile of logs to the village-fair and sell it, or else my wife and children will have to go without food.

HUNTER

Aha! you see now how selfish man is! so long as you are fed, does it matter if others starve?

(the Hunter laughs and goes out. While the WOOD CUTTER is busy with his axe, his WIFE enters with a large blue lotus in her hand).

My Lord here I am again becoming a nuisance to you I am afraid Who opened the door to me?

VOICE

You yourself opened it Worshipper your devotion opened it Devotion is the master key that unlocks all doors

HUNTER

Sire! I am sorry to come in so late

VOICE

Early late morning night these are only words they mean nothing in the kingdom of love and worship

HUNTER

I have brought you three fourths of a deer I slew this evening A fourth I gave to my family I hope you don't mind

VOICE

You did well When a family is fed I am fed when a family goes hungry I go hungry I know how hungry I go every day inspite of being fed by a worshipper like you Hundreds of homes hardly light their kitchen fires since due to black hearted hoarders food has gone scarce Forgetting me they have begun to depend on those in power who in their eyes have grown to be the only gods in existence And these human gods wear tinsel crowns and blind the eyes of the people with the glamour and glare of glass given to them by the people themselves Their thrones are made of human flesh and studded with the bleeding rubies of eyes that have not slept for years and eyes that have done nothing but wept for years

HUNTER

My Lord I notice your eyes are almost about to trickle with tears! I cannot bear it Instead of my hunting animals give me permission at once to hunt down these tinsel gods and wipe them out of existence!

VOICE

No, no—your arrow is too narrow and small Leave it to me to dance my Cyclic Dance of Destruction

HUNTER

You are taking a pretty long time to do so my Lord

VOICE

The longer the time I take the stronger shall be my steps the greater their destruction

(the bark of the Dog outside)

HUNTER

That's my little dog He has a soul which burns clearer than the flame of a temple lamp He is at the moment outside in the temple courtyard

VOICE

When you gain salvation he shall gain it along with you for he is as loyal to you as you are to me He who worships my worshipper gains salvation Come again Worshipper! When I think of you you must come whether it be night or day whether in solitude or amidst crowds

HUNTER

But the priests will not give me access they have driven me away several times out of your temple Sire

VOICE

Priests? are there any left these days? priesthood has lost its illumination in my name it commits all sorts of evil deeds and fools credulous men and women

HUNTER

Give me leave my Lord Be with me always

VOICE

I am always with you Learn to see me beyond this form Form is only the blind contraction into curve and line of the invisible spirit by the little sight of men which reduces all essence into shape Form is the martyrdom of the spirit Learn to see beyond it

HUNTER

Pray grant me the grace to do so

VOICE

You shall have it when the time comes

HUNTER

Not if the time comes?

VOICE

When the time comes!

Scene Four

TINNAPPAN seated on a rock, alone, his little Dog curled up at his feet Around is a silent forest place, and all around is quiet as though surcharged with unearthly meaning

HUNTER (*half humming*)

Nobody knows, nobody knows
How the Lord talks with me,
How, wherever I go, He goes,
Sits or walks with me

In crowds I am lonely, I walk like a stranger through the market square I grow lonelier and lonelier, but my loneliness is more and more crowded with the presence of the Lord *nobody knows, nobody knows* —Ah, here comes a female deer

(*fixes his arm on a Deer which enters*)

DEER

Nay, slay me not kind Hunter! restrain your glittering arrow

HUNTER

The point of an arrow was sharpened for the heart of a deer such as *you*

DEER

Nay, listen! I bear a babe in my womb, it is about to be born Pray, listen

HUNTER

Your eyes are as liquid jewels Would you with your tender gaze tempt me away from the temptation of slaying you?

DEER

Nay, not so! Allow me just this once to return to my abode in the forest, lay my *infant* there and return to bare my bosom to your dart Give me but twenty four hours!

HUNTER

It is only a ruse to slip away from my itching hands

DEER

It is a solemn promise, great Hunter!

HUNTER

O, I have seen more promises bled and hurt than this dart of mine has seen creatures like you bled and hurt!

DEER

Those may be the promises of man who has turned his back on truth, but I am a deer, a forest deer The promise of a deer carries as much weight and life as I carry in my womb at the moment.

HUNTER

Your pleading melts me You will return after giving birth to your *deerling*? and if you don't?

DEER

Mine be the curse of the gods

HUNTER

But the gods don't ever curse, they only bless

DEER

The gods work out the law of truth which is without compassion, and a promise once given becomes part of that law If I should break it, the broken promise would itself break me and deprive me of my babe

HUNTER (*withdrawing his dart*)

I am taking you at your word, pregnant creature! I'll return tomorrow to this spot, and await your return (*the Deer departs*)

(*patting the little Dog*) Now tell me, little *friend*, was it wisdom to have let such delicious flesh slip out of the hands? (*the Dog wags its tail, as if by way of answer*) I am glad you think so

(*enter a Stag*)

(*once again, he takes aim*)

STAG

Hold, hold! let not your dart be in such haste to make the blood spurt out of my body! I was married only a fortnight ago under a waxing moon, my bride is young and she, too, is a waxing moon! Have mercy!

HUNTER

You are married I accept but does that mean you should deprive my arrow of its marriage with your flesh?

STAG

If you must slay me pray give me just twenty four hours just one day more to live with my bride in fullness before I perish

HUNTER

Strange! even a while ago a she deer asked of me a similar boon Twenty four hours and that makes just one short day And does one day mean so much in your life?

STAG

Even a minute a half minute a second might transform the whole of life Hunter! If one receive the Grace of the Divine nothing is impossible Pray let me go I give my word to return

HUNTER (*with holding the arrow*)

And what if you should break your word?

STAG

Our morality is different from yours

HUNTER

But there is a proverb is there not a stag today is worth two tomorrow?

STAG

You are man your heart is poisoned with doubt and distrust You do not know perhaps that with creatures like us a word once given cannot be taken back? It becomes a question of life and death to break it is unthinkable unthinkable!

HUNTER

Well then in the name of the Lord I trust you Tomorrow remember—here—and at this hour! (*Stag goes out*)

(*Hunter starts humming again*)

Nobody knows nobody knows
That while I sit alone and apart
A wonderful rose a wonderful rose
Blows in this hunter's heart!

It is strange deer and stag They talked so beautifully Or were they only creations of my mind? did they really appear? did they really talk? or am I in a trance? No no! this time if another such should appear I would not let it go not so easily by my life My Lord needs food tonight I must slay some creature or other I can't go empty handed to the Lord can I? He must not remain hungry

(*enter a third Deer a young female of beauty and grace He fixes his aim*)

YOUNG DEER

Please Sire! just a minute Aim not at me Have you seen my antlered lord go by this way?

HUNTER

Who are you anyway? Are you carven of shadow or are you real?

DEER

I am real very real I was married to my lord only a fortnight ago his touch is still warm on my young body it has set my blood a tingle and now I am restless restless—O where has he gone—where O where? Life without him is unbearable breath has no meaning without him by my side to link it up with his own O!

HUNTER

Stand where you are don't budge I warn you don't budge You and your tribe are all intriguers the whole lot of you

DEER

Pray resist Give me just twenty four hours to live in intimacy with my lord and then I swear I will return I give you my oath to return and bare my bosom to your dart If I should break my oath may I become a widow

HUNTER

You almost became that a little while ago! but I let your husband go He wanted twenty four hours as well to love and hold and caress you There is something of holy light in your youth of purity in your pleading of innocence in your voice I cannot help trusting your word You may go now but see

to it that you return with your husband tomorrow, here—and at this hour

DEER

We are one, my husband and I Slay me and you slay him, slay him, and you slay me Thanks, great hearted Hunter! your arrow shall be rewarded amply for its graceful gesture of postponing its blood bath by a day

(*she goes out*)

HUNTER

(*starts humming*)

Well, well well!

Nobody knows nobody knows,
And though you might think it odd,
Over my heart a cool wind blows
Like the honeyed breath of a god!

Hallo! the sun has climbed a great way above the trees and the day wears on And I have not as yet fulfilled my hunter's task This is a queer place, upon my word haunted with shadows, I guess But shadows are a proof of light I bet my sandals those were not real creatures

VOICE OF ECHO

Those were not real creatures

HUNTER

Who mocks at me?

VOICE OF ECHO

Who mocks at me

HUNTER

Be silent

VOICE OF ECHO (*deliberately*)

BE SILENT!

Scene Five

Before the temple door Three PRIESTS

FIRST PRIEST

What's this?

SECOND PRIEST

Somebody has tampered with the temple lock!

THIRD PRIEST

And has entered the holy precincts of our Lord!

FIRST PRIEST

Who could have had so much daring?

SECOND PRIEST

The Lord will punish him severely.

THIRD PRIEST

He is doomed!

FIRST PRIEST

Look! there are blood stains on the threshold

SECOND PRIEST

Somebody has surely been murdered

THIRD PRIEST

Let us enter

Scene Six

Inside the Shrine

FIRST PRIEST

Lord Lord! blood stains on the floor! where is the murdered body?

(*laughter of Image*)

SECOND PRIEST

Who dares to laugh?

THIRD PRIEST

The spirit of the murdered! look, bones bones!

FIRST PRIEST

Don't touch them Some poor man slain!

SECOND PRIEST

Human sacrifice!

(*laughter again*)

Again that uncanny laughter!

THIRD PRIEST

I say but these are not human bones

FIRST PRIEST

No, no they are the bones of a cow! the holy cow

SECOND PRIEST

No, the bones of a cow are much bigger!

THIRD PRIEST

No no I say, it is

(*renewed laughter*)

Lord, Lord! save us Who has dared thus to desecrate this holy place?

THE TRIUMPH OF NEHRU

By Mr J J SINGH

President India League of America New York

WHAT is that old saying? He came he saw he conquered Perhaps this simile has been used by many newspapermen in connection with Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the United States but I feel that this adage can be repeated a hundred times in this case without losing its significance or importance Nehru's triumph was even more important because it was a conquest of love Many Americans and for that matter many Indians too have been baffled with the terrific impression Nehru has created in this country even amongst those who neither saw nor heard him The very fact that Nehru was here seems to have charged the atmosphere with glow and mental excitement What caused this flurry of hearts? What made them starry—eyed? Could one put it down to one or two obvious reasons? Could it be that Nehru has the halo of Gandhi— the spiritual heir of Gandhi as he was called? Yes that did have some bearing but this was not all

It is true that among world conscious and particularly the Asia conscious groups in this contry Nehru was known as an historian as a philosopher of universal democracy social justice and peace and perhaps above all as the fearless and outstanding leader for India's independence But then these groups are few and far between and certainly do not include the taxi drivers the butchers and the fish mongers at new York's markets who came out on the streets in their white aprons to cheer him as he passed by or even the theater going crowds on Broadway who somehow got the word that Nehru was inside one of the theaters and the whole of 45th Street was suddenly jammed with 5 000 people

Or is it what most of the politically alive people are saying Nehru has political sex appeal No that does not explain it either A veteran reporter of the *San Francisco Chronicle* who followed Nehru around town when asked why Nehru impressed everyone answered It is a strange thing—I don't know He added Nehru has incredible sincerity and although a complex personality infinite simplicity

I have been gathering impressions and explanations but as yet I have found no clearcut explanation for the intense popularity of Nehru in this country One thing does stand out irrespective of what had been said about him and what people had read about him he has a magnetic personality and you instantly feel it when you are anywhere near him And in some inexplicable way his personality and that word covers everything that Nehru is and stands for reaches out even when you are not near him or listening to him It is a phenomenon Frankly I am baffled and so are hundreds of others and each one has his or her own explanation Some one says it is because Nehru is one of Humanity's significant figures Some one else says it is because Nehru wears at least a part of his heart on his sleeve Another one says *If Gandhi was India's saint Nehru is her romantic hero* And I would like to add that Nehru may have Gandhi's halo but if he did not have something of his own he would not create the moral surge which he does create

The Indian and American correspondents who travelled with Nehru have sent thousands and thousands of words every day covering all aspects of his trip I have not as yet received my copies of the 10 different Indian newspapers that I get but I have been given to understand that for almost three weeks Nehru's trip to the United States was not only on the front page but it was the main news So I am going to state only some of the impressions I have gathered since Nehru's departure and relate some of the incidents which may not have been reported

The officials of the Embassy of India and the United States Department of State deserve congratulations on the efficient planning and handling of Nehru's trip— with one exception It is most regrettable that a public mass meeting for Nehru was not held in New York This has left a void Hundreds of inquiries were made of the India League of America as to

whether there would be a public meeting where ordinary Americans could go to see and hear Nehru. All through Nehru's stay in New York inquiries kept pouring into the India League's office, and there was deep disappointment when people were informed that there was to be no public meeting.

We of the India League knew the full importance of such a meeting. In my talks with officials of the State Department, the Embassy of India, including the Ambassador of India, and with Louis Johnson, the Secretary of Defense, a personal friend of Prime Minister Nehru who was keenly interested in his visit to this country, I said "Nehru is a people's man. He loves people and people love him. It would be a shame if he were kept behind diplomatic and protocol walls and seen only at expensive dinners." I suggested to them as far back as July 7, (and at that time they all thought that my idea was "most excellent") that a Madison Square Garden meeting should be arranged under the auspices of the leading liberal, progressive and labor organizations of New York. Not only were we confident of a capacity audience of 23,000 but we were certain of a tremendous overflow, necessitating loud speakers for adjacent streets. Ordinary people would have had the opportunity of showing their affection and respect for Nehru.

It makes my heart ache to think that this was not done. Nehru would have loved it. He is at his best with crowds, as a city crowds of simple, common human beings. I am told that the only place where Nehru was actually moved and felt emotional was at Berkeley, California, where more than 10,000 students and others gathered to hear him.

It must not be forgotten that New York is already has died truly becoming the international center of the world, and therefore was the logical place for Nehru to address a mass meeting. We were not alone in feeling the importance of a public meeting in New York. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking at the dinner in honor of Nehru given by the India League of America, said these other Americans regret that it was a pity that "more people could not meet, see, and hear Prime Minister Nehru."

Well, it is too late to talk about that. But I still get an ache in my heart when I think of what an effect such a meeting would have had!

Here below are some reactions which I have received from various people in Washington. It is sort of a composite picture gathered from officials, from friends and from those who are somewhat critical.

1. Most people in "official Washington" feel that the trip has helped to destroy some of Nehru's suspicions, however small about U. S. economic imperialism.

2. There were no specific accomplishments in terms of projected or signed agreements. But then nothing of the sort was expected or planned.

3. U. S. officials are extremely satisfied with the visit. First, from the negative point of view there was no incident to mar it. Secondly, from the positive point of view Nehru was definitely impressed with the friendliness of the American people. The officials say that this friendliness of the people was more real and genuine than even they had hoped, and that Nehru could not have doubted its spontaneity.

4. As a man, Nehru made an extremely favorable impression wherever he went. Nehru as a statesman was disappointing to some people. (I presume this is the crowd who wanted Nehru to jump feet first into an alliance with Western nations). However, U. S. officials are not worried about this. They realize that Nehru had to be vague and certainly could not talk about Russian aggressiveness in public—not while he was in the United States. That would have been regarded as a repayment for U. S. hospitality and would have played into Russian propaganda hands.

5. On the whole, U. S. officials feel, Nehru is far more on the side of the West now than when he came. They feel that there has been a psychological achievement, a successful visit—that will be invaluable.

NEHRU'S TEMPER

Whatever happened to that famous Nehru temper? Many American newspapermen stationed in India had written

stories about Nehru's temper, and I know that Indian Embassy circles were a little bit jittery about it One of the reasons why the Embassy decided not to hold any press conferences (a few exceptions were made later) or allow newspapermen to interview Nehru at the airports was that he might lose his temper, if some embarrassing or unintelligent questions were asked. I made it a point to be near Nehru whenever newspapermen were asking him questions on his arrivals and departures from La Guardia Airport Leave aside Nehru losing his temper, he was all charm, and was most courteous even when some definitely unintelligent and useless questions were put to him He smiled or laughed it off, but never once did he show anger or annoyance The same was true of the only "official" Press conference which was held on November 7, the day of Nehru's departure from New York

I would put Nehru before the toughest group of newspapermen in any part of the world and feel sure that he would handle them as an expert and come out on top

Nehru did not lose his temper even when others around him felt exasperated (When Nehru arrived at Greenbrier Hotel at White Sulphur Springs after a night journey in train, some one misplaced his keys and for an hour and a half he waited patiently before the keys were found and he could change his clothes. Yet, no temper)

I am also thinking of how General Dwight D Eisenhower acted in the little room at Columbia University, where Nehru was subjected to the mercies of newsreels, television and still photographs The room was hot and stuffy. It was jammed and noisy. Flashbulbs popped and flood lights beat down For 15 minutes, the newsreel and cameramen made Nehru read and reread parts of his address Nehru did not become fidgety nor lose his temper, but you should have watched General Eisenhower He clenched his fist, gnawed his fingernails and chewed the corner of his Cap and kept saying, "This is a terrible way to treat a distinguished guest What a way to treat a friend .Let's please hurry up" Yet through it all Nehru kept on smiling and there was no evidence of the famous Nehru temper

No, sir, from 4 30 P M on October 11 when Nehru landed at the National Airport in Washington, D C, until 2 55 P M on November 7, when Nehru left LaGuardia Airport, Nehru did not lose his temper even once

FLYING HAZARDS

Nehru covered this country by plane He mostly travelled in the U S Air Force 4 motor Constellation Only once he had to change his plans, take a train because of bad weather That was from Washington to White Sulphur Springs Only once was there any kind of a "flying hazard" That was over the airport in Knoxville where the big Constellation was kept aloft for 50 minutes after time of scheduled landing because of rain and fog Twice the pilot made unsuccessful passes at the runway in an attempted instrument landing, twice he had to turn away On the third try, however the plane made a rather steep and slightly hazardous landing

NEHRU WITH AMERICAN FARMERS:

Nehru greatly impressed the farmers when he visited the three farms near Chicago—one operated on a share crop basis, another leased out to a tenant and a third owned and operated by one man In each case, he inspected the farms from top to bottom, even looking over the furnaces, kitchens and barns Such keen interest delighted the farmers Also such acts as ringing the big out door dinner bell, signing the family Bible of Glen Peterson, the share cropper, and being photographed with his arm around Peterson's six year old daughter Carol Ann, pleased them no end They were all impressed by Nehru's politeness One little farm girl said, "I never expected to walk along with such a celebrity Why, he's nothing like those movie stars in the Chicago theatres There, you're lucky if they will even look at you"

They all agreed that the *Chicago Sun Times* editorial was correct when it said, "In many ways, Nehru is the nearest thing this generation has to a Thomas Jefferson in his way of giving voice to the universal aspirations for freedom of people everywhere .."

GREENBRIER HOTEL:

Greenbrier Hotel, at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, is one of the show places of this nation. It is magnificently decorated. There are 602 rooms and not one is furnished like the other.

Louis Johnson, the Secretary of Defence, has been a great admirer of Nehru ever since the Cripps Mission days of 1942 when Johnson was in India as the personal envoy of President Roosevelt. Louis Johnson has been a friend of India for all these years. He is a member of the National Advisory Board of the India League. Johnson invited 168 guests, top ranking business and financial heads, to be his weekend guests at Greenbrier to meet Nehru.

On the first day of their arrival at the Greenbrier, Johnson took Nehru to Hot Springs, 40 miles away, to speak before the National Business Advisory Council. Just as they were entering the car, Johnson indicated the rear seat on the right side and said to Nehru, "For you, your Excellency." Nehru grinned and looked Johnson in the eye and said, "My goodness, do we have to carry protocol that far?"

Most of that part of the country is dotted with historic spots of the American Civil War between the North and the South. Nehru surprised everyone else in the car by having a better knowledge of the battles fought in Virginia and West Virginia than anyone else present.

At the lunch at the Homestead Hotel in Hot Springs and the dinner that night at the Greenbrier Hotel, Johnson was visibly emotional. Johnson, introducing Nehru to the audience, with deep affection, said, "Here is a man of rare truth. I ask you to drink a toast, not to the Prime Minister of India, but to Jawaharlal, the humble man." The distinguished gathering of millionaries and tycoons of finance and industry in this country, reverently stood up and drank the toast.

Nehru endeared himself to the lunch and dinner audiences by making such simple and honest statements: "It would be easy for you to make a list of our sins. It would be a long one. If you see the list, it will be a long list too. I have found Americans very emotional and sentimental and being myself that way, there has been a mutual response."

The Greenbrier Hotel was full of guests. A reporter, watching the Nehru plane leave for San Francisco, ended his story by saying, "Greenbrier Hotel is jammed with a record 960 guests, but it seems empty now."

NEHRU IN SAN FRANCISCO

One of the ranking hostesses of San Francisco, Mrs. Frances Diehl, entertained Nehru at dinner. The dinner was held in her own penthouse, 18 stories high, with wide windows and a terrace giving a magnificient view of the San Francisco Bay.

After dinner, Mrs Diehl served her specialty, flaming coffee diabolo, which has a lot of brandy in it. A teetotaler father-in-law of Mrs. Diehl once told her that he would drink that coffee because all the alcohol had been burned out of it. She told this story to Nehru who said, "In that case, I will have some too."

In New York, in San Francisco, and in other places too, there has been some criticism about the length of Nehru's public speeches. The political sophisticates thought that the speeches should have been shorter and each speech should have covered a definite point. In other words, what is being said is that before one audience, Nehru could have talked about the world political situation, as he sees it, at another place emphasis could have been placed on the importance of Asia *vis.a-vis* a democratic world order. At another place, about commercial and financial aspects of India, and so on.

But I have found quite a few defenders, even among the political sophisticates, of Nehru's long speeches. Typical is the explanation of Barbara Herbert, an artist in San Francisco, who said, "It was a manifestation of kindness, Nehru feels he must explain in complete detail why he is doing this or that. It is also an example of his regard for others. He thinks highly enough of his audience to believe that they want to know the facts, and, that given the facts, they will understand him."

In a talk in New York where a few Asia-conscious and friendly persons were criticizing the length of Nehru's talk at the India League dinner, Norman Thomas the leader of the Socialists in this country, and a grand old man, told the group: "Can anyone tell me if there is another political leader in this world who has guts to get up and speak for an hour extemporaneously without notes or anything, and not care a damn what he says? I admire him for that."

NEHRU AT THE THEATER

After seeing the performance, "Lost in the Stars," Nehru went backstage, and the huge cast of the show—mostly Negroes—stood in a semi-circle and gave a loud applause when he appeared. Nehru looked somewhat embarrassed and said, "It's reversing things. I am the one who should applaud you." Then he turned towards Todd Duncan, one of the outstanding Negro actors and who has a lead in the show, and said, "It was a magnificent performance, so moving it exhausted me." Again the whole cast cheered him loudly.

The next night Nehru went to see "South Pacific," the most popular musical comedy in New York. It is almost impossible to get tickets for this show. In the black market, tickets for this show have been sold for as high as Rs. 800. After the show, Oscar Hammerstein, one of the producers and who arranged for the tickets for the Nehru party, took him backstage and introduced Mary Martin and Ezio Pinza, the leads in the show. After Nehru left, both Mary Martin and Ezio Pinza continued to enthuse for hours. Mary Martin said, "I feel as though he were a saint. Did you see those eyes? I noticed them from the stage." Pinza groped for the word and came up with, "I feel as though I have met the Messiah. That's what he is—not a saint—but the Messiah. Those eyes! That face! This has been a great thrill and an honour to play before one of the world's greatest men."

NEHRU AT JOHN DEWEY DINNER

The 90th birthday of the great philosopher John Dewey was celebrated at a public dinner the same night that a dinner was being given in honor of Nehru. I suggested to the Prime Minister that, if possible, he should drop in at the John Dewey dinner where the leading philosophers, intellectuals, educationists, and labor leaders were gathered. Nehru agreed to do so Unfortunately, Nehru's dinner dragged on and meanwhile the John Dewey dinner ended. I announced to the audience that Nehru had promised to come and would definitely come. 1,100 guests waited for him and gave him a rousing reception when at last he arrived Nehru paid tribute to John Dewey and said how much his writings had been of solace to him and he considered it a great honor to be present at this celebration to pay personal homage to this great man. This beautiful gesture on the part of Nehru was highly appreciated by the hundreds of liberals and progressives present at the dinner.

NEHRU'S DEPARTURE

There were more than 100 people gathered at Hangar 9, of the American Airlines at La Guardia Airport, to bid farewell to Nehru. All voices were subdued and one could feel a sense of sadness about. I think Nehru, too, felt a little sad. Just before the plane was about to take off, Nehru asked, "Where is Rahman?" He was asking for Afzal Rahman, an old Moslem servant who is now at the Indian Embassy in Washington, and who acted as a valet for Nehru during his stay in this country. Nehru spotted Rahman, went up to him, shook hands with him, and bade him a cordial farewell. Many American newspapermen and dignitaries who were present saw this and were amazed to learn afterwards that Rahman was just a servant. One American said to me: "What a great man." With all my heart, I want to echo that sentiment. Nehru IS a great man.

LOGIC!

She: Why are all those horses running so fast!

He: Why you see, the first one to get to the winning post gets the Silver Cup

She: What about all the others?

He Naturally, they get nothing

She. Then why are they still running!

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

NEW YEAR

These New Year verses were written for the Sunday Pictorial about the year 1916 by Lieutenant Herbert Asquith second son of the then Prime Minister, and one of the most gifted of younger poets

The Old Year goes with all its vanished flow'rs,
Across the fields we hear the distant bells,
To other music fade the dying hours
Leaving a heritage of long farewells
What world is this, to which the New Year comes
A world by God, forgotten, lost to Man
A weary battlefield of broken homes,
A red monotony without a plan,
No! Love and Laughter live, and Chivalry
Still holds the seas from sunset to the dawn,
The sacred wells of Honour are not dry
And still for her the brightest blades are drawn!
The young Crusaders go to battle singing,
And we, who listen to that song may know
Again the bells of Freedom will be ringing
As they were rung a hundred years ago

SHADOWS OF THE PAST

[Fourteen years before his death Carlyle wrote in his journal words that both describe the life of his last years and contain his ultimate faith about the universe]

I live mostly alone, with vanished Shadows of the Past—many of them rise for a moment, in expressibly tender One is never long absent from me Gone, gone but very dear, very beautiful and dear! ETERNITY, which cannot be far off, is my one strong city I look into it fixedly now and then, all terrors about it seem to me superfluous all knowledge about it, any the least glimmer of certain knowledge, impossible to living mortal The universe is full of love, and also of inexorable sternness and veracity, and it remains forever true that 'God reigns' Patience, silence, hope!

GOLDEN WEDDING, OCT 5, 1884 1934

Sir Ben Turner who wrote these verses 'in "Reynold's Illustrated News" was formerly President of the National Union of Textile Workers, & later Secretary for Mines

"My dear old wife For fifty years
We've struggled on together
We've had our ups and downs, and faced
Both fine and stormy weather

"We've had our days of gentle joys
And often helped to make them
And things we couldn't help—which hurt—
We just stood up to take them

'God a been right good We've tried to be
And friends we made in plenty
And we are still in love as sweet
As when we two were twenty

"We do not know how long before
We may be called away, lass
But this we know, it's very nice
To live to see this day, lass."

SONG OF THE TRUE VAISHNAVA

This is the folk song dearly loved by Mahatma Gandhi, which he had often wished to hear sung to him in the most sacred moments of his life

He is the true Vaishnava who knows and feels
another's woes as his own
Ever ready to serve, he never boasts
He bows to every one and despises no one,
keeping his thought, word and deed pure
Blessed is the mother of such a one He
reverences every woman as his mother

He keeps an equal mind and does not stain his lips
with falsehood, nor does he touch another's wealth
No bonds of attachment can hold him
Ever in time with Ramanama his body possesses
in itself all places of pilgrimage

Free from greed and deceipt, passion and anger This
is the true Vaishnava

COLERIDGE

He was the first poet I ever knew His genius
at that time had angelic wings and fed on manna.
He talked on for ever, and you wished him to
talk on for ever His thoughts did not seem to
come with labour and effort but as if borne on
the gusts of genius, and as if the wings of his
imagination lifted him from off his feet His voice
rolled on the ear like the pealing organ, and its
sound alone was the music of thought His mind
was clothed with wings, and, raised on them, h
lifted philosophy to heaven

'In his descriptions you then saw the progre
of human happiness and liberty in bright ar
never ending succession, like the steps of Jacob
ladder, with airy shapes ascending and descendin
and with the voice of God at the top of t
ladder And shall I, who heard him then, list
to him now? Not I' That spell is broke, th
time is gone for ever, that voice is heard no mo
but still the recollection comes rushing by w
thoughts of long past years, and rings in my
with never dying sound'

—*Hazlitt* "*Living Poets*

PARTED FRIENDS

Alas! they had been friends in youth,
But whispering tongues can poison truth,
And constancy lives in realms above,
And life is thorny, and youth is vain
And to be wroth with one we love
Doth work like madness in the brain
They parted—never to meet again
But never either found another
To free the hollow heart from paining—
They stood aloof, the scars remaining,
Like cliffs which had been reft asunder,
A dreary sea now flows between,
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder
Shall wholly do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once hath been

—S. T. Coleridge. *Chri*

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE FUTURE

By Prof S RAMASWAMI M A

THE CRISIS IN OUR UNIVERSITIES

'NO one wrote Thomas Arnold ought to meddle with Universities who does not know them well and love them well It is with these words that Sir Walter Moberly opens his preface to his recent book *The Crisis in the University* And while he recognizes this principle as axiomatic he concedes that even the most devoted academic patriotism doesn t exclude but rather compels a clear recognition and a searching diagnosis of ailments I don t propose to offer herein anything in relation to Universities in India like the searching analysis of the contemporary spiritual failure as he regards it of English Universities which Sir Walter provides in his stimulating book Indeed that task has been faithfully discharged by the Report of the Radhakrishnan Commission on Indian Universities which at long last has been officially published I shall only venture a few comments on some of the findings and recommendations of the Commission

PUBLIC APATHY

It is however profoundly depressing to find that public interest in the working of the Universities is so extraordinarily fitful in the country The public would seem to take some kind of interest in the way the universities are tending only when they are sharply confronted with such gross breaches of decency and good order as recently disfigured the conduct of the students of Annamalai University Even convocation orators part of whose stock in trade used to be a rather lofty condemnation of university education from their ludicrously utilitarian standards to day confine themselves to the exposition of some political or social problem in which they are specially interested and do not review the aims or results of the working of the universities in the country though there is now and again a stimulating external view presented by men like Rajaji This apathy is curiously enough evident even in relation to the new constitution of India Apart from the desultory and dreary discussions in the Assembly itself lit up only now and again by an illuminating exposition of this or that provision by Sri Alladi Krishnaswami or Dr Ambedkar there has been little serious public discussion or for that matter discussion by the universities and other learned bodies of several controversial aspects of the constitution What are our Madisons Hamiltons and Jeffersons doing I wonder Surely they know that it is not enough to frame a constitution wisely It is their task as it was the task of the Fathers of the American constitution to expound the principles and defend the provisions of the new constitution and get the people to understand as well as accept it I should so like to see emerge out of these expositions an Indian *Federalist* in the not too distant future Similarly I should have liked it if some one comparable in authority in India to Sir Walter Moberly had provoked discussion on the universities in India which have been in a state of continuing crisis practically since the Montford Reforms went into force—and the Radhakrishnan Commission of Enquiry had followed in response to public demand But alas we are very very far indeed in India from deeming it our duty to concern ourselves intelligently with these matters A vigilant informed and intelligent public opinion is the condition of the successful working of democracy Of that degree of public alertness there is as yet scarcely any evidence

THE RADHAKRISHNAN COMMISSION

The most gratifying feature of the Universities commission s constitution was that it had for its Chairman a philosopher statesman of the wide and varied academic and administrative experience and distinction of Dr Radhakrishnan That was perhaps its greatest good fortune The Report bears on every part of it the impress of Dr Radhakrishnan s alert active mind his profound sense of human and academic values and his unremitting concern for national well being and progress It is lit up unlike several official Reports which have come out

on this subject and on others, by a genuine faith in the value and vitality of India's ancient national culture and the need to make the best of that culture the foundation of educational reconstruction in the country, harmonized doubtless with the best in modern thought—Even so, when one compares this Report with the great Report of the Sadler Commission on the Calcutta University one feels a certain sense of disappointment In many respects, the later Report marks a very great advance indeed on the earlier one But, and this is a very tentative judgment, somehow, the later Report seems in a few places to enunciate commonplaces, attempt superficial diagnoses and suggest irrelevant or impracticable remedies

GRANDIOSE OBJECTIVES

The Radhakrishnan commission defines the objective of education in these terms 'To create a social order guaranteeing democracy through the realization of justice liberty, equality and fraternity and proceeds to say that education is 'not a means to earning a living, nor is it only a nursery of thought or a school of citizenship It is initiation into the life of the spirit, a training of human souls, in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue This definition does not lack comprehensiveness Indeed it would seem to be too comprehensive and even apparently contradictory For while it recognizes education as essentially a spiritual process it seeks ends and aims in the realm of politics economics and social life which might well seem irrelevant from a truly spiritual standpoint A just, free and democratic social order may properly be the objective of political or social policy But educational policy is not and ought not to be concerned with political or social objectives in any immediate and intimate sense And the use of question-begging terms like justice, liberty, equality and fraternity in the statement of objectives may conceivably do harm It is not mere pedantry to object to the loose use of terms which rouse passionate controversy in a context and in a country where political, communal partisan and provincial approaches are on the increase Surely the Commissioners are aware of the enormous opposition that Oxford and Cambridge have evoked in England from the partisans of the Red-brick university, charging the former with creating or aiming at creating an aristocracy of culture apart from the mass of the people and with starving modern and scientific studies in order that dead languages and literatures may continue to flourish The attitude of men like J D Bernal and J B S Haldane to the older universities is another instructive example of the kind of barren quarrel that such terms as equality and justice provoke I say barren, not because I am not interested in justice and equality or because they have no bearing on education but because in considering the aims of university education, more urgent and immediate issues arise which tend to be crowded out of attention by energetic preoccupation with the educational implications of these political and economic terms The university whatever the individuals working within it may do in their individual capacity, should stand above the battle I am not pleading for *laissez faire* for a policy of academic indifference to urgent social issues But the atmosphere of the university should not be disturbed by importing into it the contentions and confusions of the world of politics It would ruin the work of the university altogether We shall have in our country, where the universities are suffering still from *balarishta*, far graver ailments such as even stronger, doughtier universities of the West have not entirely withstood Imagine a university dominated by the queer notions of equality and justice of the so-called 'Self Respect' group in our own province of Madras and the way these notions have of corroding and destroying academic work altogether Look at the fate of Annamalai! And remember the part which Aligarh, under Dr Ziauddin Ahmed played in the disruptive Pakistan agitation of the last few years

THE AMERICAN BIAS

The Report says. 'There is great disparity between what our country requires and what our education offers We produce a large number of arts and law-graduates

but not enough teachers, administrators, doctors, engineers, technicians, scientific researchers and the like' True But why should the Commissioners have assumed that it was the business of the universities to produce Doctors, administrators, engineers and technicians? Is it not rather the business of the university to make 'men of their educands? Is not the failure of our universities to produce the right type of men the greatest and most disastrous failure of all? We could do without technicians and engineers and even without doctors and administrators if we could claim to have produced and to be producing men But strangely enough, in a Commission with so distinguished a humanist as Radhakrishnan at its head there seems to be a strange failure to take account of this basic fact We venture to think that if Dr Radhakrishnan had succeeded in persuading Sir R W. Livingstone to join his commission the pervasive 'practical' American bias noticeable in many parts of the report would have received *salutary correction*

THE RIGHT TYPE OF TEACHERS

The Report then asks why our education does not produce teachers of the right type in abundance and answers thus "The good old times when the profession of teaching attracted those whom no worldly rewards could tempt are no more In this age of money-economy and profit motives, it is futile to expect that teachers alone would rise above the spirit of the times Salaries which the universities cannot command but industry and governments easily offer are taking the cream away leaving the staffs poorer, envious and discontented' And yet one would have thought that teachers were almost the only class of people of whom one could rightly and justly expect that they would rise above the mercenary spirit of the times It is indeed a serious indictment of any system of education that it doesn't produce in large numbers a band of disinterested seekers of knowledge whom love of knowledge fills so much that all else is to them of little account beside it. The state and society today condemn the hapless man or woman who takes to the teaching profession to a lifetime of poverty social degradation and acute personal humiliation and unremitting drudgery With the exception of a few who have crept climbed or intruded into the top most posts and thereupon turned their backs on knowledge and truth and all the *rest of it, the vast majority of* the teachers have nothing to look forward to except stark poverty at the end of their drab and wearing lives Inept politicians masquerading as educationists somehow in this country take hold of centres of power and authority in the educational world and set about 'transforming the atmosphere of university life pretty systematically

ACADEMIC BARBARISM

The results are writ large in the intellectual sterility the poor morale and stinking corruption of our academic life today Absence of standards, says Dr R W Livingstone is just barbarism Academic barbarism—that would be hardly an unfair description of current conditions in the country There are neither proper standards of conduct nor proper standards of academic attainment today in many of our universities The most outrageous manipulation and sale of examination results and classes and distinctions, the fudging of research, the systematic misappropriation of credit for work done by others, the total neglect of academic duties as a consequence, mostly condoned by authority, in the concentration on cultivation of the personal or political interests of the party or persons in power—all these disgusting facts of our contemporary academic life have so far not attracted public attention in the requisite measure For every instance of academic malpractice for *e.g.* in assessment of performance at examinations that comes to light, (as happened recently in Calcutta, culminating in the resignation of Calcutta university's Vice-Chancellor,) several, far more glaring, pass uncriticized, though, we venture to think not entirely unknown!

And this state of affairs has an important bearing on the current widespread manifestations of student

indiscipline in the country. Teachers who inspire respect neither by their ability nor by their character are on the increase. With significant exceptions, teachers today in the higher ranks are hangers-on of the powers—, that—be, hardened in luxury and sloth and ignorance and in the lower ranks pathetic half—starved drudges perpetually in search of pottage and ready to sell their souls and all for it! What conceivable incentive to orderly and scholarly pursuits does this state of affairs afford to the young vigorous band of students men and women who crowd into our colleges? Most of our colleges are filled with noise and not infrequently with violence as well. Pandemonium was as students of Milton know, quite an orderly place and so that word doesn't remotely describe the ordinary college classes of today wherein usually the teachers are the only silent members. But apart from the tremendous disturbing influence of coeducation in some institutions where conditions are not yet quite suitable for it the sheer irrelevance from the student's point of view of current curricula and text-books the incompetence and comprehensive slovenliness of the teachers and the formidable external forces working all over the country for transforming the country into a communist chaos are strong elements in this manifestation of student disorder. Examinations largely a farce having regard to the low standards of attainment now prescribed for securing a pass are made to seem even more absurd by engineering large-scale leakages of question papers. Good teaching by teachers of character and ability is the only conceivable remedy against this. Strangely enough one cannot confidently say that it has been tried!

TEACHERS AND PUPILS

The Commission suggests that one cause of the loss of confidence between teachers and pupils in recent times was that teachers as a class were apparently on the side of law and order in their capacity as educators, while thoroughly in sympathy themselves (!) with the struggle for na freedom. It was perhaps true, few places and with reference to a individual teachers, that their app identification with authority lost t the trust and confidence of t students. But in the vast majority cases, it is true to say that teach taught but of themselves and th immediate interests. And in ma cases Students Unions were unquestio ably moved more by personal or part feeling and a sheer irresponsible lov of disorder and natural recalcitrance than by patriotic fervour. One has only to compare the splendid heroism and abandon with which the flower of the youth of England flung itself into two wars recently and ran to the rescue of troubled Spain, with the behaviour of our boys to see the tremendous difference. I don't blame our boys or our girls. As Macaulay points out subjection to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration. And it affects the nation at all levels and in manifold ways. A struggle for freedom is one of those forces that test and purge the inner spirit of a people. Under Gandhiji many a miracle was wrought. Indeed students as a class were the first to come under that magnificent ennobling influence. But on many occasions Gandhiji's technique, was, to his own deep heartfelt grief most unconscionably and mischievously perverted and abused. To his dying day, he felt the grief of the essential lack of discipline of his people, students and others though on occasions he had been led to believe them stronger and more disciplined than they were. The problem of student discipline is but an aspect of a larger problem of national indiscipline, which manifests itself in the form of blackmarketing, tax evasion and corruption of various kinds in industry, commerce, administration and education. It calls for stern action and that urgently. So far as students are concerned, if the atmosphere of general demoralization outside the university is not cleared soon it is bound to tell still fatally on their discipline within the university. Even so, the problem within the university can only

THE APPRECIATION OF THE MOVIES

AN ENQUIRY INTO VALUES

By MR AMAR MUKERJI M A

ONE of the paradoxes of film-aesthetics is that while many of us can enjoy a film, there are only a few of us who can really appreciate it The outcome is that by concentrating too much on the element of enjoyment at the cost of appreciation, we often induce the producer to play to the gallery and as some of the Bombay films will instantly reveal the one motive of the capitalist is to provide amusement howsoever cheap and poor that might be But a sense of appreciation of the films very soon puts a brake to mere enjoyment and lets us sharpen our critical faculty to use it towards the development of a taste the reasonable satisfaction of which only can create genuine enjoyment The sex theme the fashionable college-boy and college girl the bloated prostitute and the uncanny duets are the resultants of our escape from appreciation merely for the sake of amusement Like an art critic whose eyes must be trained if he is going genuinely to enjoy a picture we must also develop the faculty of appreciation of films, towards which end this article is a modest endeavour

THE NATURE OF THE ART

The fact is that the cinema is a composite as well as a popular art, composite in the sense that the various mediums of artistic expression combine together to produce a harmonious effect, popular in the sense that it gives appeal instantaneously to a large number of people because its subject matter is definitely linked with the doings of men and women and because it holds in relief to man the multifarious doings of man in one shape or the other To an extent these two things are slightly contradictory to one another since the art-forms that the movies employ soon tend towards a treatment where realism suffers a discount The aesthetic of the cinema is not the aesthetic of the traditional arts since so many such arts converge in it that the standard for one may become useless for the other Cinematographic medium has in contradistinction to many other mediums the appeal to the bulk creating naturally greater chances of playing to the gallery, as they see it And yet as a visual art its basic condition is visible imagery where the many lines of pictorial development lead us straight to an approach of the idea Movement is its co-ordinating feature—movement that seizes not only the life out of the story but grapples all its sensation, association and emotion

It is the three last-mentioned human instincts on which the producers bank and bank rather too much when they neglect the borderline of individual approach hurl their individual visitors in a motley crowd and take advantage of the crowd psychology The amusement element in the film becomes then of the most crude variety and the personal craftsmanship and artistic inspiration both of the producer and the visitor, are soon lost in a maze of cheap tricks Not that the movies should not deal with the human theme, that is of course their only subject though their business is not to provide us merely with a vicarious satisfaction in fame fortune or love The films in that case rely on an unambiguous and easy development for their erstwhile success—the boy getting the girl, the slums producing a beauty and Louisina being finally purchased To most the movies in that case mean stars—the combination for instance of Ashok Kumar with Lila Desai or Kanan Devi or somebody else How many for instance would run to see the film if a non-dancing star dances therein? The way some of the cinema advertisements are put—every film decidedly the best in the year and the way even some of the reviewers barter their opinions for complimentaries all these reveal that without a proper awareness of the film æsthetic among the film-fans the cinema

can degenerate a lot The commercialization of the films thrives on our ignorance of the film values

THE FILM VALUE

What is this exactly? Is it merely to quote a critic the saccharine beauty the elaborate stylish chic and polish the store bought ease and urbanity the cheap exultations the same half truths sentimentalities and puerilities? It is not that exactly and the form of the film art is invariably linked up with the content The good film director is a creator using a very complicated medium and his business is to transmute the contents of a theme in such a way that it gains a new symbolism where suggestion is as important as revelation The film medium does here excel over many other arts because it can combine the visual and auditory faculties of man so admirably that what could not be made vivid by one of the many means is made so by the juxtaposition of the many Methods are taken from the stage from verbal story telling and developed in a straight narrative manner The peculiar and crystallising vividness of pictorial imagery is sacrificed when pictures are used as mere illustrations to the talk

But then a good film is not merely all this It uses a tremendous range of visual images with a freedom where the visual image is the uppermost and can easily be stretched to the two extremes of realism and fantasy This involves the subtle use of our many planes of consciousness And then the associative value of the printed word is more intensified so as to create both good and bad impressions according to the necessity of the occasion Indeed the change from one to the other is fairly easy and the effectivity depends on a greater flexibility of action place and plot The theatre with its physical limitations hardly allows such a scope while our visual range which is both contractible and expandible at will can be used to all purposes The movies are as somebody pertinently observed almost overwhelming in their ubiquity and so in the sense of values attached to them

Consider for instance what a cameraman can do He can invest a trifle with greatness and can at once hide a thing of great magnitude from you the whole region of natural shape both animate and inanimate can be vice versa animated or deadened A Tarzan can do anything and a Charles Chaplin as Gardiner said can become an institution by himself He can raise the microscopic momentarily to fill the whole of the conscious mind to become the sole existing reality or he can capture with historical exactitude a mighty natural calamity or a callous human waste

The fact is that as Pudovkin said to show something as everyone sees it is to have accomplished nothing And to attain this effect what a conglomeration of devices are used? The movie artist says a man belonging to the trade has at his command a multitude of camera effects effects of lighting processing and trick work mechanised and optical resources which may be used to transform and qualify the character of any object or experience But for a successful film there must be behind all this what Margaret Kennedy has called the stamp of one predominating creative mind The single signature she continues in screen art is at present the signature of the directors' whose business is to capture the continuous flux of a whole existence in such an ordered and assembled relationship that the stark reality assumes the reality of the films better said its peculiar expressability The pictographic must always be subsumed under an ideographic structure where as Vachal Lindsay emphasised even an inanimate object can have a personality

LANGUAGE AND MONTAGE

This personality gives to the object or person a peculiar film language that is in many ways different from the language of the common speech In the movies speech is the combination of the auditory and visual effects and time is ambient fluid—not a line going straight from yesterday to to morrow Like a dream which fades in and fades out imperceptibly the images in films surge and flow tumbling forth upon one another advancing

Industrial Management and Labour

BY URMILA SRIVASTAVA

— z —

TO establish justice insure domestic tranquility promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity have been acclaimed as the fundamentals upon which modern industrial democracy should be built Although the groundwork of the modern industrial management had been laid several years ago by Frederick W Taylor the father of scientific management and his contemporaries the mental revolution is only a recent development in the field of industry Production and distribution are an integral part of modern life and the belief is widely held that efficient performance of the activities involved will bring about better standard of living more leisure better use of leisure and opportunity for the fuller development of the individuals who make up our modern society Labour is now accorded an increasingly important position in the management of industry in most of the industrially advanced countries This aspect of industrial democracy is briefly reviewed in the present article

With gradual consolidation and organisation of the labour movement the working class began to feel that it had something to contribute to matters that related to efficient production and that it had among its members a pool of mental power and ideas that was not being utilized This gave rise to the vital question of participation in the establishment of standards of output and in the means provided for bridging periods of transition that accompany technological changes in industry From an organisational point of view the solution offered was the general acceptance of collective representation at the plant the industrial and the national level This gave a new complexion to the labour—capital relations and there ensued a new era of joint consultation in industry Recent labour legislations bearing on the subject and developments in the organisation of works and production committees in foreign countries and India reveal the understanding and appreciation of labour's significant role in industrial management

WORKS COMMITTEES IN DENMARK

In Denmark the agreement regarding the establishment of joint committees to promote co operation between management and employees which came into force in September 1947 lays down the following functions of the Committee

(*a*) SOCIAL In order to establish the best possible conditions of work the committee deals with questions of welfare safety health stability of employment and similar matters In case of reduction or re organisation of the activities of the undertaking it is required to see that the workers concerned suffer as little as possible from these changes Thirdly the committee must attempt by appropriate negotiations to remove any source of disagreement which may occur inside the undertaking but it is not competent to deal with questions relating to the conclusion prolongation denunciation or interpretation of collective agreements on wages or other terms of employment

(*b*) TECHNICAL The Committee may deal with any question regarding the effective and appropriate organisation of work (such as the best means of utilizing machinery equipment and raw material job distribution etc) with the object of improving production and so reducing cost It must also promote technical training in the establishment

(*c*) ECONOMIC In order to interest salaried and manual workers in the business of the undertaking the employer is required to give the Committee all information on economic conditions and the undertakings position in the trade or industry to which it belongs

PRODUCTION COMMITTEES IN FINLAND

Production Committees consisting of representatives of management workers

and salaried employees have now been functioning in co-operative productive enterprises in Finland for a year These committees are bodies for information and consultation, matters such as wage bargaining do not come within their competence. The duties of the Committees are

(1) to consider information and questions concerning the economic position and output of the plant,

(2) to discuss methods of raising output and productive efficiency of improving working processes, and maintaining discipline,

(3) to supervise the effective use of raw materials and fuel and the sale of products,

(4) to draw up plans to facilitate the supply of equipment and necessities for the workers and employees and to promote occupational and technical training and spare time activities,

(5) to examine factors concerning improvements in works-safety and industrial hygiene, and to supervise the application of safety regulations, and

(6) to act as an initial intermediary in disputes between the management and personnel and generally to work for the maintenance of industrial peace

LABOUR MANAGEMENT IN U S A

On 22nd August 1947, the United States Conciliation Service after operation for 34 years within the Department of Labour became under the provisions of the Labour-Management Relations Act, 1947 an independent agency under the name of Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service A permanent National Labour Management Panel has been created to advise the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service upon request, in the avoidance of Industrial controversies and the manner in which mediation and voluntary adjustment shall be administered, particularly with reference to controversies affecting the general welfare of the country.'

PRODUCTION COMMITTEES IN ENGLAND

Industrial democracy, in the sense that the worker has a say in the running of industry, has yet to be won in England. Mr Herbert Morrison observed the other day that the joint production Committee machinery, set up during the war, is creaking badly—in spite of the efforts of the Ministry of Labour and the T. U. C to resuscitate these bodies The Labour Party in the U K recently put forward a number of practical proposals for making joint production Committees effective

MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIAN INDUSTRY

Production conferences in factories, plant and other large enterprises and economic units are the best way of drawing the working masses into the task of the practical construction of Soviet economy of fostering in them a realisation of the close tie between the interests of the toilers and the degree of economic success of the socialist state, and of selecting and educating new contingents of economic officials and administrators of working class origin It is useful to strive to glimpse the 'spirit' of Soviet 'economic man, to sense the psychological 'climate surrounding and underlying economic activity in the U S S R It is not easy to separate the psychology of managerial personnel from that of others in industry It may be assumed, however, that the frame of mind prevailing in the more active or better aid strata of working masses is not much different from that of managers. It may be that in Soviet Russia prestige and honour are more important and effective rewards and incentives than increases in income to the workers who are imbued with a great passion for success No wonder that 'hundreds and thousands of workers educated by the Party (Congress) became talented foremen, engineers, and managers'. Indeed the leaders of Soviet economy skillfully create the psychological atmosphere of 'socialist competition' to achieve higher productivity, fastest fulfilment of Plan, lowest cost of production, most complete mastery of new equipment.

LABOUR MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

In India not until the last Industries Conference held in December 1947, was it considered that active steps should be taken to associate labour in all matters concerning industrial production The machinery which the Government propose to set up should function at different levels, central regional and unit At the centre, there should be a Central Advisory Council which would cover the entire field of industry and would have under it Committees for each major industry These Committees should be split up into sub-committees dealing with specific questions relating to the industry e g production industrial relations wage fixation and distribution of profits The regional machinery under the Provincial Governments should be Provincial Advisory Boards which like the Central Advisory Council should cover the entire field within the province, they would have under them Provincial Committees for each major industry The Provincial Committees might also be split up into various sub-committees dealing with specific questions relating to production wage fixation and industrial relations Below the Provincial Committees should come Works Committees and Production Committees attached to each major industrial establishment

Thus, the labour-capital organisation contemplated by the 'Industries Conference aims at a more extended scope of joint consultation in industry than in some of the foreign countries even Already the Industrial Relations Machinery, both at the Centre and in the Provinces is being strengthened, and permanent Industrial Tribunals are being established for dealing with major industrial disputes The Government of India in the Ministry of Labour have issued an order dated the 7th May 1948 directing every employer of an industrial establishment in which 100 or more workmen are employed or have been employed on any day within the 12 months preceding the date of the publication of the order to constitute a Works Committee The U P Govt has issued a similar order It is hoped that other provinces would follow suit without delay so that a full-fledged capital-labour organisation emerges soon hereafter, with more readiness on the part of industry to deliver the goods and more realisation on the part of labour that it is real wages that matter and not the will o the-wisp of bulky pay-packets, in order to augment production in each sector of Indian economy which alone could solve the present economic ills in the country The recent recommendations of the Profit-sharing Committee augur well for the participation of labour in management in as-much as the system of remuneration to capital as well as labour is so devised that both will share the product of their common effort after making provision for payment of fair wages to labour, a fair return on capital employed in the industry and reasonable reserves for the maintenance and expansion of the undertaking But more than any labour-capital organisation the employers employees and their representatives must bring to their relationship the good faith, tolerance and willingness to co operate without which no scheme can be truly operative Indeed a tremendous burden of responsibility for peaceful labour relations for full production and a stable economy lies squarely on the shoulders of the men and women of the industry and labour And so while India is marching towards economic socialism labour's increasing association in industrial management may well be a torch bearer throughout her journey along the road that is smooth enough not to throw the industrial vehicle out of gear

INDIGNANT PATIENT

The doctor diagnosed Anglo Indian colonel's illness as hydropsy What was that? Too much water in the body, the doctor explained The whisky drinking Briton was indignant 'But I've never drunk a drop of water in all my life, doctor!" He paused Then sadly, he concluded 'Must have been the ice"

THAT SUMMER AFTERNOON

BY B N

o

APRIL 1912—It all comes to mind with the vividness of a family album I had finished my university career -an euphemism for quitting college without a degree—and was out looking for a job I had made up my mind as to what that job should be I was to be a journalist—my cynical friends said I was fit for no other But that was not all I must choose a paper to my liking—one that would be compatible with my tastes my aptitude and my politics We were stout-hearted patriots those days determined to save the country ! I thought I could do my bit for my poor country by writing and the lure of the Press became as insistent as the summons to service Money was no consideration I just wanted a foothold and promised myself a grand future as any young and ardent mind would do O to be young with those dizzy raptures !



G A N IN 1912

V. K, if he happens to light on these pages, will recall with mingled feelings of nostalgia and abashment how arm in arm we tramped the dusty road from Gadilam to Pennar in Cuddalore and back to the moonlit maidan to muse over the fortunes of fallen India and the way to redeem her from subjection We were parlour-patriots, shrinking from blood and toil and altogether ill-equipped for the rough and tumble of active life We sat there under the starlit sky—our heads muffled in cotton wool against the falling dew—and dreamed and debated till the small hours of the morning by the side of that old cannon—a relic of Clive's day—the only piece of artillery we knew We had never handled small arms in our lives and had hardly any notion of a revolver as distinguished from a rifle Yet we swore to free the country from alien rule by brave adventures into the realms of the imagination Strangely enough we were too timid or thoughtful to align ourselves with the extremists and too scornful of rose water liberalism We were so snobbish that V O C's 'vernacular eloquence' failed to move us while the thunder claps of Surendranath with the eternal refrain of India's loyalty to the British King only evoked our silent but derisive smile Yet the prospects of freedom thrilled us as nothing else could do

Does he remember that fine morning when C came down from Madras and walked straight into our room ? C in his teens had left school on the eve of his examination thought of the poor people of this sleepy hollow with compassion, and tried to do his bit to rouse them to a sense of their duty to the country ! "Why don't you finish your Matric and then take to national work ? That would be good both for you and the country," I said "My education could wait,' he said "I shall lift the country a little and then resume my Matric' That was the spirit of the day, wise or otherwise.

I think it was Johnson who said that nobody ate or slept any the less because of his country's misfortunes That must have been said in a spirit of contradiction when he was bent on scoring a point over his adversary For in truth anything that went wrong with the country afflicted us poor souls with the poignancy of a personal misfortune And when at last independence on which we mused by day and dreamed by night was actually realised we felt a thrill of exaltation such as comes to one who has himself fought and won a glorious victory

At this distance of time it all looks strange and perhaps we may be wiser to day—but are we any whit the happier for our vaunted wisdom? Can even the wisdom of later years compensate for the loss of our early enthusiasms?

I have lost the dream of Doing
And the other dream of Done

But that is by the way Neither by temperament nor by the incidence of fortune had we an opportunity of service through deeds The knight errantry of our vision could only express itself in words *And I turned to writing instead of* doing—thinking happily that they also serve who only sit and write

The *Indian Review* had always attracted me—just because it was the only journal of its kind in India I had known I liked its varied fare and its impressive list of contributors I liked too the academic touch in articles that owed their interest mainly to their topicality Above all there was an aroma of culture and patriotism which exactly suited my temperament and tastes And I had no hesitation in choosing it notwithstanding that it had not very much to offer by way of material attractions To be fair to my employer this was made plain to me

On a warm summer afternoon I was taken to Mr Natesan by a friend of my father who commanded a good insurance business in Madras As an insurance man he was expected to know all and sundry and he promptly undertook to introduce me to Mr Natesan At the office of the *Indian Review* I met G A N and somehow on the strength of a short article I had written for the *Review* and the pert and nonchalant manner of my talk I had no difficulty in persuading him to accept me He gave me some journals for precis work and asked me to meet him the next day When I saw him next the first thing he said was that I need not have taken the trouble to get a third person to introduce me—for I evidently felt that the insurance gentleman true to his tribe had tackled him with a personal proposal of his own—much to the chagrin of one whose resources had other uses than to meet insurance premia

Strangely enough Mr Natesan insisted on certain formalities which included a schedule of pay which was meagre enough in all conscience and a long catalogue of duties besides a rigorous demand on my time Thrilled by the sight of new books and magazines with the fragrance of fresh pages and the opportunity for self improvement I didn't mind the rigours of his discipline but when he asked me to give in writing my acceptance of his conditions I thought it was the limit In fact in accepting his offer I wrote frankly that I had never yet been a servant before and though the conditions were one sided with all the duties on one side

and with no corresponding obligations on the other, I hoped that time and personal contact would prove how unnecessary were all the vexatious formalities Mr. G. A. N's brother, who was seated near, thought that with my attitude and his brother's temperament we could not pull together long

The good man's prophecy proved wrong while Natesan intuitively felt I was the right man for him inspite of a certain definite turn for truculence in me

That truculence, I must say, was the result of repeated failures in my attempt to find an appropriate occupation. A good Catholic priest of my village, a family friend, had given me a note of introduction to L D S a well-known Christian gentleman in high government employ His rough and formidable exterior concealed a colossal intellect That gentleman was to introduce me to the *Madras Mail* (now *The Mail*)—an Anglo-Indian paper I courteously declined the offer as I knew it couldn't agree with my constitution Then there was a certain D holding some position in *The Hindu* My father who had lost his all in a hopeless venture in the village from which D hailed had spoken to him of my desire to join *The Hindu* Strangely enough, that gentleman threw a brick when, after an unconscionable delay, he offered a post in the Accounts Department of the paper and I sharply replied if I would manage a little mathematics I could have been a full blown Graduate With these two disappointments I grew somewhat callous and I confronted Mr Natesan with a take—it—or—leave—it air. That was precisely what piqued the elder brother but it was just what made up Natesan's mind in my favour How curiously different are the reactions of different men to the same cause!

And so what was intended to be an interlude turned out to be my life occupation So much of our life is dependent on the contingent and so little of it goes according to plan that the best-laid schemes of mice and men gang-aft agley Is it after all so bad? It is the unexpected that becomes the normal And so we go through life in a series of surprises, and for all their painful reactions at the moment it is the unexpected that lends savour to life.

Eight and thirty years have passed by since that summer afternoon when I took charge as Mr Natesan's assistant Together we have plodded on through thick and thin without much hitch There was a similarity of taste and opinion though with a difference Of course there were differences of temperament and outlook It would be strange if two people with any pretensions to intelligence could agree on all things all day long. But such differences were by no means vital and made not the slightest interruption in our long and, I think, not un-fruitful association

I remember many a day we sat together working at a memorandum or article or book, on holidays and out of office hours—with no thought of personal discontent or weariness It might be cynically said that such unwearied service would suit the need of the firm very well But then I have always enjoyed the work I did and was not much disturbed by thought of over work or poor pay. There will always be some kind of drudgery in any occupation, but with me, journalism was the right kind of drudgery,

The Minor Conduit : A Short Story

By Mr S K CHETTUR, ICS

I

I remember reading a story somewhere of a football match which was arranged between a team of elephants on the one hand, and of ants on the other In the course of the match,



one of the ants got the ball and made a good break a way and was heading for the opposite goal when the elephant full back put its foot down on the speeding ant and crushed it to death The referee blew his whistle and the crowd boo ed "Why did you do such a thing?" questioned the referee angrily, 'See, you've killed him!" The elephant full back hung his head in shame 'Gee, I'm sorry," he said "I was only trying to trip him up!"

This story is not strictly germane to the tale I have to tell, except that it points a moral about incongruities not being able to mix either in sport or in society without tragedy resulting And I sometimes think of life as a game played between the gods on the one side and us human beings on the other, and when we least expect it a god puts his foot down too heavily, possibly only with intent to trip us but with results fantastically disastrous, That is the only explanation I have for the incidents set forth below

Avarai is a village about fourteen miles from Conjeevaram It has all the features of a South Indian village, the usual collection of mud huts with thatched roofs, the somewhat larger houses with tiled roofs of one or two wealthy ryots with polished front verandha and stone steps, and the usual number of cattle tied here and there in front of the house, But Avarai is a cut above other villages a that it has a beautiful little temple and an extraordinarily dilapidated temple r, the massive pyramidical structure sting on four large wooden wheels within a triangular shaped corrug roofing of its own, This temple the pride of the village an ceremoniously dragged once a year occasion of the Ayudha puja This was a great day in the villag all the villagers turned for the oc dressed in their best and the car started at about 4 p m after the m meal was well over peregrinated th the main streets and returned to iron roofed palace at night time. A da festivity and rejoicing A day when yo and old entered into the spirit of occasion with joy and vigour and for the many ills and woes that beset mortal life

II

But Asst Engineers and Overseers a never enthusiastic about festivals On may wonder what exactly they have t do with it but a wise Government has stipulated that no temple car shall be dragged without a certificate from an Asst Engineer that the axle trees are in good order and that the vehicle is in a fit condition to be dragged As Avarai is a good fourteen miles from Conjeevaram, the Asst Eng neer usually delegated the inspection to the Overseer The Overseer that year had a large number of major irrigation tank breaches to attend to, none of them was close to Avarai, and it looked silly to go all that way just to look at the massive wheels of temple car so when his periodical register showed that a report was due on the Avarai car, he merely looked up his predecessor's previous year's inspection notes and recorded a satisfactory as in last year," and pushed up this completely mendacious annual document to the Asst Engineer. The latter thereupon issued proceedings certifying that the temple car was fit to be dragged on the occasion of the annual festival, a certificate which was com municated to the local Sub Inspector and to the temple trustee

"Yes," said Ramanatha Iyer, the Sub Inspector, seated at his desk in station four miles

and it would seem to have served me fairly well for different reasons

And now he is gone what an aching void has opened in my life with his passing! Little did I dream when I came into the office of the *Indian Review* that it would become so much a part of my life that its Editor would be not merely my employer for his life but more than a parent to me But then what gives life its chief savour is, as I said, the delightful or poignant unexpectedness of so much that happens! I shall ever cherish the memory of that summer afternoon which promised so little and gave so much to me



G A NATESAN WITH HIS SONS
MANIAN NATESAN AND CHANDRAN NATESAN (1938)

"tomorrow is the big festival at Avaral and the Assistant Engineer's certificate has just arrived, in today's tappal I intend going over in person and supervising the dragging of the car I believe the deity there is all powerful and I am sure my promotion as Inspector will go forward all the more quickly with His divine Blessings'

'Yes Sir,' said the Head Constable 'the car festival cannot be a success without your honours immediate presence We shall take the usual bandobust of one H C (myself) and three constables leaving only Arumugam the Station writer to look after the police station

Very good we shall start at 2 p m tomorrow for the village

The Head Constable saluted and withdrew from the presence

III

And now the Gods who love to play ball in the game of life with us mortals had so ordained that Chengalvaraya Ostyar a big ryot should have a shallow depression in front of his tiled house About three days before the festival there was a sharp burst of rain and this shallow depression was filled with muddy rain water making an unsightly puddle right in front of Ostyar's house A man gifted with a faculty of neatness and orderliness Ostyar did not appreciate the existence of this puddle right under his nose and as the village was innocent of side drains into which this water might be led and as the lie of the land sloped across the road, he called a couple of coolies and dug a very shallow drain about nine inches wide and about three or four inches deep from the offending puddle right across the road to the other side where he hoped it would diffuse itself among the opposite houses And his engineering operations were crowned with success within an hour or two the water had flowed away through this new conduit across the road and the puddle was no longer there And all was well again from Chengalvaraya Ostyar's point of view tho his opposite neighbours might well have objected to the general dampness in front of their houses

This might seem a slight and trivial dent, hardly worth the recording were it not for the fact that Chengalvaraya Ostyar's house was on the main road, one of the most important routes of the temple car procession and also at a point where the road descending a natural slope almost up to Ostyar's house rose gently from that point upwards towards the end of the street These slopes were so gradual and gentle that nobody walking or even cycling would have noticed them very much, or been distressed or pleased by their existence but they played an important part in the dramatic events that took place during the festival

They only go to prove my theory of the complete inter connectedness of things for give the phrase but not a leaf falls in the forest without its repercussions elsewhere And not a single minor conduit can be dug in a village without something happening as a result of it especially since Assistant Engineers who are too busy to inspect themselves issue certificates on the basis of what reckless Overseers certify about temple cars being in fit condition that they have not inspected because too many irrigation tanks have breached And what is a temple car any way when compared with repairing a tank which has breached? One means food and the filling of hungry mouths and salvation from starvation and the other means merely religion and a hysterical populace and a lot of noise and confusion Or can it mean human lives too? I wonder

IV

And so the afternoon of the festival arrived The village was humming like a hive of bees and the scene at the starting point of the car procession was one of great excitement and religious fervour Stout ropes had been unearthed from their hiding places and attached to the front staples of the car the priests had arrived in procession from the temple bearing with them ornaments and flowers and sandal paste and a silver plate to receive *dakshina* the deity was duly mounted on the car and after a tremendous flare of nagaswaram and beating of drum a large number of enthusiastic young men of the village lifted the ropes to their shoulders and pulled And other young men applied the customary staves of wood underneath

the wheels and levered it out of its twelve months solidity, and lo! the temple car was again under weigh and rumbling slowly along on the first stage of its circumambulation of the village

Prominent among the ryots was Chengalvaraya Osiyar dressed in his gayest clothes with his body devotionally bare from the waist upwards He was one of the temple trustees and took a leading part in directing the operations As for Ramanatha Aiyar, the Sub Inspector, he was in his smartest uniform and the red and gold tissue in his turban gleamed in the afternoon sun as he strode along close to the pyramidical vehicle of the god and directed the pulling and with the aid of two constables prevented the village urchins from coming too close to the massive wheels It was a touching sight this all the majesty of the law in full co operation with the religious fervour of the villagers striding along performing duty conscientiously and hoping perhaps in its hearts that the deity whose car it was helping to see dragged, would keep a kindly eye on that promotion to Inspector which was now a trifle over due

"The God moves well to day," said Chengalvaraya Osiyar to the Sub Inspector commenting on the fact that the car had started off with less than the usual tubbornness

'Yes" said Ramanatha Iyer "the god seems keen on seeing the village once again

'That rain we had three days ago was very helpful,' said Osiyar 'it was just what our crops need' It was just the kind of friendly back chat intended to impress the other villagers

Ramanatha Iyer nodded agreement and turned to administer a friendly rap to a village boy who had come up too close to the chariot

"And what a clear bright day it is to day!' he replied And in fact it was a lovely September day, the sun was shining brightly in the sky, there was gentle breeze in play and the atmosphere had that fine rain washed clarity which is so refreshing to the eye and soothing to the mind Altogether a heavenly day, To the simple mind of the villagers, God was seated on his chariot and all was well with the world

After two hours the car had traversed three streets and come to the street in which Chengalvaraya Osiyar's house was. About ten yards down the street they came to a stop in order that the priests might perform a special puja and distribute the sacred *prasadam* to the crowding devotees, and then the young men lifted up the ropes and pulled with a will and found that their task was easier because of the gentle slope And they went at it with vigour and the car moved forward a bit more energetically than usual Just in front, preceding it was the nageswaram player and the drummer and the three priests and close to it were the Sub Inspector and Osiyar and the two other temple trustees and immediately behind were a vast concourse of villagers And so triumphantly the car careered down the street towards Osiyar's house

Nobody knew at first what had happened, as very few had any knowledge about Chengalvaraya's minor conduit All that they saw was the car with the gathered momentum of the slope suddenly rock to a stand still with its front wheels caught in the ground The massive super structure with the momentum of the pull and the slope was however unable to stop so easily With a sharp tearing, rending sound, it broke away from the wooden base and from the heavy large wheels and came toppling down with a stupendous crash, many of the wooden timbers and supports smashing to bits in the process

Shrieks and cries and groans arose from all sides Apart from the tragedy of the deity being thus precipitated in the dust, (and the priests who had escaped rushed forward and picked up the idol with its costly vestments and jewels) there was the tragedy of the human beings who were crushed and pinned to death beneath the fallen edifice of the car The young man in front nearest the chariot had been killed on the spot, another had jumped away just in time to avoid sudden death Chengalvaraya Osiyar who had been walking close on the right side was struck on the

head and back by falling pieces of timber from the super structure So was Ramanatha Iyer and both lay on the ground bleeding profusely The lovely lace turban of the Sub Inspector had rolled away and was trampled in the dust in the stampede which had followed the collapse of the car

Tragedy stark and naked with all the grisly trappings of death had descended on the village at one fell blow

V

The Collector and District Magistrate of Chingleput as luck would have it was camping at Conjeevaram After a full day s work he had taken an early dinner and after reading a book of crime and mystery till about ten o clock had retired to his camp cot in the main room of the P W D bungalow He had just settled himself cosily within the mosquito curtains and closed his eyes with a mental invocation

Come sleep O sleep the certain knot of peace the baiting place of wit the balm of woe when he heard an oft repeated cry of Collector durai coming up the drive Then he heard a colloquy between the peons and the intruder and a minute later the butler knocked

Urgent report from Avarai village

The Collector got up and strode to the door and took the note It was a brief scrawl in Tamil from the Village Munsiff to the effect that a terrible tragedy had overtaken the village as the temple car had collapsed on the worshippers killing three people outright and injuring several The note begged for help

The Collector was a man of action Hastily putting on a jacket and trousers and slipping on strap sandals he shouted for his car This was a matter of five minutes Then taking a reliable peon he dashed to the Headquarters Hospital and shouted out for the House Surgeon on night duty and told him to collect as much of bandages iodine and splints as he could and be ready in fifteen minutes and he would depute the Circle Inspector to pick him up in a car Then having informed the Town Police Station what had happened and given clear instructions for the Circle Inspector of Police to follow him in a bus (to be commandeered) picking up doctor the Collector set out in his car for the village with a local taluk office peon as guide

It was a dark night with a very slender sickle of a new moon in the sky The cold night air beat into the car as the Collector sat in the front seat watching the road unwind under the brilliant head lights After ten minutes or so they reached the sandy wastes of the Palar river which had to be crossed There was no bridge or cause way But it was a bus route and palmyrs—fronds had been laid in the cart tracks to give a grip to the tyres Along this improvised track the Collector s car shot forward on second gear straining at the leash like a hound at one or two places it was touch and go and it looked as if the sand would win a victory but the driver was an old hand at this game and the car won through all right

And thus three quarters of an hour later the Collector drew up in the main street of the village opposite the village *chavadi* to find the villagers seated here and there in stunned silence On almost each pial of the houses was laid out an injured man and the rest of the villagers were there looking absolutely crushed by the magnitude of the tragedy From two or three houses came the low systematic wailing which mourned the passing of a loved one To add to the midnight eeriness of the scene there were only one or two hurricane lanterns to light the gloom

The village munsif was soon summoned and a petromax light was brought With its aid the Collector walked across to Chengalvaraya Osiyar s house and inspected the scene of the accident It was a terrible sight which met his eyes Right below the overturned superstructure caught well within its frame work was the crouching figure of a man the face contorted with a grimace of terrific agony He was quite dead and had been dead (mercifully) for hours This was one of the young men whose duty it was to push forward the wheel by using a stave and being very near to the car he had fallen an immediate victim There was one other man caught midway in the structure and he looked almost life like as he balanced spread eagled on two beams it was impossible to remove him as his head was pinned under a projecting shaft These grotesque figures

of death with the inevitable stench of rotting blood and putrefaction, lit up in the white glare of the petromax with the shadows of the weird overturned superstructure stretching away in a gigantic pattern into the surrounding blackness conveyed an effect of sinister macabre terror to the Collector It was clear to him that nothing could be done here without a crane or some other dismantling engineering apparatus A little distance away and still caught up in the conduit dug by Osiyar were the two enormous front wheels of the giant car, and the presence of the unauthorised drain told its story all too clearly to the Collector

"Who dug this drain?" he asked

A couple of disconsolate voices told him

'Where is he? "demanded the irate Collector,

"He is lying unconscious in the house ' was the answer 'He is said to be dangerous " The meaning implied was that Osiyar was in a dangerous condition, and not that he was stricken with rabies

The Collector proceeded to the adjacent pial where the Sub Inspector was laid His tunic had been removed and a rough bandage put over a wound in his arm which had been bleeding profusely He was breathing stertorously and seemed to be in great pain and to suffer from internal injuries in the chest The Collector spoke to him praising him for his devotion to duty, but he was quite unconscious Manna from heaven was dropping, but the recipient was not aware of it

Thus in turn he visited each house where there was a casualty and spoke words of good cheer to them and said medical help was following on in a bus But nothing seemed to affect the stolid immobility, the frozen calm with which his words were greeted

About half an hour later, the bus arrived with Circle Inspector and doctor and medical aid and after first aid had been rendered the doctor put twenty two injured persons in the bus including the Sub Inspector and Osiyar At about three thirty a m the bus departed for Conjeevaram with its unfortunate load of victims The Collector too departed after making a detailed enquiry into the cause of the accident and seizing from the Head constable the certificate of fitness of the temple car granted by the Asst Engineer.

VI

And so my conclusion is that the Gods who had condescended to play football with the inhabitants of Avarai had attempted to trip up some of the mortals in the heat of the game and with catastrophic results I should indeed have liked to record that the Sub Inspector gradually recovered from his wounds and lived to see happier days But such was not the case At 4 30 a m as the bus was entering the gates of the hospital, the Sub Inspector expired with final stertorous groan.

As for Chengalvaraya Osiyar, builder of minor conduit and cause of all the trouble, he languished in hospital for fourteen days with a concussion of the brain Finally cerebral meningitis set in and he too died, absolutely unconscious, not knowing what it was that had killed him In his case, it was verily heavy retribution for his fault.

As for the other twenty injured, they were not so badly hurt and all of them gradually recovered and returned to Avarai village If you question them, they will give you all the facts

A shallow trench ten feet long had to be dug to extricate the young man caught under the super structure As no special dismantling apparatus was available, the various parts of the super structure were sawn away to extricate the other spread-eagled man and both were given a decent cremation,

Such is the tale of Avarai village and the temple car which ran into the hidden conduit I do not know rightly what the moral in it is except perhaps the obvious one that momentum is a force which like gravity is irresistible, and the less recondite one that when the gods make up their minds to play football with us unfortunate mortals, one may be sure the odds are all on the side of the gods, and that they do not hesitate to trip a mortal or two up when they feel like it, especially if they see the mortal is about to score a goal, even if the goal be only the humble office of a Circle Inspector

OUR CONSTITUTION

[On Saturday the 26th November, 1949 Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, put to the vote a motion by Dr. B R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee that 'the Constitution as settled by the Assembly, be passed" The passage of the Constitution which will "govern 32,00,00 000 people was received by the House with acclamation. At 11-12, the President authenticated the historic document so that parts of it might be brought into operation immediately. Among these Articles are those relating to citizenship, provisional Parliament, and temporary and transitional provisions Dr Rajendra Prasad, addressing to the House, said "It is up to us to preserve and protect the independence that we have won and to make it really bear fruit for the man in the street" This marks the completion of three years of labour in connection with the framing of our constitution The result has been such as to merit the general approval of all sections of the House During the third reading Mr Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, member of Drafting Committee rightly claimed that the Constitution truly reflected the spirit of the objectives resolution and the preamble In a carefully worded speech he expressed the general feeling in the country that the Indian constitution was in some ways in advance of some of the Federal Constitutions, including that of the United States. The Indian constitution he said contained within itself the necessary elements of growth flexibility and expansion and while it was not committed to any particular form of economic reorganisation of society, the people would be free to choose and mould their economic life in any manner they choose —ED. *I. R*]

I. DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

President, Constituent Assembly

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, congratulating the Assembly on the accompishlishment of "a task of tremendous magnitude", expressed his faith in the village people who would constitute the bulk of the India's vast new electorate "In my opinion", he said, 'they possess intelligence and commonsense, and have a culture which sophisticated people may not appreciate, but which is solid,"



We have prepared a democratic constitution. But successful working of democratic institutions requires in those who have to work them, willingness to respect the viewpoints of others, capacity for compromise and accommodation Many things which cannot be written in a constitution are done by conventions. Let me hope that we shall show those capacities and develop those conventions. The way in which we have been able to draw this constitution in the lobbies, strengthens that hope.

Whatever the constitution may or may not provide, the welfare of the country will depend upon the way in which the country is administered. That will depend upon the men who administer it. It is a trite saying that a country can have only the constitution it deserves Our constitution has provisions in it which appear to some to be objectionable from one point or another. We must admit that the defects are inherent in the situation in the country and the people at large. If the people who are elected are capable and men of character and integrity, they would be able to make the best even out of a defective constitution. If they are lacking in these, the constitution cannot help the country.

After all, a constitution, like a machine, is a lifeless thing. It acquires life because of the men who control it and operate it, and India needs today nothing more than a set of honest men who will have the interest of the country before them.

There is a fissiparous tendency arising out of various elements in our life. We have communal differences, caste differences, language differences, provincial differences, and so forth. It requires men of strong character, men of vision, men who will not sacrifice the interests of the country at large for the sake of smaller groups and areas in it and who will rise over the prejudices which are born of these differences.

We can only hope that the country will throw up such men in abundance. I can say this from the experience of the struggle that we have had during the period of the freedom movement that new occasions throw up new men; not once, but almost on every occasion when all leading men in the Congress were clapped into prison suddenly without having the time to leave instructions to others and even to make plans for carrying on

their campaigns people arose from among the masses who were able to continue and conduct the campaign with intelligence with initiative with capacity for organisation which nobody suspected they possessed

I have no doubt that when the country needs men of character they will be coming up and the masses will throw them up Let not those who served in the past therefore rest on their oars saying that they have done their part and now has come the time for them to enjoy the fruits of their labours No such time comes to anyone who is really earnest about his work

In India today I feel that the work that confronts us is even more difficult than the work which we had when we were engaged in the struggle We did not have then any conflicting claims to reconcile no loaves and fishes to distribute no power to share We have all these now and the temptations are really great Would to God that we shall have the wisdom and the strength to rise above them and serve the country which we have succeeded in liberating Mahatma Gandhi laid stress on the purity of the methods which had to be pursued for attaining our ends Let us not forget that his teaching has eternal value and was not intended only for the period of stress and struggle but has as much authority and value today as it ever had before

We have a tendency to blame others for everything that goes wrong and not to introspect and try to see if we have any share in it or not It is very easier to scan one's own actions and motives if one is only inclined to do so than to appraise correctly the actions and motives of others I shall only hope that all those whose good fortune it may be to work this constitution in future will remember that it was a unique victory which we achieved by the unique method taught to us by the Father of the Nation and it is up to us to preserve and protect the independence that we have won and to make it really bear fruit for the man in the street Let us launch on this new enterprise of running our independent Republic with confidence with truth and non violence and above all with heart within and God above

II DR B R AMBEDKAR

Chairman Drafting Committee

Replying to the eight day debate on the third reading of India's draft Constitution Dr B R Ambedkar Chairman of the Drafting Committee refuted the charge of dilatoriness and said that criticism of too much centralisation was exaggerated

Urging people to defend their constitution to the last drop of their blood he warned against democracy in India giving place to dictatorship India should hold fast to constitutional methods if she were to maintain democracy in form and fact and to achieve social and economic objectives

On January 26 1950 India will be an independent country What would happen to her independence? The first thing in my judgement we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives

It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience non cooperation and satyagraha When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods But where constitutional methods are open there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and the sooner they were abandoned the better for us

WARNING AGAINST BHAKTI CULT IN POLITICS

The second thing we must do is to observe the caution which John Stuart Mill has given to all who are interested in the maintenance of democracy namely, not to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institution There is nothing wrong in being grateful to great men who have rendered lifelong services to the country But there are limits to gratefulness As has been well said by the Irish patriot Daniel O Connell no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity, and

no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty

This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country For in India, *Bhakti* or what may be called the path of devotion or hero worship plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other part of the world

Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul but in politics Bhakti or hero worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The third thing we must do is not to be content with mere political democracy We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well There is complete absence of two things in Indian society One of these is equality On the social plane we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which means elevation for some and degradation for others On the economic plane we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty

On January 26 1950 we are going to enter into a life of contradictions In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality

We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up

How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? These castes are anti national in the first place because they bring about separation in social life They are anti national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation Without fraternity and equality liberty will be no deeper than a coat of paint

EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY

There can be no gainsaying that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and that many are not only beasts of burden but also beasts of prey This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life These downtrodden classes are tired of being governed They are impatient to take part in the Government of the country

This urge for self realisation in the down trodden classes must not be allowed to develop into a class struggle or a class war That would indeed be a day of disaster

Therefore the sooner room is made for the realisation of their aspiration the better for the few the better for the country the better for the maintenance for its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life

III MR R R DIWAKAR

Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting

The members of the Constituent Assembly as representatives of the people solemnly resolved three years ago to frame a constitution They have laboured at it for the last three years observed Mr Diwakar and thus have shaped and formed the structure of Government which the whole of India needed

The most important thing about this constitution is that we have given it to ourselves as free people in a free country Those who think of the Commonwealth as an influencing agent must take note that when it came to that it was the Commonwealth that had to change its structure and not our constitution

The next important thing about our Constitution is that it is a democratic republic based on adult franchise It is no doubt a bold experiment But was there any other way out of it? If we want a democracy to be strong it must be broad based In addition to being a

THE CENTRAL CABINET



SARDAR PATEL



PANDIT NEHRU



DR B R AMBEDKAR



S N SINHA



DR JOHN MATTHAI



N V GADGIL



DR. S. P MUKERJI



SIR N G IYENGAR



SARDAR BALDEV SINGH

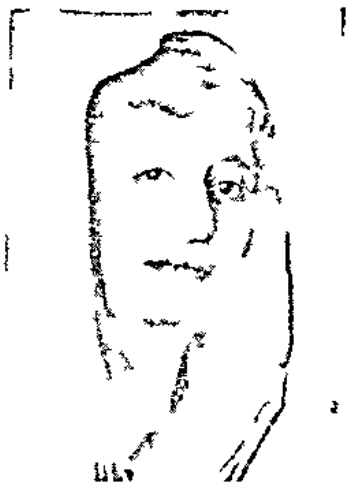
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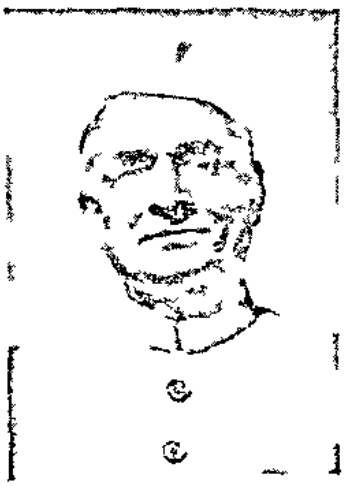
MOHANLAL SAXENA



JAGJIVAN RAM



AMRIT KAUR



R R DIWAKAR



K C NEOGI



R A KIDWAI



MAULANA AZAD



K SANTANAM



J DOULATRAM

political democracy, it must also aim at social and economic democracy. This our Constitution seeks to do through its Fundamental Rights and its directives Free expression and development of public opinion and decision by discussion may be said to be the basis of all democracies No country, where opinion is not free can be called democratic whatever the outward form of its Constitution

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

According to the Constitution, every citizen of the Union as a citizen is equal to the other He cannot claim to be more on account of either birth, wealth or religion All such privileges have been abolished once for all Equal opportunities are sought to be thrown open to every citizen irrespective of caste, creed or sex Justice economic and social, is aimed at Thus, the basic principles for a democracy in which 'everything ought to be for all, nothing only for a few', are laid down

It is sometimes said that the Constituent Assembly lingered too long on constitution making But if we take a calm and dispassionate view of things, I do not think we have spent time for nothing Let us imagine that we had finished our labours two years ago What kind of constitution would have been our lot? We would have been faced with reservations on a communal basis for a number of communities Another very reactionary thing would have been the continuance of a number of States with different administrations and different structures of government Is it too much to have waited for two years to abolish all reservations on communal lines except only in one case, and to bring about administrative uniformity throughout the land? It is from this point of view that we have to look upon the time that we have spent over this matter and not merely think in terms of how many rupees we have spent on each minute that the Constituent Assembly sat What we would have gained in time and money if we had hurried, we would have lost in substance and achievement

UNITY MAINTAINED

It is possible to point out a number of defects here and there. One would have certainly liked it to be lighter than what it is and legalistic than what it proposes to be But a constitution is not to be judged by a few defects It has to be judged as a whole And what do we find? Within the course of the last three years, it has been possible to decide that there should be a single citizenship from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, a single language in a single script for the whole State throughout the land, and a single pattern of administration, namely, the parliamentary system of government, a system which has proved to be good enough for a steady and strong democracy. And all this has been achieved in India which is known for its variety of peoples, religions and languages It is now for us to work under this Constitution for security and justice inside the country and for protection from outside forces

SIR WM WEDDERBURN

19 Thurloe Square,
S W

Dear Mr. Watson,
Many thanks for your Honorarium - as the article was intended for the benefit of the Indian people, I have added it to Rs 1/- to our Propaganda Fund

Yours very
W. Wedderburn

24 April 05.

Threat of S. African Fascism to East Africa

BY MR M J SERONEY

[The writer of this article is an East African national studying in India under the goodwill scholarship scheme of the Government of India for foreigners —*Ed IR*]

NOW that it is evident that India's case against South Africa in the United Nations Organisation has failed to move that august body to take action against South Africa it is well to consider what South Africa means to the rest of Africa and especially to East Africa—the effect which a government based on the theory of white supremacy has upon other African territories with a considerably large European settlement as for example the two Rhodesias and East Africa The failure of U N O to take action against South Africa and the possibility that to consolidate her possessions in Africa Britain may grant self Government to East Africa and the Rhodesia may encourage the spread of South African fascism northwards especially when you notice the infectious character of the South African disease

Although the condition of the Africans and the Indians in East Africa is not as hopelessly desperate as that of their brethren in South Africa yet it behoves all who are interested in the cause of African freedom both in India and East Africa to be alive to the threat that an unpunished South Africa ruled by fanatics like Dr Malan and his Afrikan hordes means not only to the rest of Africa but to world peace

I regard it a fresh evidence of the statesmanship of Pandit Nehru that he realises that future struggles will lie mainly in Africa and that failure to settle the race problem satisfactorily will endanger world peace Unless all lovers of freedom are vigilant we in East and Central Africa may soon find ourself engulfed by the fascist tide from South Africa Nor is the fear altogether unfounded for there are already disquieting symptoms which seem to point that way

The situation in East Africa has not deteriorated to the same extent but it needs only a slight turn of the handle of fortune and the fifteen million East Africans are committed to the oppression of a white oligarchy

The present situation in East Africa compares favourably to that in South Africa There is just enough oppression in East Africa to spur us on to an active opposition and a political consciousness but not enough to give us a sense of frustration and helplessness

While in East Africa the condition of the African and the Indian has been showing signs of steady improvement the situation in South Africa on the other hand has been steadily deteriorating since South Africa became independent in 1910 Dr Malan with no vestige of prudence tact or Statesmanship seems in his madness determined to bring things to a climax in that sad country where things are committed which if they were revealed in their entirety will shock the conscience of the world

FEAR HAUNTS THE AFRICAN

The African in South Africa is absolutely helpless against white oppression Fear haunts him the whole twenty four hours of the day and it is not an exaggeration to say that his life is solitary poor nasty, brutish and short

The cruelty of the white police is proverbial and the African can never expect justice in South Africa There are instances of a white man murdering an African and being let off with a light fine An African dare not look at a white woman in the face for fear of being waylaid and perhaps killed by white hooligans

Listening to my friend from South Africa who related to me all these horrors I have often congratulated myself that I come from East Africa where although there is still much to be done things are not as bad as in South Africa

As long as there is race discrimination in East Africa we cannot expect complete justice but the grosser manifestations of injustice and the evident miscarriage of justice noticeable in South Africa is not found in East Africa and the fact that there is always a possibility of appeal to the Privy Council acts as safeguard

According to the South African Constitution an African or an Indian cannot sit in the Parliament But in East Africa you find Africans and Indians sitting in the Central Assembly and in the various East African legislatures

Although we have won a little ground in East Africa things are still far from satisfactory. There is still race discrimination and inequality of opportunity in all walks of life It would be a mistake to suppose that our progress in East Africa along constitutional lines is steady and assured We still have pitfalls to avoid and the most important of them is to be caught by South African fascism which will plunge us into oppression at the hands of the white settlers of East Africa

The ancestors of Mr Malan and General Smuts who came from Holland first settled at the Cape in 1652, and due to circumstances and developments, which I shall not now enter into, they developed their present psychology towards the coloured peoples

The British annexed the Cape Colony in 1795 and in 1834 they abolished slavery and declared the equality of all men The Boers as the Dutch settlers had come to be called, trekked north and founded the republics of Orange Free State and Transvaal whose constitutions recognised the relations between the white and black in Church and State as that of master and servant

As a result of the imperialist schemes of Cecil Rhodes the British came into clash with the Boers, in the South African War (1899 1902) which ended in the defeat of the Boers and the annexation of Transvaal and Orange Free State

BRITISH TREACHERY

One would have thought that now that the British had the power they would extend their more liberal policy towards the African in Cape Colony to Transvaal and Orange Free State Instead they betrayed the African by an act of treachery which will be long remembered in Africa when all other evils of British Imperialism will have been forgotten

The period between the Treaty of Vereeniging (1902) and the outbreak of the First World War proved to be a period of the armed camp diplomacy and an armament race in Europe Knowing that in the event of a war between Britain and Germany South Africa will be one of the fields of operation the British were anxious to win the loyalty of the Boers

Blatantly ignoring the needs of the Africans and the Indians Britain granted Dominion Status to South Africa From now on it meant that the Africans and the Indians could not appeal to London

Judged by its results the British policy was successful How successful is gauged by the fact that South Africa fought on the side of Britain in the two World wars

It has been this desire of Britain to please South Africa that has made Britain unwilling to offend her by using her influence even in the interests of Common wealth Relations It shows that the Britisher is selfish and unscrupulous and would sacrifice even his friends if by so doing he will gain something

It is this aspect of British policy that makes us feel unsafe in East Africa There is a noisy little group of white settlers in East Africa that has in the past shown how much undue influence they can bring to bear even on the so called Socialist Government of present day Britain

Bitter experience has taught us in East Africa that the Empire means more to an Englishman than his Socialist principles even though that person be Mr Creech Jones who now talks a language much more like that of Oliver Stanley than what he used when he was in the Opposition benches We therefore, have no more confidence in him, and we can never tell when he may betray us again

The White settlers have since 1926 been agitating for Dominion Status for East Africa which would have meant the oppression of 15 million Africans and one lac Indians by a few thousand (80 000) Europeans just as you find in South Africa the oppression of 10 million non Europeans by 2 million Europeans

Till now the African, and the Indian, have successfully resisted this demand but we do not know how long the Opposition will hold The White settlers have recently intensified their activities and issued what they called "The Kenya Plan' whose object is to achieve Dominion Status for East Africa under what they call their leadership which really means their domination They use exactly the

same language as General Smuts and we do not doubt that if they get chance they will do the deeds of Dr Malan

PRO WHITE PLAN

What makes us feel insecure is the fact that there is a Pan African movement encouraged by the white settlers whose aim is to perpetuate European domination in South East and Central Africa This is advocated ostensibly as an effective means of preventing communism from getting a strong foothold in Africa

It is just possible that to safeguard East Africa for the Commonwealth and to secure the loyalty of White Settlers of East Africa in the impending struggle with Russia the British may betray us into their hands as they did in South Africa to win the loyalty of General Smuts against Germany Such a betrayal will mean that even the few rights we have won will be taken away from us and our state will be like that of our suffering brothers in South Africa

To avert the threat I have described it is necessary that the Africans and the Indians in East Africa close their ranks and fight a common cause There are recent tendencies to show that the two communities are gradually coming to realise this

But talking about it is not sufficient The Europeans are closing their ranks and are coming out with concrete plans We need a similar demonstration of unity between Africans and Indians

Taking into account the economic situation in the country and the part Indians play in its commerce and the gradual awakening of the African into commercial consciousness conflict of interests is inevitable What is needed to the coming together of the leaders of the African and the Indians to find out how to so resolve and adjust their differences as not to play into the hands of those who would 'divide and rule' and produce a situation similar to the recent Durban Riots

So far, there is no political organisation representing the whole of East Africa except the East African Indian National Congress led by A B Patel, R C Gautama and others The Europeans have no such organisation but the European Electors Union of Kenya is very strong and generally gives a lead to all East African Europeans in their fascist aspirations

This body represents 29 000 Kenya White settlers who elect 11 members to Kenya Legislative Council as against 5 elected Indians representing an Indian population almost twice that of the Europeans and 4 nominated Africans for 5 million Africans

ALL KENYA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The most active African political institution is the Kenya African Union regarded as the most successful attempt in recent years to organise an all Kenya national movement Its president Mr Jomo Kenyatta is a capable leader who went to England in 1930 and on account of his political views was refused a return permit to Kenya by the Conservative Government and who managed to return only with the advent of the Labour Party to power in England Other notable leaders are the Hon E W Mathua (M L C) the first African to be appointed to the Kenya Legislature in 1944 and Mr Peter Koinange who recently finished his tour of India

In Uganda there is the Bataka recently banned owing to its leftist leanings led by the ex Brother Francis Mulumba There is also a similar African Association in Tanganyika The main pre occupation of these African bodies at present is to unite the Africans in the various territories and to create in them a political consciousness

We hope that in due course there will be an all East African organisation on lines similar to the E A Indian National Congress When this has been achieved the Africans and the Indians will be able to join their ranks and present a joint Indo African Front to fight for their rights and to save East Africa from going fascist in imitation of South Africa

GANDHIAN WEAPON

Once given a non European or Indo African Unity Front the rest is easy and in all our struggles we have before us the valuable technique used by the immortal Mahatma Gandhi I mean the infallible method of non violent non co operation It is enough to convince the African and the Indian masses that the British Government will not stand even for 48 hours if we were to completely withdraw our co operation

Planned Utilization of Manpower Resources

By Mr K RAMACHANDRAN

OF the experiments undertaken in India under the stress of war the National Employment Service is one that has come to stay as an instrument of social welfare India has enormous resources in manpower and material but because of her backward economy the very abundance of her manpower and material complicates her problem In the past, employment was left to seek its own level, while unemployment was expected to cure itself under the normal operation of the law of supply and demand Promoting employment has now become an important responsibility of the modern State and India has declared as one of the directive principles of State Policy that ' the State shall, in particular direct its policy towards securing that the citizens men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ' Sir William Beveridge has mentioned unemployment as one of the four giants which should be destroyed if a nation is to achieve social security Continued unemployment of a large number of individuals in any society gives rise to a sense of frustration it involves a waste of manpower it brings misery in its wake and breeds discontent Full employment has therefore been the aim of most modern States who have been planning the efficient distribution of their available manpower among the various demands of national economy An Employment Service has been recognised as the best agency for achieving this ideal of full employment.



TRAINEES AT WORK

Western Nations had long ago realised the potentialities of the Employment Service in the scientific utilization of labour In 1919 the International Labour Organization passed a convention advising its members to set up an Employment Service as a means to the promotion of employment and the equitable and facile distribution of manpower according to the various demands of the nation

India, as one of the signatories to the convention, ratified it in 1921, but owing to the complexities arising from constitutional changes denounced it in

1938 The emergency created by world war II led to a reversal of policy and to the setting up of a small number of Employment Exchanges as appendages of the National Service Labour Tribunals The object of these Exchanges was to ensure that all available technical personnel was utilized to meet the needs of war industry When the war came to an end a different problem cropped up—the resettlement of the demobilised Services personnel and discharged war workers The Exchanges already set up were switched over to this task the organisation being extended and reshaped to deal with the new problem Thus came into existence the Resettlement and Employment Organisation which now consists of a network of 54 Employment Exchanges 54 District Employment offices and more than 150 training centres When first established the primary object of the Exchanges was to assist the demobilised soldiers in securing suitable employment by bringing the employers and the candidates together The object of the training centres was to train ex Servicemen and discharged war workers in suitable trades and occupations so that on completion of training they could be absorbed in gainful occupations in the economic development of the country Although the scope of these institutions was first limited to Services personnel they were so designed that they could in due time also serve the permanent needs of the country and cater for all classes of people Gradually the Exchanges were thrown open to all classes of employment seekers

When in the wake of partition the mass migration of people from Pakistan called for an organisation to provide employment assistance to the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and to train as many of them as possible for gainful employment in their new environments the Resettlement and Employment Organisation was called in to help to meet the emergency The whole Organisation was switched over to this new and urgent task and earned the appreciation of many displaced persons and their leaders

There has been a growing recognition of the value of Employment Exchanges as a scientific agency for manpower supply Being a State organisation with a network of over 100 Exchanges the Employment Service has at its disposal far more detailed information about available workers than any individual employer can have The latter's knowledge is of necessity restricted to a particular area and his selective field is limited to those who come to his gates for employment But as the Employment Service receives vacancy notifications from the many employers who seek its assistance and from a large number of applicants it is in the position of a vast manpower bank with a network of branches upon whom the entire country can draw

Nowadays with the general shortage of skilled personnel managements cannot afford to waste skilled manpower An employer has not only to select a man to fill a vacany but has to select the right man for the precise job to be done It is here that the Employment Organisation makes itself even more useful than a Bank

The proper distribution of manpower so as to ensure the maximum utilization of the productive resources of the country which is one of the principal objects of the Employment Service is inextricably bound up with the training of manpower for the varied and changing requirements of national economy Give us the men and we shall produce anything the market demands —this is the plea of many a manufacturer who has had to explain away deficiencies in Indian manufacture

The Employment Service even at this stage of its growth has fairly accurate knowledge of the urban Employment market the volume of demand for and the available supply of labour for various industries and fields of employment As an integral part of the Employment Service therefore have been set up training centres where ex Servicemen and displaced persons are being given training in occupations and trades selected with reference to the needs of the employment market They represent the first planned effort on a national scale to bring technical and vocational education within the reach of a large number of people The training of ex Servicemen and

displaced persons will soon come to an end and proposals to throw these centres open to all classes of suitable persons are under consideration

No training scheme can be successful unless efficient Instructors are available. Experience has shown that there is an acute shortage, of such instructors in the country. To meet this shortage, a Central Institute for Training Instructors has been opened at Koni Bilaspur in the C P The object of this Institute is to ensure a high standard of training to Instructors drawn from all parts of the country

In order to enlist the co operation of all interests involved, the Employment Organization has set up tripartite advisory committees at all levels—national, regional and local

Starting from scratch and contending against a vast mass of prejudice, the Employment Service has, during the first year of its work, achieved results which reflect the increasing confidence it has won both from employers and employment seekers. The number of employers utilizing the organization for filling vacancies under them rose from 701 in 1945 to 3 182 in 1946, to 8,919 in 1948 and 5 274 in 1949 The number of vacancies notified to the Employment Exchanges similarly showed a steady improvement, rising from 3 788 in July 1945 to over 21 669 in July 1947 and 35 707 in May 1949

The placings effected have kept pace with the growing popularity of the organization. The monthly placings which were 1 462 in July 1945 rose to 8 095 in July 1946, to to 16 683 one year later and to 24 433 in May 1949

In spite of its achievements, the Employment Organization realises that it is only at the beginning of its tasks So far attention has been paid more to bringing together, as rapidly as possible, employers needing workers and workers seeking employment than to the long term responsibilities of manpower budgeting and planned action.

Hyderabad Deccan
3rd March 1927

To The Editor 'Indian Review'
Esplanade, Madras

Dear Sir

Many much pleasure in
Sending you a poem entitled 'To a Buddha
Statue on a hill' I am however not quite
Sure whether you took Sonnet Verse as you
Pages had are always full of such pieces and
unpleasant subjects, but unfortunately, I could no
from it at and any contribution (unpublished)
You cannot be in Verse form.
I want you also for a copy of the Indian Review

Yours faithfully
Sarojini Naidu



SAROJINI NAIDU

These Eventful Years: 1900-1950

(Chronological Table in the History of India since the 'Indian Review' was Founded)

1900 January 'Indian Review' founded —The Boer war —The Caine of Learning Bill—Hindu Religious Charitable Endowments Bill in Travancore

1901 Creation of the N W Frontier Province

1904 Indian Universities Act of Lord Curzon

1905 Partition of Bengal —New Government of East Bengal and Assam

1906 Foundation of the Muslim League

1907 Split between the Moderates and the Extremists

1909 The Minto Morley Reforms

1910—16 Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge

1911—12 The Coronation Durbar —Visit of Their Imperial Majesties—Transfer of Capital to Delhi—Reversal of the Bengal Partition

1914 First World war

„ Smuts Gandhi Agreement

1915 Death of G K Gokhale.

1916 Failure of Indian Government to supply the Mesopotamian army —The Lucknow Pact

1917 Visit of the Secretary of State —Mr Montagu to India

1918 The Montford Report

1919 Martial Law in the Punjab —The Montagu Chelmsford Reforms

1920 Death of B G Tilak.

1921 New Legislatures inaugurated by H R H the Duke of Connaught

„ The Moplah Rising in Malabar

1925 The Paddison Deputation to South Africa.

„ Sikh Gurudwaras and Shrines Act.

1926 The Linlithgow Commission —The Swaraj Party of C R Das and Motilal Nehru—Murder of Swami Shraddhanand

1927 The Skeen Committee —The Butler Committee on Indian States —The Simon Commission

1930 The Sarda Act passed—Gandhiji's Salt March —First Round Table Conference

1931 The Irwin—Gandhi Pact

—Second Round Table Conference

1932 The Prime Minister's Communal Award

1933 Third Session of the Round Table Conference

1934 The Publication of the White Paper—Joint Select Committee

1935 Government of India Act passed (August 2)

1937 Burma separated from British India —Provinces of Sind and Orissa formed —First elections under Provincial Autonomy —Congress Ministries in eight provinces

1939 War with Germany—Resignation of Congress Ministries—Breakdown of Autonomy in the Congress controlled Provinces

1940 (Aug) Announcement of future Government of India by the Viceroy

1941 The breakout of the war in the East

1942 The Cripps Mission and proposals —'Quit India Movement —Aug 42 Resolutions of Congress

1943 Retirement of Linlithgow

1943—46 Viceroyalty of Lord Wavell

1945 The Simla Conference

1946 Cabinet Mission Its award (May 1946)—The Interim Government

1946 Constituent Assembly of India inaugurated

1947 Mountbatten's Declaration of Feby 47—Announcement of June 47

—Announcement of the formation of two Sovereign Dominions—India and Pakistan

1948 Jan 30 Assassination of Gandhiji Sep—Police Action in Hyderabad

1949 Draft Constitution of the Indian Republic passed into law

—Integration of States completed

—King George VI declares India's Status as Republic in the British Parliament —Indonesia declared Republic—Dr Soekarno President

MOTHER VASANTA

BY DR. JAMES H. COUSINS *

Now while the flags of Freedom are displayed
And in the dust old feuds dismembered fall,
What voice recalls your voice's wakening call
When the crushed soul of India was afraid?
Silence rewards the labour you essayed
For Liberty that would be one for all.
Now sundering faith leads Liberty in thrall;
The marriage of your making is unmade.

Mother Vasanta! O forgiving heart
Wherein the spring was ever at its prime
Though human seasons played a changing part;
From your white peak that all at length must climb
Comes only love for stumbling feet that start
On their long upward pilgrimage through time.

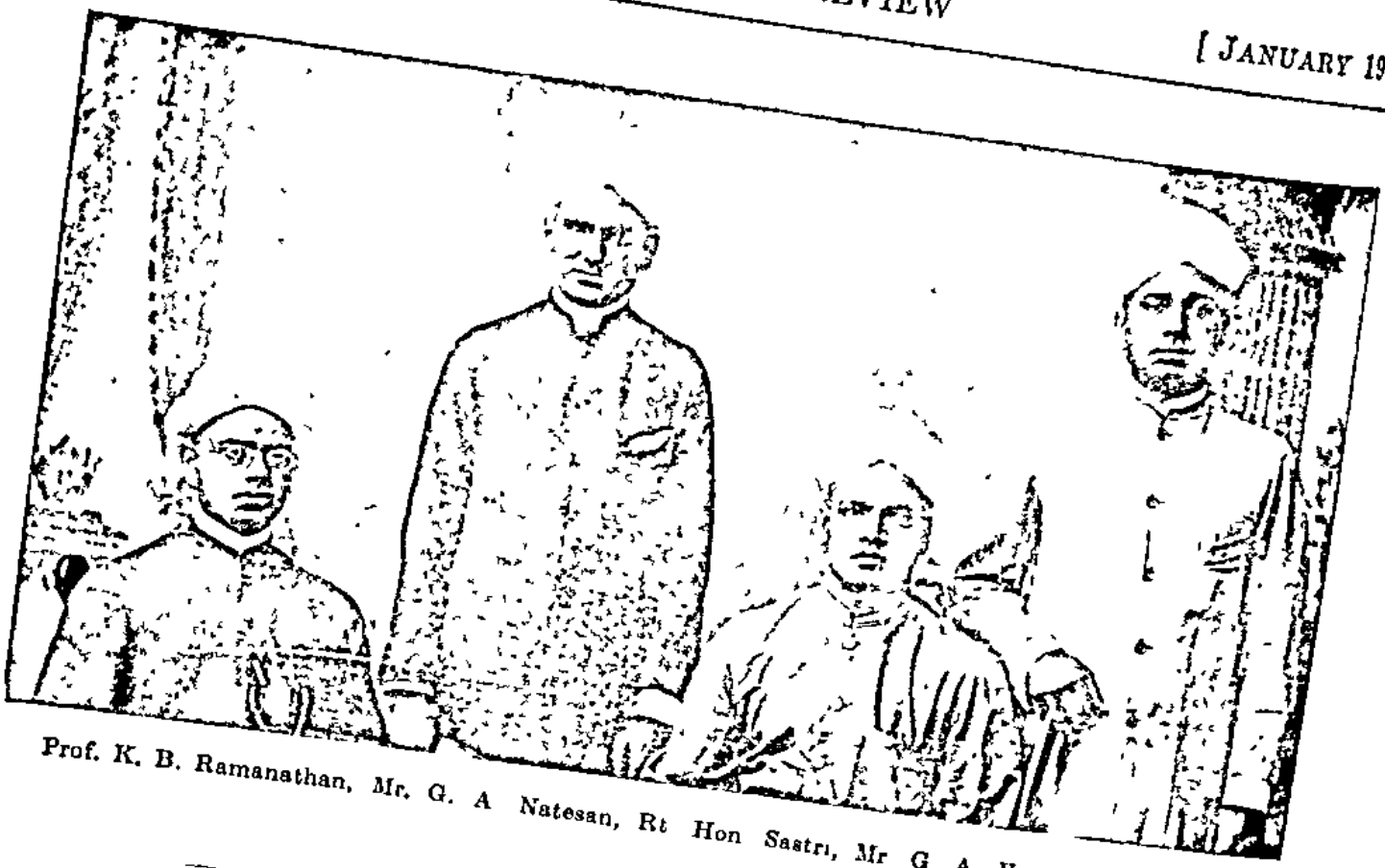
* From *Twenty-Four Sonnets*. Kalakshetra, Adyar.



MR. NATESAN WITH BAPU, KASTURBA & YAKUB HASAN (1915)

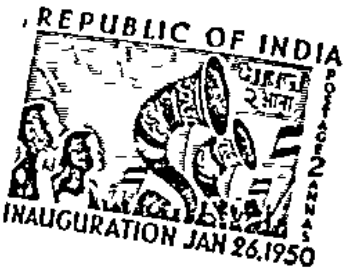


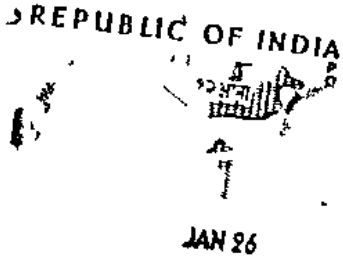
MR. VAIDYARAMAN & MR. NATESAN

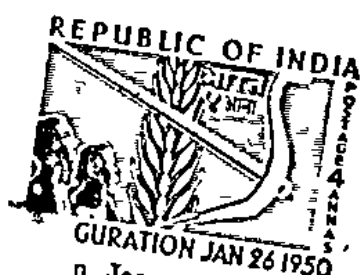


Prof. K. B. Ramanathan, Mr. G. A Natesan, Rt Hon Sastri, Mr G A Vaidyaraman (1907).









n January 26, 1950, in
epublic of India.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By 'AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Thanks

THIS number, as our readers are aware, marks the opening of the 51st year of the *Indian Review* Every effort has been made to produce a copy worthy of the occasion That, of course, would not be possible without the goodwill and co-operation of many people to all of whom we take this opportunity to render our thanks We thank H E the Governor-General and Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister and the Governors and Premiers of Provinces and the many distinguished writers who have contributed to this volume We thank the Congress President and the Archbishop of Madras and the Professors and Scholars whose contributions must add to the weight and dignity of this publication We thank our subscribers and advertisers and other readers for their kindness and patronage during many years past Nor will our readers grudge a word of thanks to the staff and workers in the office of the *Indian Review*, who by their tireless devotion to duty and sustained enthusiasm made it possible for the publishers to issue the Golden Jubilee number in time Their record of service has been long and faithful, and one in particular (now past the Psalmist s three score years and ten) who printed the first number of the *Review* in Jan 1900 is still doing his bit for the Golden Jubilee number in Jan 1950

We look forward to the continuance of that goodwill and co-operation from all parties, in the future as in the past

The Republic of India

On the 26th of this month the new constitution of Free India as framed and adopted by the Constituent Assembly comes into force and the President of the Indian Republic is to be installed It is a great day for India Happy the generation that has lived to witness this day

The Indian constitution is no doubt the lengthiest of written constitutions with its 395 articles but the Preamble gives the gist of our hopes and desires in words as brief and simple as are the words of the American declaration It is for us and future generations to treasure the lofty ideals embodied in the Preamble and live up to the faith that inspired this declaration It is a great tradition that we are bequeathing to posterity Here is the Preamble.

> We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens,
>
> Justice social economic and political,
>
> Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship,
>
> Equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all,
>
> Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation,
>
> In our Constituent Assembly this 26th day of November, 1949 do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution

Flowing from this sweeping formula of Justice and Humanity are the articles affording equal opportunity to all and abolishing untouchability in every form

> *No citizen shall* on grounds only of religion, race, caste sex descent place of birth, residence or any of them be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State'—Article 16 (2)
>
> 'Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law"—Article 17

The other articles may limit the scope of this great declaration to suit the conditions of the day and the exigencies of administration but the Preamble remains as the rock of our hopes and aspirations.

India and Pakistan

Relations between India and Pakistan are fast deteriorating The leaders in either countries are loud in their protestations against the other's conduct while justifying their own In this endless series of recriminations the victims are the people who have had no voice or choice in the partition A relentless destiny seems to be working against the innocents on either side of the border

Evacuee Property

As time passes the points in dispute between India and Pakistan seem to multiply rather than diminish. Kashmir, distribution of canal-water, jute and currency difficulties, abducted women forcible conversion and harassment of Hindus in Sind, border raids and the problem of evacuee property—there seems no end to this recurring series of obstacles to peace Let us take only the last item —evacuee property—on which the Government of India have just brought out a closely reasoned and well documented brochure. The record is painful reading

Evacuee property in West Pakistan is estimated at Rs 4 000 crores which is about ten times the value of Muslim property left in India Then as against the 4 million acres of mostly unirrigated land in East Punjab left by Muslims about 8 million acres of mostly canal irrigated land have been left in West Punjab by Hindus and Sikhs, the difference in the value of land alone being about Rs 300 crores. The difference payable to India on immovable property would be about Rs. 1,000 crores while the total difference taking into account all properties movable and immovable, would run into Rs 3,600 crores roughly. Surely compensation for evacuees on such a colossal scale could only be possible on Government level Is that the reason why the Pakistan Government has consistently evaded a settlement of the problem on a governmental level?

Indonesian Republic

On the 27th of Dec Queen Juliana of the Netherlands signed the transfer of Sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia This marks the end of 340 years of Dutch Colonial rule in the Pacific. After 25 years of struggle President Soekarno and Dr Hatta, the Prime Minister and other Indonesian leaders have brought freedom to their people They deserve warm congratulations on the completion of a task which is bound to have far reaching effects on the future set up of Asia. India which has always supported their claim to independence has reason to be specially gratified at the early conclusion of negotiations in which both the Dutch and the Indonesians have shown considerable patience and judgment and a sense of realism and statesmanship which does credit to either country There is no doubt they have well profited by the example of Britain's new relations with India It is a testimony to the indisputable fact that Asia is coming into her own We trust that other European powers—the French and the Portuguese who still hold pockets of influence in the East—will not hesitate to follow the lead given by the British and the Dutch in the East

14th January 1915 45 ST JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N W.

Dear Mr Natesan

I may congratulate you much on having so many brilliant contributors to your review from so many sources

Some time ago I noticed that you were displaying activity in the new areas now and I trust that you have no intention of abandoning a career in public life There are many years there of valuable service in store for you yet

With all best wishes

Yours very truly

Henry Cotton

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS: A NARRATIVE
By Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes With a Foreword By M K Gandhi George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London

Charlie Andrews, whose life-record, needs, in the words of the Mahatma, "no introduction and is its own introduction" is here depicted in the various stages of his remarkable service, by the authors with a commendable degree of fervour and frankness displayed in almost every page With an exultant mind he set his face towards the East, at the age of 33 His work at Delhi in the first years was animated by a longing that the students of his (St Stephen's) College should serve outcastes in the spirit in which he had served at home His literary gifts and genius for personal friendship did a great deal to bring the European missionaries into real touch with the Indian national movement He advocated strongly the upkeep and encouragement of Christian Colleges At the call of Santiniketan, he felt that he had the call of the *sanyasin* ' to give myself wholly into the hands of God .. and take up whatever work He gives me to do'. He laboured hard to improve the condition of Indians in other parts of the Empire. At Durban when he met Gandhiji for the first time, he made a gesture of reverence, that caused an 'uproar' in the white press. He found Simla worse than South Africa in the matter of race exclusiveness. His report on the condition of Indian indentured labour in Fiji (1916) was dedicated to Gokhale, most fittingly, as it displayed the temperate and relentless logic that marked the great Indian statesman Amritsar of 1919 found him deeply engrossed in helping the Government and Congress bodies of inquiry and became so unacceptable to Europeans that he was refused entry into a church near Lahore and told "This House of God is not for rebels."

Andrews believed, as early as 1921-22, in "complete and perfect independence for India" as a religious principle, "because I am a Christian" and played his part nobly in the "dusty political arena" of those years . To the cause of labour he continued to devote much of his time, energy and sympathy. Other matters, like the evil of opium traffic, also engaged his attention He sought for that part of the English people who would respond sympathetically to his Visva Bharati ideals His services, at the time of the Round Table Conferences, to Gandhiji in England are well-known

The many-sided labour of love and reconciliation that continued to mark him down to his last years is described by our authors with just that amount of detachment and minimum of extracts from his statements, correspondence etc, as would stimulate and elevate the mind and heart of the reader

A SILVER JUBILEE MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND

During its life the *Indian Review* has witnessed many strange changes in the mind of your country, and it has been a very active pioneer in what has been a real value to Indian Nationalism I have never ceased to be interested in Indian affairs since I first came in personal contact with your wonderful country and its wonderful people, and you can always rely upon anything I can do in a very busy life to promote those things which I think the *Indian Review* and myself have in common

I hope that a long and useful life is in front of your *Review* and that India and its people will continue to flourish

Ramsay MacDonald

January 1925.

PROFILES By G Venkatachalam Nalanda Publications Bombay 1 Price Rs 8 4

Mr Venkatachalam well known almost throughout India and Ceylon and among discerning Indologists abroad as an extremely enthusiastic and earnest student of art and of its meaning for life has gathered into this volume a few sketches of the traits of men and women whom he has known and counted as friends and whom he has studied from his own standpoint as an artist and art critic And truly an astonishingly varied and interesting group they make from Bhagawan Sri Ramana Maharishi and Mahatma Gandhi and Krishnaji at one extreme to Ranganayaki Kamaladevi Lalitha and Padmini and Philomena Thumboo Chetty at the other extreme There are saints and *jivan mukti*as among them and there are poets and savants There are dancers and singers among them and there are painters like Roerich There are statesmen and scientists and a few Marxists of China also thrown in Mr Venkatachalam we venture to say has had exceptional good fortune There must be very few indeed who could say that they moved with Gandhiji Tagore Ramana Maharshi freely as their friends

There is an unmistakable touch of first handedness and freshness about these Profiles—and the title seems chosen as much from a love of modesty as from a love of accuracy for there are quite a few sketches here that are no more than profiles Mr Venkatachalam has not allowed his affectionate regard for his saints or artists or statesmen friends to blind him to their human warts and weaknesses He has not allowed conventional estimates to narrow him into exalting Ramana Maharishi over Krishnaji and concealing his very individual preference for the latter's way of Life And in his study of the singers and dancers and violinists and painters he has not allowed theoretic preconceptions of one sort or another to colour or bias his impressionistic estimates of their achievement and quality Mr Venkatachalam however cannot be said to have gone very deep in his analysis even of his own impressions of those he has sketched here But then obviously no lover and enjoyer of things of such varied beauty and worth could go deep and remain invincibly a lover of all of them

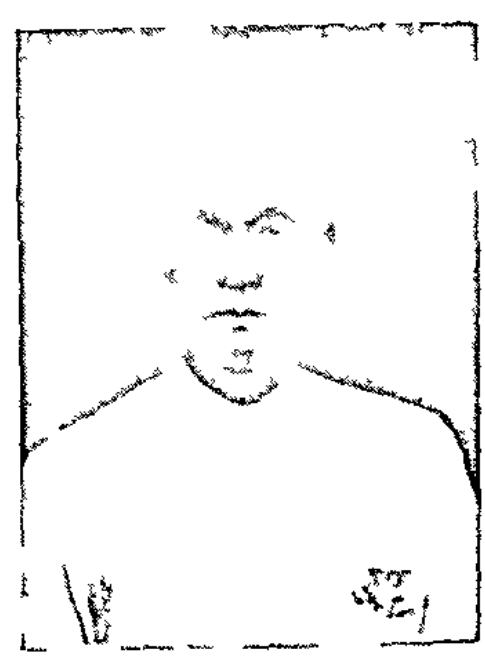
MANSFIELD COLLEGE
OXFORD

21/3/04

My dear Sir

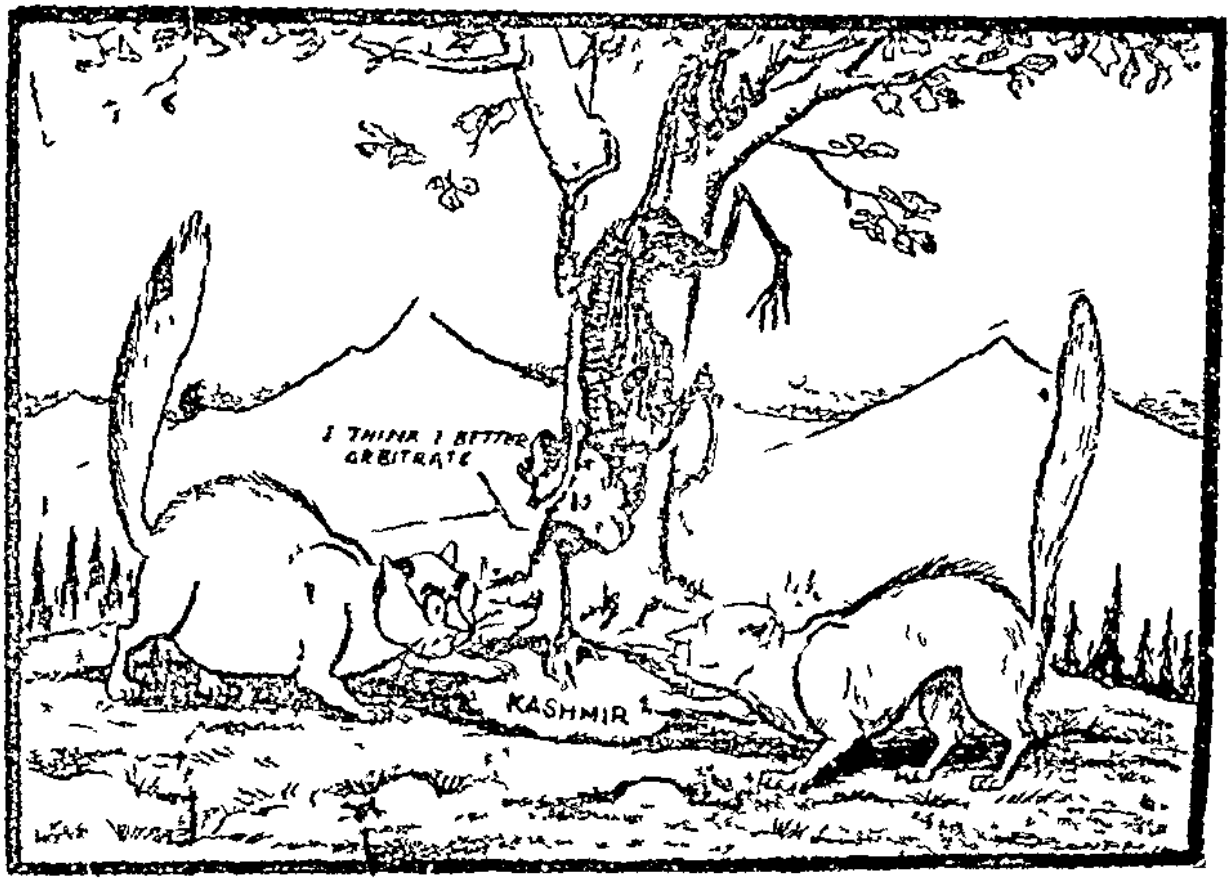
Let me thank you very sincerely for the copy of the Indian Review It is excellent and well written and distinguished by a love of truth and right

Sincerely yours
A M Thomson



KANNAPPA MUDALIAR
who printed the first number in Jan 1900 is still doing his bit for the Golden Jubilee Number in Jan 1950

TOPICAL CARTOONS



THE OLD OLD STORY

Courtesy *The Pioneer*



PRAISEWORTHY EFFORT
Eighty three pacifists from 31 leading countries have met at Santiniketan to evolve a lasting global peace

Courtesy *The Leader*



THE UNRIPE FRUIT

Courtesy *Bharat*

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USE

KAMINIA OIL

(Regd.)



Long and lovely hair beautify your face KAMINIA OIL does it for you It grows hair, makes them smooth and lovely, stops falling them and turns grey hair into black Use once and you will use it for ever



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OTTO DILBAHAR (Regd.)

on your clothes and you will be welcome by all OTTO DILBAHAR gives refreshing and delightful perfume and it has gained the title of THE KING OF PERFUMES

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RAJ-JYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratn Jyotish Shiromani Raj Jyotishi M R A S (Lond) has won unique fame not only in Ind but throughout the world (*e g*, in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malay Singapore etc) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world hav sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers

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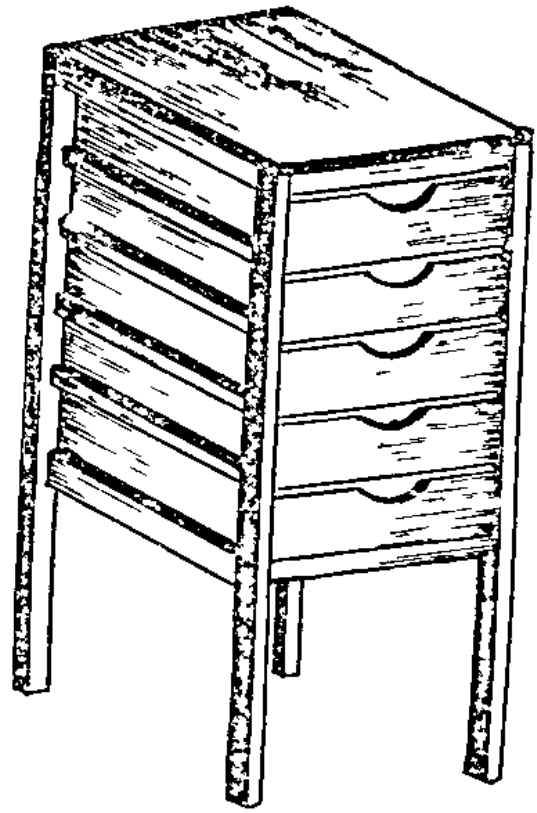
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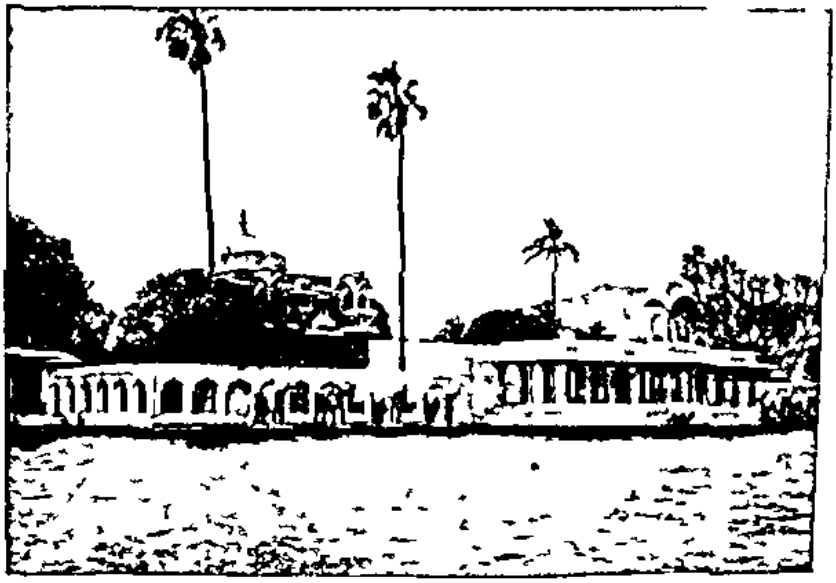
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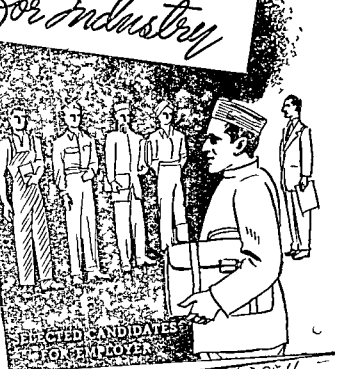
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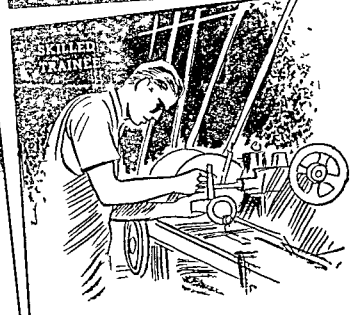
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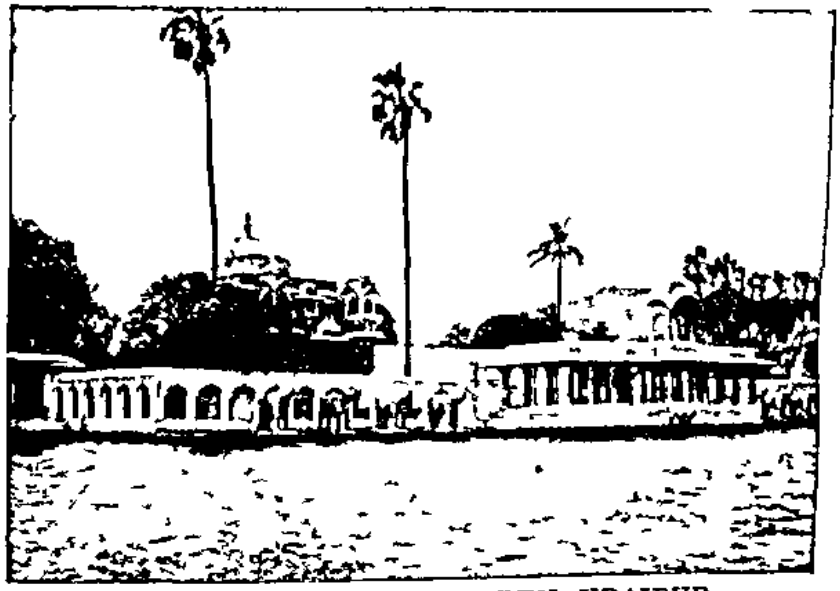
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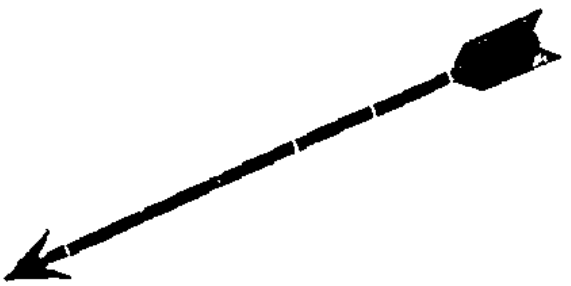
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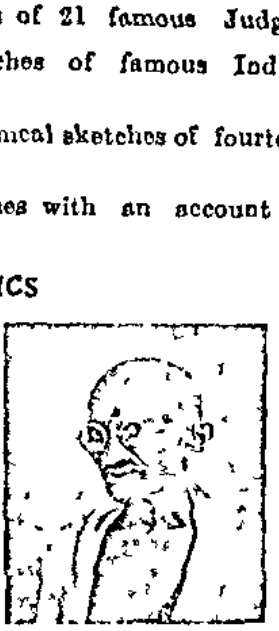
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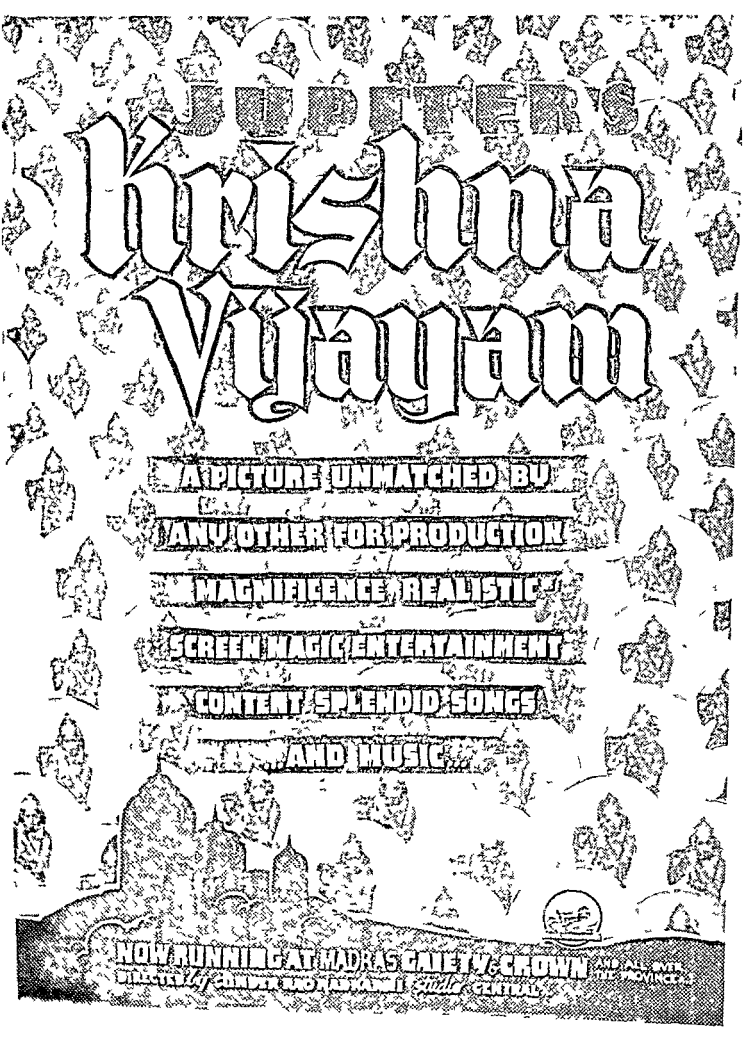
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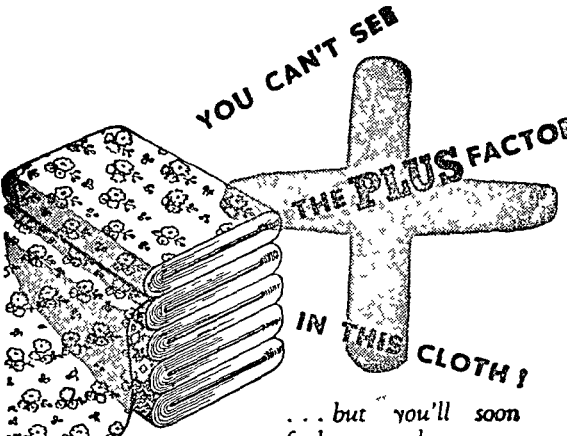
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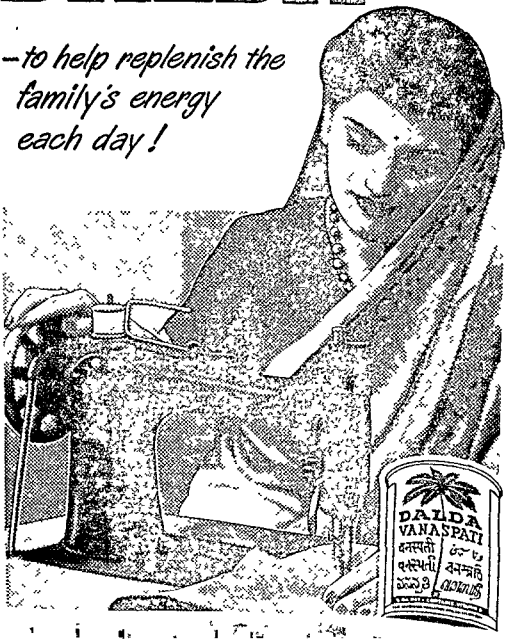
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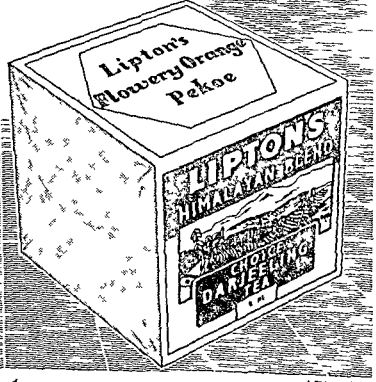
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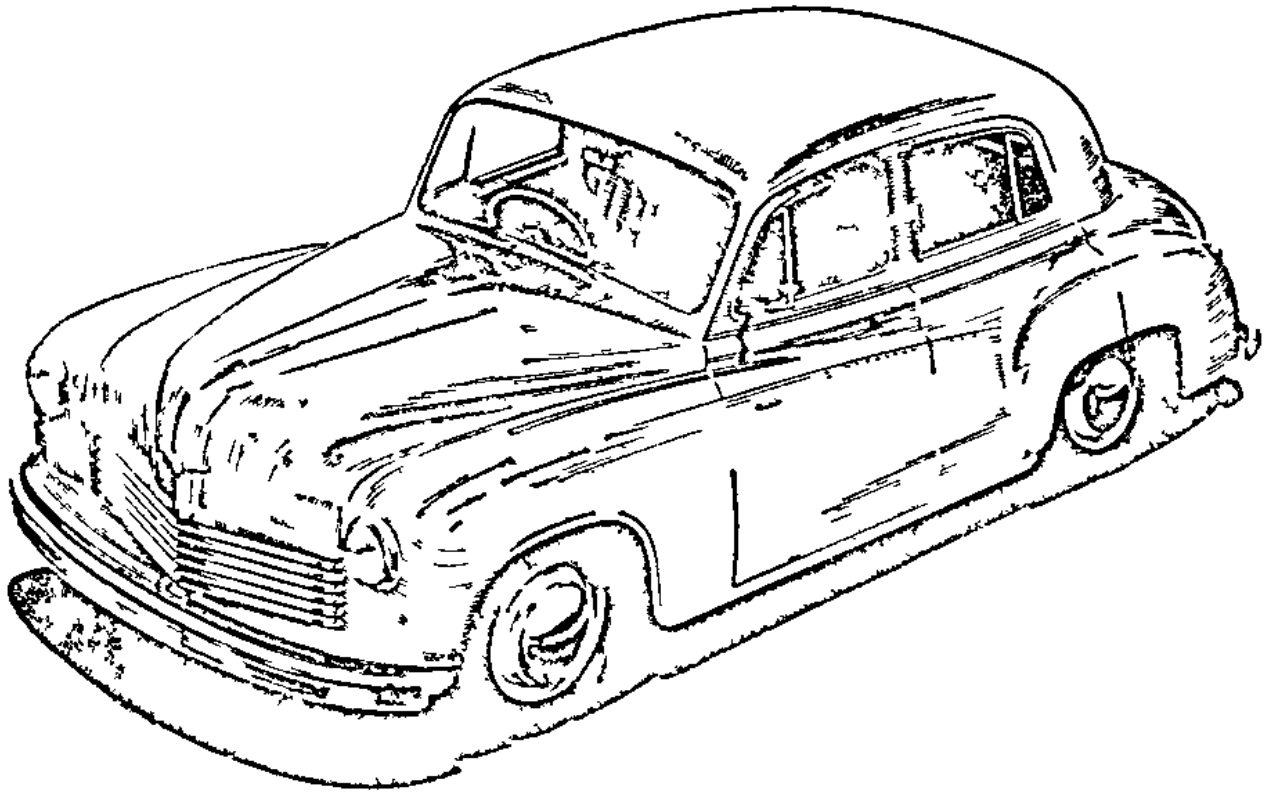
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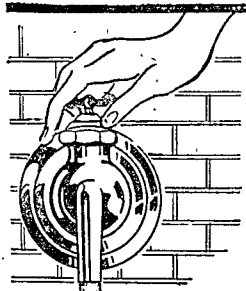
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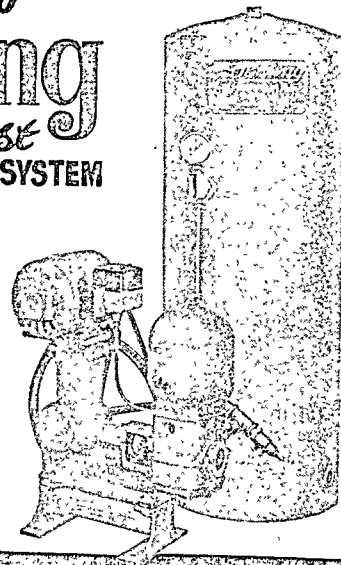
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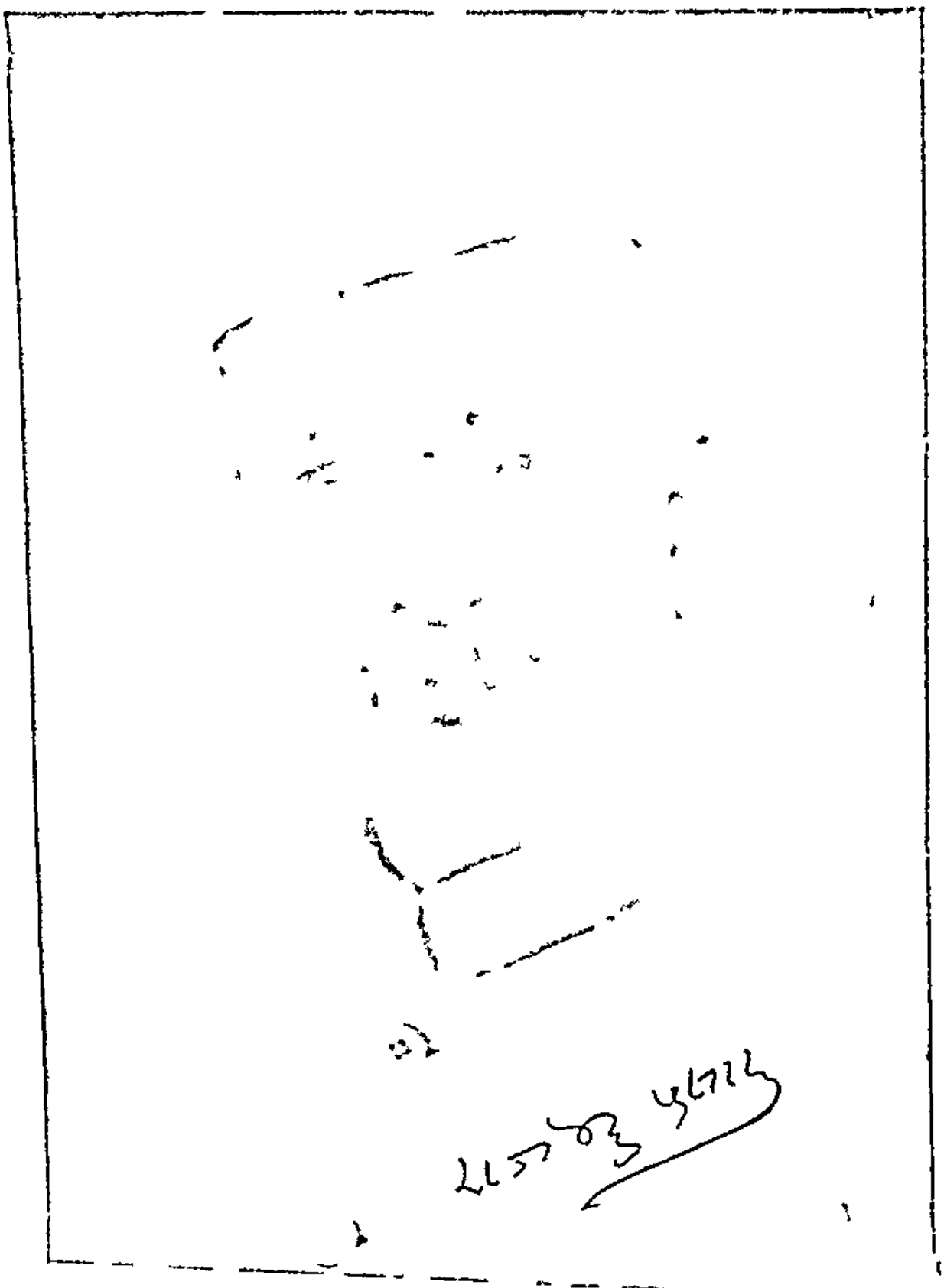
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The Democratic Sovereign Republic of India

BY PRINCIPAL SRI RAM SHARMA

ON January 26, 1950, India joined the liberal forces of the world as a sovereign democratic republic. She did not come empty handed. She brought an hoary heritage rich with varied experience of the most valuable type. But for the moment her immediate contribution was her new constitution enacted two months earlier after a hard toil of more than two years.

She is a republic today. Not only does she not owe allegiance to any ruling house as a state, she has wiped her slate clean of that miscellaneous collections of ruling princes, chieftains, estate-holders and what nots that clattered her house till 1947. The difference is remarkable in the number of units that make up the Union now. Had she become a federation under the Government of India Act 1935, there would have been in the area now in the Indian Union 568 units, 559 of them states under princes and princelings. Today there are only 16 units of the federations and not one of them is under the rule of a hereditary prince. Though a republic she is a welcome and valuable member of the British Commonwealth of Nations—so valuable indeed that the British Parliament has just passed an Act allowing her nationals in England full rights of British citizenship. She is a sovereign state espousing international causes in her own right and fighting battles for humanity and peace after her own fashion. She is not a client state bound hand and foot to Russia like Russia's western satellites, nor does she wait for her economic recovery on the sweet will and pleasure of the Congress of the United States as so many of European and Asiatic Nations do today.

She is not only a republic but a democratic republic at that. All her adult citizens possess the vote, she has outlawed unequality of sexes, her constitution recognizes no class barriers, her polity guarantees freedom of opinion, assembly and association, a rational distribution of national income is an avowed object of her endless endeavour. Her railways, telephones, telegraphs and broadcasting services stand nationalized. During the last three years she has, over a large area, made the tillers of the soil proprietors of the land they cultivate. If she is going slow in the nationalization of her means of production just now, that is because she does not believe in swallowing more than she can chew.

Though a republic under a President, her form of government is parliamentary. But the president and Governors and Rajpramukhs of states would be constitutional heads rather than effective chiefs of the state. Her governments would depend upon parliamentary majorities in the lower houses under the leadership of the Prime Minister in the Union and Chief Ministers in the state. The President will be elected by the members of the Parliament of the Union and the legislatures of the states. The Governors will be nominated by the President. The Rajpramukhs hold hereditary office as decided by the covenants forming the new states. The constitution toys with the idea of making the executive strong by investing the constitutional heads of governments in the union as well as the states with independent powers. The provisions embodying this have been copied from the constitution of presidential governments elsewhere. It is likely, however,

of taxes (*e g*, taxes on income) is levied and collected by the Union but the proceeds are shared between the Governments of the Union and the units

The Indian constitution repeats the Canadian precedent of arming the federal Government with immense powers There does not seem to be any danger here that these powers will be as they were for a long time in the case of Canada whittled by an interpretation of the constitution imposed on her from outside Certain powers, however, are likely to contribute to serious friction between the Union and the units unless as is very likely the Government of the Union wisely refrains from using these powers

The states have been endowed with uniform functions and equal authority Despite large areas reserved for the federal Government and a still larger area to be occupied both by the federal Government and the Governments of the units the functions to be discharged by the states take note of all the recent developments in Governmental activities and make the states vital instruments of national policy Public order administration of justice local self-Government education, medical relief, preventive and curative agriculture forests fisheries industry trade and commerce within the state, roads and water ways not of national magnitude relief of the disabled and unemployable are all subjects of concern for the states Social insurance labour welfare and trade unions would certainly be better cared for by being in the concurrent field It may be argued that divided authority in some of these subjects may lead to divided councils and an attempt at evasion by some states of their obligations in these matters under the plea that the Union Government had better finance and therefore, better regulate them

The reproduction of the provisions of the much maligned section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 may by some be held as dangerous encroachment on the authority of the units though it may equally be defended by others as necessary in view of the unpleasant experience of the working of certain states in recent years It is likely however that it may become obsolete by non use, except in the 'states' emerging out of old 'Indian India' These provisions enable the federal Government to administer a state as a centrally administered area, if it is satisfied that it is impossible to carry on the administration in accordance with the normal provisions for the organization of the Government of a state As things stand at present, it could have been easily held that in Eastern Punjab PEPSU, West Bengal and Madhya Bharat it is not possible to carry on the Government successfully under the present constitution But to argue from that that the only alternative is centrally inspired gubernatorial rule in these areas is only an escapism If similar things happen again under the new constitution the Union government would allow the states the latitude it has allowed them today If it does not it would play into the hands of its opponents It would be easy for a political party to gain a sweeping electoral victory in a state by representing that its opponents deprived the states of its right to rule itself The political backwardness of the 'states may, however, necessitate assumption of government in these new units by the centre

Besides the territories of the units forming the federation the Government of the Union governs fourteen 'territories' as centrally administered areas They cover between them a considerable part of the total area of the Union and are inhabited by a numerous population Many of these are odd corners thrown up by the process of integration of the states Some of them may ultimately be merged in the neighbouring states with some of which they have close affinities These territories are governed by Chief Commissioners Some may have local legislatures of their own, others may even be given a council of ministers or a group of advisers in addition The presence of these centrally administered territories adds immensely to the task of the Government of the Union and is responsible for the existence of certain ministers which might other-

wise have been superfluous as independent units of Government

An attempt has been made to check the creation of a double set of officials—federal and local—for several purposes The government of the Union can vest the government of a state or its officials with power to exercise federal functions as its agents To make the assumption of agency functions attractive for the government of a state the Union Government undertakes to pay it for its share of the work

The Republic would have in the Supreme Court its highest appellate tribunal and would not depend upon the Privy Council to perform that function The Supreme Court would also serve as the guardian of the constitution interpreting it and enforcing its provisions against all guilty of encroaching on them It has been granted the right to grant special leave to appeal in all types of cases This would throw down all barriers to approach it and make access to its doors easy Every state would have a High Court or make use of one situated in another state The jurisdiction of the High Court has been enlarged so as to bring revenue cases as well under its purview The independence of subordinate judiciary has been secured by bringing it entirely under the control of the High Court which itself would be free from the control of the government of the unit All its judges would be appointed by the government of the union It is likely that the present practice of drawing upon the judges of one High Court to serve as Chief Justice or an associate judge in another High Court may continue unabated

The introduction of a spoils system in the new republic has been rendered impossible by entrusting the work of recruitment promotion and demotion of public servants to Public Services Commissions The retention of an Indian Administrative Service and of an Indian Police Service would further safeguard the citizens against the intrusion of a bossism in the Government of the states The secretariat and the chief administrative officers may continue to be filled by these officers It would be difficult for the governments of the states to get rid of them easily for political reasons As a natural corollary members of public services have been excluded from active participation in politics

Certain provisions of the constitution can be amended by the government of the Union These include the creation of new administrative units carved out of the territories of one or more units or centrally administered areas The second houses in the legislatures of the units can be similarly abolished where they exist or set up in states where they do not The council of states can by a resolution transfer a states subject to the Union list in national interest The provisions regarding the organization of the government in the states their relations with the government of the Union and division of functions between the two can only be amended by a two thirds majority in both houses of Parliament followed by the approval of the amendment by the legislatures of a majority of the units by a similar majority Other provisions can be amended by Parliament by a two third majority

Provision is made in the constitution for carrying on crisis government during emergencies caused by the threat of invasion or of internal disturbance or by financial breakdown The President presumably representing the federal government has been clothed with power to carry on crisis government for two months subject to extension by the vote of the legislature Emergency legislation will remain valid for six months—and in certain cases for a year—after the emergency has been proclaimed to be at an end

India would thus be the most popular democracy in the world The organization and constitution of her government and the guarantee of fundamental rights to her citizens make her a political democracy The constitution defines the objectives of state policy in such a manner as to make it possible for her citizens to enjoy ultimately freedom from want and an assurance of social security If and when she succeeds in combining the two she may make a vital contribution to the civilization of mankind.

The President in the Indian Constitution

BY MR. SARATHINATH SET, M.A.

—: o :—

THE Indian Republic was proclaimed with the election of the President as the head of the State. The Indian Constitution declares that the executive power of the Indian Union shall be vested in the President and may be exercised by him in accordance with the constitution and the law. Moreover, the supreme command of the Defence Forces shall be vested in the President and the exercise thereof shall be regulated by law. With the election of the President by the members of an electoral college consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament and the elected members of the Legislatures of the States, the constitution says that the President shall hold office for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon his office The constitution provides that the President may by resignation under his hand addressed to the Chairman of the Council of States and the Speaker of the House of the People, resign his office and also he may for violation of the Constitution, be removed from office by impeachment in the manner provided in the constitution. The President shall, notwithstanding the expiration of his term, continue to hold office until his successor enters upon his office. The constitution leaves choice that a person who holds or who has held, office as President shall be eligible for re-election to that office once, but only once.

The constitution lays down the qualifications for election as President and conditions of President's office very clearly. It says that no person shall be eligible for election as President unless he (a) is a citizen of India, (b) has completed the age of thirty-five years, and (c) is qualified for election as a member of the House of the People. It also says that no person shall be eligible for election as President if he holds any office or position of emolument under the Government of India or the Government of any State or under any local or other authority subject to the control of any of the said Governments. The constitution lays down that the President shall not be a member either of Parliament or of the Legislature of any State, and if a member of Parliament or of the Legislature of any state be elected President, he shall be deemed to have vacated his seat in Parliament or such Legislature, as the case may be, on the date on which he enters upon his office as President. Furthermore, the constitution emphasises that every President and every person acting as President or discharging the functions of the President shall before entering upon his office make and subscribe in the presence of the Chief Justice of India an affirmation or oath in the following form, that is to say:

"I, A. B. do solemnly affirm (or Swear) that I will faithfully execute the office of President (or discharge the functions of the President) of India and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law and that I will devote myself to the service and well-being of the people of India."

The constitution says that when a President is to be impeached for violation of the Constitution, the charge shall be preferred by either House of Parliament. It also says that no such charge shall be preferred unless the proposal to prefer such charge is contained in a resolution which has been moved after a notice in writing signed by not less than thirty members of the House has been given of their intention to move the resolution and such resolution has been supported by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the House. It strictly lays down that when a charge has been so preferred by either House of Parliament, the other House shall investigate the charge or cause the charge to be investigated and the President shall have the right to appear

and to be represented at such investigation It states further that if as a result of the investigation a resolution is passed supported by not less than two thirds of the total membership of the House by which the charge to be investigated declaring that the charge preferred against the President has been sustained such resolution shall have the effect of removing the President from his office as from the date on which the resolution is so passed

The Indian President as the supreme head of the Republic will be the elected representative of the people and as such he is vested with wide power even authority to suspend the provisions of Fundamental Rights during an emergency The constitution says that the Indian President shall have the power to grant pardons reprieves respites or remissions of punishment or to suspend remit or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence (a) in all cases where the punishment or sentence is by a Court Martial (b) in all cases where the punishment or sentence is for an offence under any law relating to a matter with respect to which Parliament has and the Legislature of the State in which the offence is committed has not power to make laws (c) in all cases where the sentence is a sentence of death

The constitution says that the President may from time to time summon the Houses or either House of Parliament to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit and prorogue the Houses and dissolve the House of the People The constitution also says that the President shall address both Houses of Parliament assembled together and inform Parliament of the causes of its summons at the commencement of every session Normally the President may send messages to either House of Parliament whether with respect to a Bill then pending in the Parliament or otherwise and a House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient despatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration The constitution also mentions that the President shall in respect of every financial year cause to be laid before both the Houses of Parliament a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for that year (in the relevant Part of this Constitution) referred to as the "annual financial statement The constitution rightly holds that no demand for a grant shall be made except on the recommendation of the President The constitution is also clear that a Bill which, if enacted and brought into operation would involve expenditure from the revenues of India shall not be passed by either House of Parliament unless the President has recommended to that House the consideration of the Bill

The constitution says that if at any time except when both Houses of Parliament are in session the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action he may promulgate such Ordinances as the circumstances appear to him to require It is in the fitness of things that an Ordinance promulgated under this article shall have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament assented to by the President but every such ordinance shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the reassembly of Parliament or if before the expiration of that period resolutions disapproving it are passed by both Houses upon the passing of the second of those resolutions The constitution says that it may be withdrawn at any time by the President

It must be stated briefly that the President issuing an Ordinance may very likely act in his discretion with or without the advice of his Council of Ministers This point was raised recently in the Dominion Parliament but it was emphasised without ambiguity that the President could never be able to act independently of the Council of Ministers in view of the provisions in the Instrument of Instructions The Presidential powers dealing with the Ordinance can be compared well with the provisions contained in the British Emergency Act under which the King was entitled to issue a proclamation when Parliament was not in session The

constitution says that the Indian President with no independent power of legislation did not possess more power than that possessed by the Central Legislature itself In an emergency the President is authorised to promulgate an ordinance when the legislature was in recess

The constitution says that the President shall appoint every judge of the Supreme Court by warrant under his hand and seal after constituting with such of the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts in the States as may be necessary for the purpose The constitution says that in the case of proved misbehaviour or incapacity, a judge of the Supreme Court shall be removed from his office by an order of the President passed after an address supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting has been presented to the President by both Houses of Parliament in the same session for such removal

EMERGENCY PROVISIONS

The constitution mentions that if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the Security of India is threatened whether by war or domestic violence, he may, by proclamation, make a declaration to that effect, referred to as "Proclamation of Emergency" The constitution says that it may be revoked by a subsequent proclamation shall be laid before each House of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six months unless before the expiration of that period it has been approved by resolutions of Both Houses of Parliament It is also mentioned in the constitution that a proclamation of emergency declaring that the Security of India is threatened by war or by domestic violence may be made before the actual occurrence of war or of any such violence if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof The constitution goes further to say that the President may, while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, by order, direct that all or any of the provisions of articles 249 to 259 of this constitution (financial arrangements between provinces and the Centre) shall for such period not extending in any case beyond the expiration of the financial year in which such proclamation ceases to operate, as may be specified in the order, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit The constitution also lays down that the President may by proclamation assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or any body or authority in the state other than the Legislature of the State if and when the situation forces him to do so and the government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provision of this Constitution The constitution however does not authorise the President to assume to himself any of the powers vested in or exercisable by a High Court or suspend either in whole or in part the operation of any provision of this Constitution relating to High Courts Be that as it may, the constitution says that when a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, the President may by order declare that the rights guaranteed by article 25 of this Constitution (Rights to Constitutional Remedies) shall remain suspended for such period not extending beyond a period of six months after the proclamation has ceased to be in operation as may be specified in such order Relating to the suspension of the right to move courts for the enforcement of fundamental rights during emergencies, a new Article later included in the Constitution, says that where a proclamation of emergency is in operation, the President may, by order, declare that the right to move any court for the enforcement of such of the rights conferred by Part III of this constitution (Fundamental Rights), as may be mentioned in the order, and all proceedings pending in any court for the enforcement of rights so mentioned shall remain suspended for the period during which the proclamation is in force or for such shorter period as may be specified in the order The constitution says that an order made as aforesaid may extend to the whole or any part of the territory of India and every order made so shall, as soon as may be after it is made, be laid before each House of Parliament which would be free to take such action as it thinks fit The point

at issue lies in the fact that the emergency provisions of the constitution are likely to be abused In no constitutions of the world has there been so great scope of the Presidential authority limiting the provisions of the constitution itself The British Emergency Act provided that the proclamation should be laid before Parliament within five days of issue and would cease to operate after the expiration of seven days from the time it was laid before Parliament unless Parliament provided for its continuance Even the Weimer Republican Constitution whose emergency provisions came nearest to those laid down in the Indian Constitution provided that the proclamation must be laid before the German Parliament immediately and should be revoked at the demand of the German Republic Under the U S Constitution the suspension of fundamental rights could be authorized only by Congress and even then the Supreme Court of the U S A. could set it aside if it felt that conditions under which such suspension would be justified did not exist Under the French Republican Constitution a state of siege in France can only be declared by the French legislature by passing a law If the legislature is not in session it meets automatically within two days of the proclamation by the President who can only do so on the advice of the Council of Ministers The Indian Constitution provides that we intend that the President should proclaim the emergency on the advice of his ministers It is however to be understood that the Indian President remains an active member of the Government using his personal discretion against the the political judgment of his ministers sending messages to the legislature obviously over their head and suggesting amendments to bills passed by the legislature under the direction of the Cabinet In England France and the United States the legislature is sought to be actively associated with the executive during the emergency whereas the Indian Constitution does not do so It visualizes personal dictatorship of the president or on his behalf of the Governor by associating an emergency with the impossibility of carrying on the government under the provisions of the constitution. The President possesses certain other powers which coupled with emergency powers can be used by an unscrupulous person for establishing a personal dictatorship He summons the legislature he need not do so during the emergency The Ministers hold office during his pleasure he can dismiss them and appoint a Prime Minister dependent on him alone and having no majority in the legislature The Hitlerian coup-de etat is made easily possible

We must admit that the President cannot be impeached easily in the manner laid down in the constitution The two thirds majority of the Houses of Parliament may not be easily made possible if there be multiple parties of the Centre or at the Provinces The constitution also says that the emergency powers conferred on him and exercised by him in his discretion will not constitute a violation of the constitution His power to summon and dissolve the legislature is not dependent on the ministers nor is his pleasure to continue them in power or to deprive them of it The power to impeach a President cannot be exercised during the emergency By the time the emergency is over a coup-de etat may have made mincement of the constitution. Directors when once they assume power seldom leave chances of being impeached intact in the constitution

THE VERDICT

Gentlemen of the jury you have heard the facts of both sides Mr Jones had a public fight with Mr Smith Mr Jones had in his possession at the time one butcher knife two razors one set of brass knuckles and a blackjack Mr Smith had on his person one sickle one hatchet two meat saws a cleaver and an icepick Both men plead Not Guilty each asserting a plea of self-defence I judge you have reached a verdict

We have your honour

And that verdict—

We the jury would have cherfully paid ten rupees per man to have seen the fight

Fundamentals of the Indian Constitution

By Mr C J S BINDRA

THE Preamble to the Constitution sets forth that India will be a "Sovereign Democratic Republic" The words "Sovereign" and "Republic" emphasise severance of the British connection and also that final authority has come to rest in the people of India, in contradistinction to the erstwhile overriding control exercised by the mother of Parliaments in London

The Sovereignty vests in the people of India as a whole, for otherwise the State would not be democractic The will of the people is to be expressed and exercised through their democratically chosen representatives This makes two conditions precedent to any person being entitled to act on behalf of the people as a member of Parliament He must have been chosen by the method of election, as opposed to nomination by an individual institution or group, and secondly, the election must be by secret ballot, so that it may not be vitiated by extraneous influences In exercise of sovereign authority an exception has been made in respect of the interim period Members of the Constituent Assembly will act as the Parliament till both the the Houses have been duly constituted and summoned to meet for the first time under the Constitution Till that day therefore India will not be a true democracy Thereafter any act of State, which is neither on direct authority of the Parliament, nor in pursuance of the emergency powers conferred by this Constitution, will be *ultra vires* the Constitution

The use of the word 'Republic" in conjunction with 'Democratic indicates that the constituents will enjoy equality, be they groups or individuals This also seeks to establish a balance between the States' and local and individual liberty on the one side, and centralisation of power on the other, just as it is reflected in the ideologies of the two main parties in the United States of America

The basic purpose for creating the Indian Republic is "to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unit of the nation" Thus justice, liberty in the intellectual and religious spheres, and equality are the three corner stones of the Indian Constitution, the object being to build an edifice of a united nation of self-respecting individuals devoted to one another

Social, political and economic justice entails essentially the abolition of caste system, a broad-based franchise, scraping of privileged classes, and securing to every worker the enjoyment of his earnings It would be a question of interpretation as to what part of the income of an enterprise belongs to the worker, and what is the part played by management and by the investing element Political justice should also ensure a citizen immunity against detention of person except under the ordinary penal law of the land The provisions for enactment of special offences militate against this ideology, as also the existing provision to imprison for non-payment of a debt

In the field of liberty we have the freedom to run one's own channel of ideas, to express such of them as one deems fit, believe in what one prefers and worship according to one's choice. No one may be penalised or put to a disadvantage for worshipping or not worshipping in a particular manner, or for observing the tenets of any religion so far as fath and worship go

Equality of status and opportunity mean that no citizen is to be debarred from any position because of sex, social standing or any other factor, and all the citizens are to have equal opportunities in life While no distinction may be made between any two citizens because of their status, at the same time every one is to be provided an equal opportunity for development. Thus there is to be no restraint on anybody following

any profession or trade Provisions favouring those already in a particular trade or business would therefore be against the spirit of the Constitution

Equality of opportunity would take us much nearer the socialistic ideology than may appear at the outset No opportunity would be of any consequence to an individual unless he has the capacity to utilise it to his benefit Creation of this capacity is accordingly a pre requisite for equality of opportunity to have any practical significance Thus by subscribing to this clause the Constituent Assembly has impliedly committed the Republic to provide almost free education to all the children of the land In other words ultimately the entire education of the youth is to become the responsibility of the Government

The Preamble places a still greater and nobler responsibility on the Republic that is of creating a fraternity of self respecting individuals and of evolving a unified nation Men are not to be treated as chattel or as slaves Every individual is to be presumed to be a gentleman and a member of a united nation This emphasis on the unity of the Nation appears to be there primarily because of the two nation theory which led to the partition of India in 1947

Thus whereas the Constitution of India is sought to be founded on the principles of Liberty Equality and Fraternity which inspired the French Revolution it also draws upon the later developments of the ideal of Social Justice that established the Revolution in Russia and goes on to the more modern interpretation of Justice in the economic and political spheres Above all the most important declaration made in the Preamble is that of the republican status of India Though a Union of States in the style of the United States of America India is to be a Republic shedding the status of a Dominion That would seem to imply breaking away from the British Commonwealth of Nations but the latter has enlarged itself into a Commonwealth of Nations and the mother of Parliaments has officially recognised the equal partnership of India in that Commonwealth As a Republic unlike the other Commonwealth countries India is expected to owe no allegiance to the King but to recognise him as the symbolic head of the free association of Commonwealth countries Only time will show how the people of India react to this obligation And that will determine not only the future history of India but the entire course of modern civilization

Within the territories of India fundamental rights are guaranteed in respect of equality freedom religion culture education property and constitutional remedies All persons shall have equal protection of the laws and discrimination on grounds only of religion race caste sex and place of birth is prohibited in matters of worship social privileges and public employment The Parliament not the State concerned may however prescribe conditions requiring previous residence in that State for employment and provision has also been made for reservation of appointments in favour of any backward class of citizens which reservation can be made by the Parliament or by the State concerned There are also specific provisions for the abolition of untouchability and titles except military and academic distinctions No foreigner even in the employ of the Government of India may accept a title from any country without the consent of the President.

The freedoms guaranteed are those of speech and expression of peaceful assembly of association of movement of residence of ownership of property and of occupation but adequate power has been given to the Government to make orders in public interest though these be in limitation of the above freedoms No person is to be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act nor any person may be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once This application of the Principles of *autre fois convict* and *autre fois acquit* is likely to raise more hares than the few simple words

indicate. Another provision that has been the subject matter of much controversy in the Constituent Assembly and may lead to several references to the Supreme Court is equally simple and brief. saying that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. An important change that will greatly affect investigations into offences and police methods is that a person arrested on a charge must be produce before a magistrate within twentyfour hours. The old laws and Regulations providing for preventive detention of individuals for unlimited periods have also been abrogated. No body may now be subjected to preventive detention for more than three months unless such detention is authorised by an Advisory Board or by any law made by Parliament.

Prohibitions against exploitation include traffic in human beings, *beggar* or forced labour, and employment of persons below the age of fourteen in hazardous work, though compulsory service may be imposed by the State.

Right to freedom of religion includes propagation thereof, but the State may step in where economic, financial, political or other secular activity is associated with religious practice, as also in *respect of the right of entry into* temples. The Sikhs retain their right to carry the *Kirpan* as part of religion. No religious instruction is to be provided in any educational institution wholly financed by Government, but there appears to be no prohibition to denominational institutions making arrangement for imparting of such instruction within their daily programme. Again, no student attending an aided school can be required to attend any lecture on religion or any religious worship, but the consent clause would keep the door for missionary institutions open. Article 27 introduces a new prohibition against raising of taxes to be utilized in promotion of a religion. However, there would be no prohibition to any group or minority, though based on religion, conserving its language, scripts or culture, and to its establishing educational institutions, nor is there to be any discrimination against such institutions.

Nobody is to be deprived of his property save by authority of law, which must prescribe for the determination of compensation, and must be assented to by the President of India. Exception is made however in respect of laws relating to evacuee property and to the abolition of Zamindari in view of special consideration applicable and difficulties inherent in making them justifiable.

To enforce all these fundamental rights the Supreme Court is empowered to issue directions, or orders and writs. The jurisdiction to act in this behalf may be conferred by Parliament on other Courts as well but within their local limits. The fundamental rights will, however, remain suspended in areas under martial law, and will be modified in their application to members of the Armed Forces and the forces charged with the maintenance of public order. These may also be suspended while a Proclamation of Emergency lasts on orders to that effect by the President.

Certain directive Principles of State policy, not enforceable by any Court, have been incorported in the Constitution in the hope that these will remain a source of inspiration and guidance to the future legislators. Every citizen is to be secured adequate means in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement. Concentration of wealth is to be avoided, and the State is to provide within a period of ten years free and compulsary education up to the age of fourteen. Establishment of village Panchayats has been included in fulfilment of the National Congress programme, and article 51 lays down that the State shall promote "international peace and secuity," "just and honourable relations between" nations ", and "respect for international law and treaty obligations". The last clause says that the settlement of international disputes by arbitration will be encouraged. These directive principles are bound to create new confidence in the leadership of the National Congress if translated into actual practice.

CONSTITUTION AND CHARACTER

By Mr K L SHARMA

Director Information Bureau Govt Punjab

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JANUARY 26 is a red letter day in the history of our country Besides symbolising the past struggles for the emancipation of Mother India it will synchronise with the ushering in of a new era For the first time in its long and chequered career Bharat Varsha as an Independent and Sovereign Republic has adopted its New Constitution Its formulation taxed for a long time the best brains of our country and after prolonged deliberations they spared no effort to arrive at decisions which were acceptable to their overwhelming majority and calculated to bring happiness to the teeming millions It is therefore but natural that our countrymen should hail this Magna Charta of liberty on this auspicious day with all the jubilation it deserves But is that all that is required of us? Are we not to see that the principles underlying it are adhered to and observed in the same spirit in which they have been framed?

First of all we have to examine the factors which go to make any constitution a success A Constitution is not just a sum total of its preamble clauses sub clauses and some schedules It is certainly more than that it is almost an unwritten law which should have the backing of the whole country and its determined will to see that it is enforced with all its implications Otherwise it will only be a scrap of paper To take only one example we find that in our new Constitution untouchability has been tabooed and declared as an offence Will we ever be able to eradicate this evil root and branch if we do not have the will to do so? Reformers can only preach and leaders can only guide But if we fail to listen to them and do not tread the path they show us can we ever succeed? Certainly not A thousand constitutions will not make any difference unless we mould ourselves to the right pattern What we need is character The history of the past should serve as a severe warning It we do not effect revolutionary changes in our moral code sitting as we are on a volcano, we might blow off our hard won freedom any moment

Take the case of British character during the Second World War There was a time when everything seemed lost Hitlerite Germany was causing havoc It was the indomitable will and doggedness of the British alone which survived the Nazi onslaught The whole nation irrespective of caste creed or religion stood up as one man and all of us know the result The same story was more or less repeated at Stalingrad on the Russian Front

But why talk of wars and battles? In peace times too we are required to show our guts It is the strength of character which counts here also Ours is mainly an agricultural country Nearly eighty per cent of our people live in villages Hence so long as the lot of the villagers is not improved we cannot expect any progress This is the job for the government and can be done by providing irrigation facilities, reclamation of land and supply of pure seed Grow more food is the need of the hour But can it be met if the person behind the plough the tiller or the farmer sticks to his age old traditions of depending solely on the bounties of Mother Nature? He has to change his character if the country is required to be made self sufficient He has to give up his deadly fatalism and start realising that God helps only those who help themselves Similarly in the domain of Industry we have got to make our big financiers and industrialists feel that they have to build up their character Undoubtedly they hold all the power and as the saying goes money makes the mare go, they can make or mar the country If they continue indulging in black marketing and other questionable tactics the country will surely go to the dogs Produce or Perish will remain a slogan only unless and until these magnates ensure equitable distribution of wealth At the same time a word to those who are in a position

to distribute power. The hydra-headed monster of corruption, jobbery and nepotism that stalks the land today if not checked in time is bound to imperil not only our peace, progress and prosperity but freedom also

Our constitution gives us equality in politics but if we are going to have inequality in social and economic life then in the words of Doctor Ambedkar those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy In view of this we must have social equality too Now what is social equality? In plain language it means equality of opportunity to every citizen irrespective of caste creed or sex The talk of separate culture or community is to take a very narrow view of things We have got to realise in the words of Pandit Nehru that all of us are equally the children of India with equal rights privileges and obligations Hence no one should be allowed to claim more on account of either birth, wealth or religion Everything ought to be for all nothing only for a few No doubt this principle has been incorporated in our preamble but if we are not going to act up to this, it will remain on paper only In this connection I have already referred to the curse of untouchability I will give only one more example We have declared that ours will be a secular state That is why we have introduced joint electorates Now there are 35 million Muslims in India representing about 8 per cent of the population Is it possible for them to obtain a single seat through this system without the help of others? Great responsibility lies on us in asking them to agree to joint electorates We will, therefore, have to see that the spirit behind this principle is honoured in letter too Thus and thus alone we will be able to abolish communalism, the greatest bane of our country and which caused so much havoc that we were perforce compelled to bring about the division of our motherland By doing away with this alone we can secure to all citizens the liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship-one of the cardinal principles laid down in our fundamental rights Another right which has been conferred by the New Constitution is the freedom of speech and expression but we should not forget that this right also devolves a good deal of responsibility on us Blind faith and fear are undoubtedly condemnable At the same time we should develop an outlook of appreciation of the practical problems like realists Healthy and constructive criticism is the salt of life and without it no government or administration can run properly But criticism for criticism sake or destructive criticism lead us no where Similarly ill informed in season and out of season criticism with a biassed mind would complicate the situation further and tend to spread chaos and anarchy It will place unnecessary impediments in the working of the administrative machinery and afford opportunity to hostile elements inside and outside the country to propagate their evil designs It is needless to say that to overcome all these defects one has to nurture the spirit of tolerance and high sense of discipline which in turn are nothing but parts of the right type of character which alone can give strength to the individual as well as to the nation as a whole This is the only way in which we can safeguard and protect our hard earned freedom and secure an honourable place for our country in the comity of Nations

We should not forget that we are now a sovereign democratic Republic If we go wrong we have to blame no one but ourselves The New Constitution as Doctor Rajendra Prashad said was after all like a machine, a lifeless thing It requires life and the people and their chosen representatives can give it provided they are honest and have the interests of the country before them

A blushing young woman handed the post office clerk a telegram containing only a name, address, and one word —"Yes'

Wishing to be helpful, the clerk said You know, you can send five more words for the same price'

"I know I can," replied the girl "but don t you think I d look too eager if I said it six times ?'

A REPUBLIC IS BORN*

— 2 —

RAJEN BABU ELECTED PRESIDENT

ON the 24th of January the Indian Constituent Assembly which has adopted the new Indian constitution, unanimously elected its President Dr Rajendra Prasad, as the first President of the Indian Republic to be inaugurated on January 26 The election of the President of the Republic also marked the retirement of the first and last of the Indian Governors General of India, Mr C Rajagopalachari who for eighteen months presided over the Government of India, during a period of unparalleled difficulties, with great distinction. Mr Rajagopalachari who has always adorned any office he held carries with him, in his retirement the gratitude and hearty goodwishes of millions of his countrymen who have learnt to respect him for his single-minded devotion to the task he undertook Perhaps no other Indian of our time could have left a more powerful impression by virtue of his personality, on the minds of the statesmen and leaders of other nations who have come into contact with him

When the Constituent Assembly met that morning Mr H V R Iengar, Secretary, made the announcement in his capacity as the Returning Officer The announcement was received with resounding cheers

Later, the Prime Minister, rising to offer his 'respectful congratulations' to Dr Rajendra Prasad on the high honour conferred on him recalled in choice words the glorious part he had played in the nation's fight for freedom Speaking with some emotion the Prime Minister pledged his loyalty and fealty to the Indian Republic of which Dr Rajendra Prasad would be the honoured head".

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel endorsed Pandit Nehru's observations and emphasised that the choice of Dr Rajendra Prasad as President was unanimous The Sardar made a moving call for unity 'May all of us," the Sardar prayed "swim together in the stormy seas that we have to cross in the future"

Replying to the congratulations, Dr. Prasad said, "We have after a long struggle reached one stage Now another stage is beginning' Pointing out how greatly he treasured the confidence reposed in him, Dr Rajendra Prasad hoped he might be enabled to discharge his responsibilities with the co-operation not only of members of Parliament, but of the people of the country as well

Thereafter, led by the Prime Minister, the members signed both the English and Hindi versions of the new Constitution

Earlier Dr Rajendra Prasad made a carefully-worded statement on the National Anthem 'Jana Gana Mana," he said, would be used for official purposes as the National Anthem and "Vande Matharam" would be equally honoured

DAY OF DEDICATION

In the course of a special message to his countrymen on the occasion of the inauguration of the Republic of India, India's first President said·

We must re dedicate ourselves on this day to the peaceful but sure realisation of the dream that had inspired the Father of our Nation and the other captains and soldiers of our freedom struggle, the dream of establishing a classless, co-operative, free and happy society in this country We must remember that this is more a day of dedication than of rejoicing—dedication to the glorious task of making the peasants and workers the toilers and the thinkers fully free happy and cultured

The Prime Minister in his message to the people of India spoke of the peculiar appropriateness of this 26th of January for the inauguration of the Republic;

for this day links up the past with the present, and this present is soon to grow out of that past Twenty years ago we took the first pledge of independence During these 20 years, we have known struggle and conflict and failure and achievement The man who led us through apparent failure to achievement is no more with us; but the fruit of his labours is ours What we do with this fruit depends upon ourselves

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel exhorted the people in these words·

The day on which India attains Republican status will be written in letters of gold in his history With the disappearance of all traces of foreign rule, we become in law and in fact our own masters and it will be now for us to make or mar our future It will, however, take time for us to recover from centuries of exploitation and

*A chronicle and record of historic events culled from Press news and reports of special correspondents—[Ed *I R*]

bondage, considerable sacrifice will yet be necessary before a sufficient quantity of fresh blood can flow in India's veins We worked hard to achieve our freedom We shall have to strive harder to justify it

Messages of greeting and good wishes poured in from all over the world such as those exchanged between His Majesty King George and our President, between the Presidents of the U S A and the Indian Union, and between the Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of the respective countries and of India

"It is a matter of profound satisfaction to me" said the President in his reply to the King's message that

this landmark in India's history has been reached peacefully and in a spirit of co operation It will be the unfailing endeavour of my Govern ment and our people that, in friendly association with the Commonwealth of Nations India may continue to work for the good of mankind

President Truman of the U S A said in his message

The establishment of the Sovereign independent Republic of India within the Commonwealth represents a final step in India s political transition which closely parallels the political evolution of our own country, Because of our traditional sympathy with India, the people of the United States are particularly happy to send expressions of goodwill on this occasion

Dr Rajendra Prasad's reply was apt to the occasion and gave expression to the traditional sympathy and understanding of the two great peoples in their struggle for freedom and progress

As first President of the Republic of India, it shall be my constant endeavour to uphold the traditions of democratic Government and to foster, together with other like minded nations, the ideals of peace and moral law that we have inherited from the Father of Our Nation—Mahatma Gandhi In this task I am sure we can count on the co operation of the Government and people of the United States whose principles of individual liberty and the rule of law are reflected in the provisions of our own Constitution

Pandit Nehru in his reply to Mr Dean Acheson's message pointed to the special features attendant on the conquest of freedom by non-violence and stressed the continuance of Indo-American co-operation

We fought for our freedom without arms and without rancour and those against whom we struggled bear witness to this by the depth and spontaneity of their friendship for us in our new association

We shall always endeavour to strengthen the relations that now happily exist between India and your great Republic from whose history and Constitution we have derived both inspiration and wisdom

C R'S SERVICES TO THE COUNTRY

The Central Cabinet at its meeting on January 24 adopted a resolution placing on record the services rendered by Mr C Rajagopalachari, Governor-General and expressing the hope that the country would benefit by his wisdom and experience for many years to come The letter from the Prime Minister ran:

"My dear Governor General,

The Cabinet at a meeting held this morning, passed the following resolution which they have requested me to convey to you 'On the relinquishment of the high office of the Governor General of India by Shri Rajagopalachari the Cabinet desire to record their deep and grateful appreciation of his labours and his service to the country His mature wisdom and simple dignity, during a difficult period of India's history, have been of inestimable help to the members of the Cabinet and to the country He has not only enhanced the prestige of India but has further endeared himself to his own people In conveying their affection and good wishes to him the Cabinet hope and trust that the country will benefit by his wisdom and experience for many years to come"

"May I say that this resolution is not merely a formal record of the Cabinet s high appreciation but is an expression in rather feeble words, of their affection and gratitude to you

"Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Jawaharlal Nehru

In a Farewell Banquet to the retiring Governor-General the Prime Minister referred to his thirty years' association with Mr Rajagopalachari and said that there were not many of them left in this country, who could be called the Old Guard of the National movement

"I am quite sure" the Prime Minister said, "that when necessity demands it—and necessity demands it all the time, if I may say so—not only our affection but the need of the country will call you to other services for the country you have lived in and served for so long So with this feeling and with the conviction that you are there and that you will come back whenever you are needed my mind is softened a little and I do not feel what otherwise I might have, felt at your going away'

The Governor-General spoke with great feeling of the great co-operation he had received from the Cabinet

Let me testify publicly" Mr. said, "on this occasion that achari Minister) has grown and Prime even now, and he is more d

LOOKING BACK

By Sir T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

—:o:—

I feel I must congratulate Mr. Manian Natesan on the fine Golden Jubilee number of the *Indian Review* that he has produced. The highest praise I can give it is, that whether in production, or format or literary contents it fully sustains the credit of the firm which the late Mr. G. A. Natesan founded. I have only two regrets. The first is that G. A. Natesan did not live to celebrate the Golden Jubilee. The second is the more minor and personal one that the accident which laid me low happened on the very day I was to write my contribution to the Jubilee Number. It would have been a matter to me of personal gratification if my name had been in the fine list of contributors whom the firm has secured. I am probably amongst the oldest survivors of the founder. He was with me in the Presidency College where he made his mark by raising the very modest College Literary Society to the front rank of College Societies in Madras. His talent for organisation was discovered then. I still recall the occasion on which Dr. William Miller, the foremost educationist of Madras came to preside over one of the weekly meetings of our Literary Society. His presence naturally attracted an enormous crowd, such as a College Society had never known before. In his speech Dr. Miller made a complaint that Mr. Natesan had not kept the assurance he had given to him that it was purely a private meeting. Mr. Natesan's reply was prompt and effective. He said "Sir, it is not my fault. Publicity is the penalty that greatness has to pay."

After both of us left College we used to meet on two public bodies, the Madras Municipal Corporation and the Senate of the Madras University. He was an enthusiastic working member of both. I still remember the sensation he produced when he moved a vote of censure against the Vice-Chancellor who happened to be the Chief Justice of Madras and the Syndicate for supporting legal proceedings which should never have been instituted. In those ancient days no Fellow was willing to support the motion. I had to undertake the unpopular task and I also managed to get the powerful support of Dr. T. M. Nair.

Mr. G. A. Natesan combined with brilliant journalistic ability an unrivalled talent for organisation and what was unique, an uncanny knack for discovering abilities in men who did not themselves know that they had them. I may mention as two conspicuous examples the late Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. G. A. Natesan died just when the great era opened in which his talents would have been of great value to the country. As an electioneering agent in good causes I know of no cleverer man. The Indian Republic marks the beginning of the electoral age and if he were alive he would have assured to an untried democracy with adult franchise the choice of great and good men to lead the country.



G. A. NATESAN WITH PANDIT NEHRU
Photo taken in 1936.

Select Opinions on The Golden Jubilee Number

Prab ddha Bharata The *Ind an Rev ew* founded by tl e late Sr G A Natesan has successfully completed fifty yea s of useful ser co to the p bl c and thus bumper number amply commemora es tl s glorious e ent The learned ed tor g es n *F f j Yea s* a survey of pol t cal and soc al progress wh ch the re ew l as tr ed to co er month by month

Th H ndu The Number offers an mpress e budget of ar les of top cal and general nterest

Free Pres Jou nal Th s s an ach e ement of wh ch the *I d an R w* can be j stly p oud A de luxe Golden Jub lee Number

H tavada A look nto the contents of th s ssue s tself peer ng nto a cross sect on of Ind an publ c l fe

Bha at A ga axy of talent and eminence are the contr butors

Free India Packed w th tho ght prov ok ng art cles by d st ngu shed wr ters

Swadesl am ran The Number conta ns very nterest ng contr but ons

S nday T m s A host of d st ngu shed wr ters have enr c ed the Number w h art les on subjects of v ar ed nterest

B s ess W ek Packed with art cles by well known and d st ngu shed wr ters

Ed tor Prabu ldl a Bharata in a letter to Mr Man an Na esan Our hearty congratulat ons on your s gnal ach e ement n bringing o t an excel ent Spec al Number

The Archb shop of Mad as in a le er to Mr Man a Na esan Let me congratulate you for the very n ce Jub lee Number wh ch s certa nly most nt rest ng

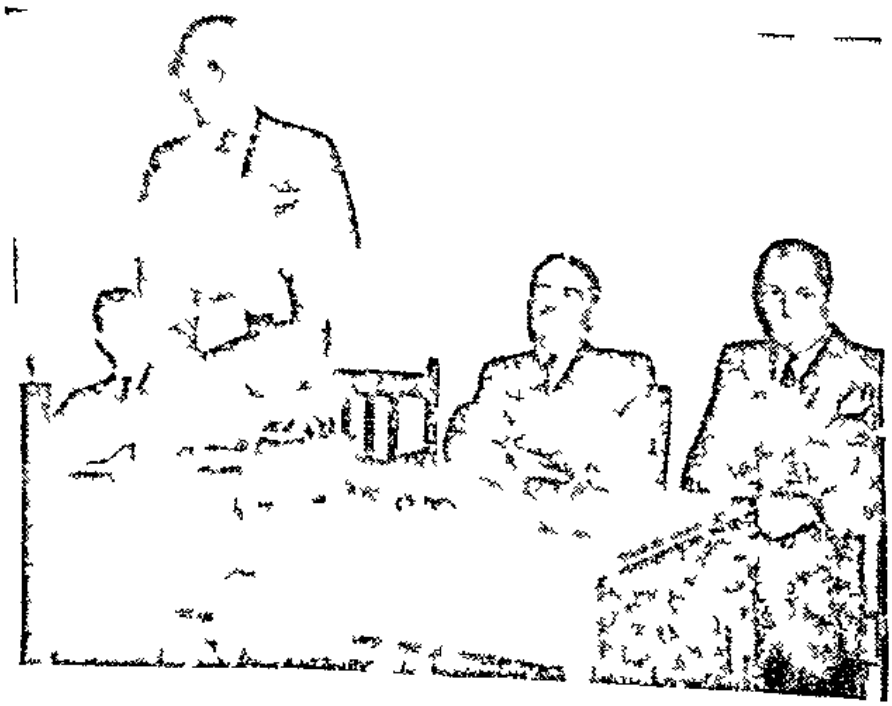
Naradar Tho e who are respons ble for br ng ng out th s excellent number must be proud of a b g ach evement

The Ind an Express Profusely illustrated the Golden Jub lee Number s a sumptuous volume

Ths So h Ind an Journal st Tl e brightly produced spec al Golden Jub lee number is fully worthy of the happy occas on

Sunda Observer Tl e Golden Jub lee Number s a concrete example of un que success

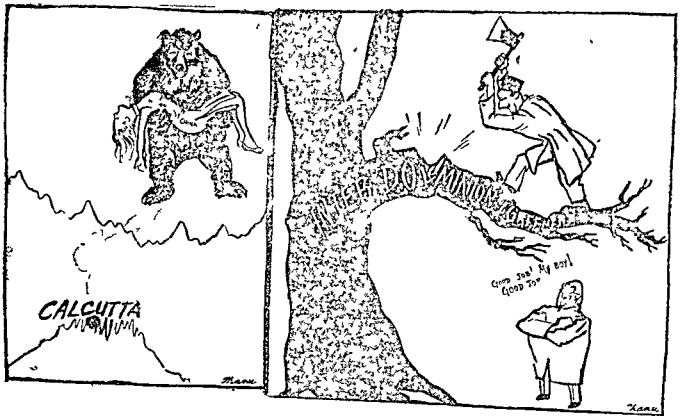
People s Heal h It s mar ellous how the journal has grown to ts present state—one of r pe respectab l ty A prec ous add tion to their book shelf



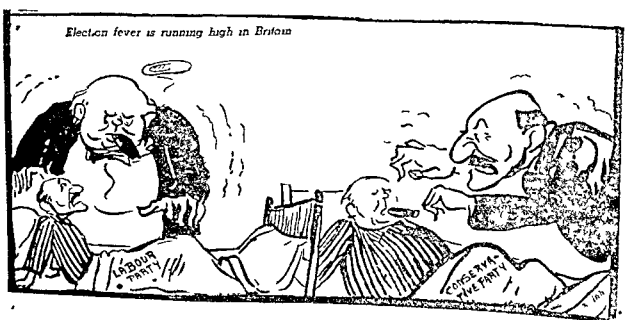
MR. PHILIP NOEL BAKER IN DELHI

Mr Ph l p Noel Baker Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations who on h s way back to London after the Colombo Conference spent a couple of days n Delh s seen l ere address ng a Press Conference held n New Delh The others n the photograph are Mr Roland Owen Sen or U K Trade Comm ss oner n Ind a Sr Arch bald Nye Un ted K ngdom H gh Commiss oner n Ind a and Mr W l K ng D rector Brit sh Informat on Serv ces

TOPICAL CARTOONS



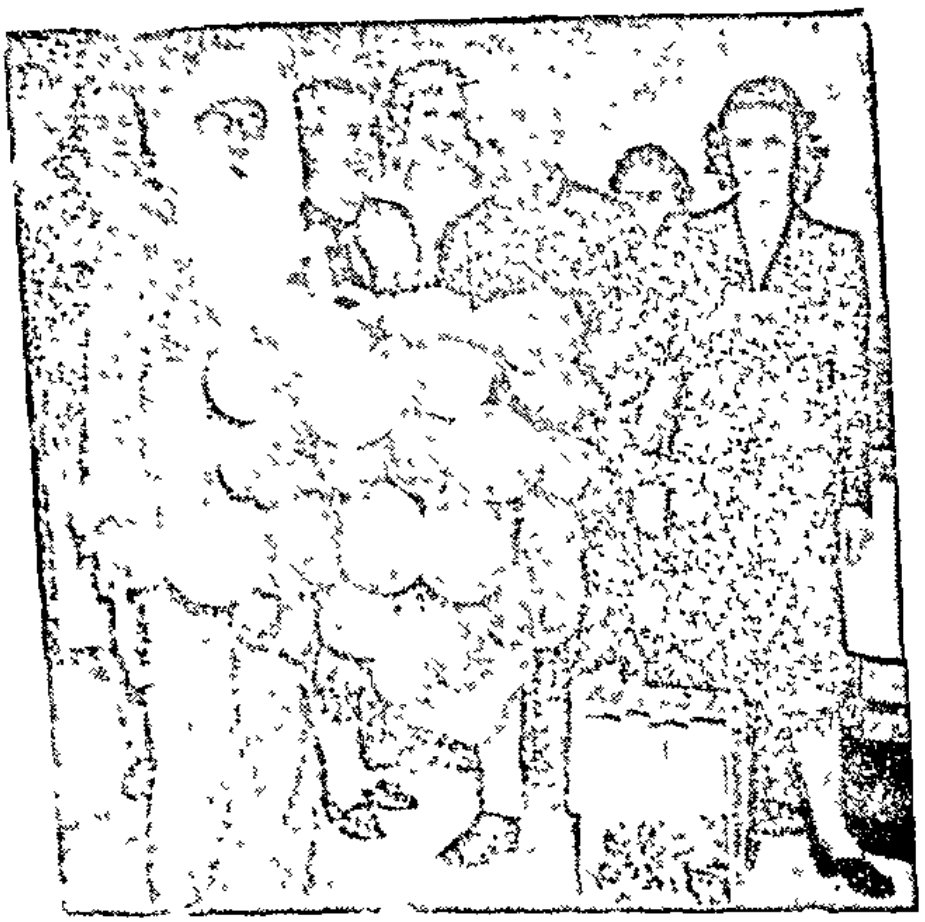
Courtesy *Bharat*



Courtesy *Free India*



Courtesy: *Free India.*



U. K. HIGH COMMISSIONER'S X'MAS PARTY FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN

A party of over a hundred children from the Faridabad Refugee Camp, between the ages of 5 and 10, were entertained on December 30 at a children's X'mas party given by Sir Archibald Nye U. K. High Commissioner in Delhi, Lady Nye and the staff of the High Commission Prime Minister Pandit Nehru was also present. Behind Pandit Nehru (on his right) is Lady Nye.

Shakespeare and the Indian Ideal of Life

By Mr. PRABAS JIBAN CHOUDHURY, M.A., M.Sc.

SHAKESPEARE was a Renaissance dramatist, who, above all, had to please the Elizabethan audience that loved life with its rich burden of passion and pain, hopes and fears, a life which is essentially tragic. He saw and delineated (in his best plays, the tragedies) the sensuous aspect of life—the quick consuming love of Romeo, the blind and jealous passion of Othello, the devastating ambition of Macbeth, the pure purposeless malignity of Iago, the maddening selfishness of Lear's two daughters and the sadism of Richard III. He is a poet of the instinctive or the passionate animal nature of man, the poet of the psycho-physical human plane, not even of the intellectual, and certainly not of the moral and spiritual planes. He shows man desiring and suffering, not thinking or spiritually contemplating The thinking of Hamlet is but the passionate outbursts of a perplexed and suffering soul, and the only intelligent being in Shakespear's plays seems to be Iago; yet he does not *know* his own destructive nature and its nemesis, and so is a fool too.

Yet Shakespeare did not exalt like Marlow the passionate nature of man. The world he presents us is a moral world though peopled by either immoral or amoral characters. For this world, we find, trembles and threatens to break into pieces while the tragic characters display their dominating passion or vice, but it regains its order in the end: the vice is proved vicious, the good proved good. Shakespeare did not confuse the moral values, we can clearly see him discriminating between the good and the bad and doing apt poetic justice. Though the virtue that is in the general atmosphere of the play seems to be momentarily eclipsed by the thick fury of passions displayed by the chief characters, it reappears brilliant from pain, washed by blood and tears. We see this effect and experience an exquisite calm when the curtain falls finally in a Shakespeare tragedy. We return home with much knowledge of the animal nature of man, no doubt, but also with an assured faith in a moral order that censors the animal in man.

And so we come to ask what exactly does Shakespeare teach us through his plays that are obviously full of pain and confusions of passions. (We refer especially to his tragedies for in them he has studied man deeply and most seriously). Shakespeare teaches us that desire is the source of all our suffering, the root of all unrest. Tragedy springs, in life, and, so, in drama, from the desiring self of man, the instinctive drives of the ego. And Shakespeare, besides demonstrating this truth in his tragedies, (without stating it like a moral philosopher), has let fall remarks here and there in the mouths of some characters which hint the same truth. Hamlet, himself suffering from the perplexity of contending passions, praises Horatio for his mastering of passions. He speaks of Horatio:—

> "As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;
> A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards
> Hast taken with equal thanks: and blessed are those
> Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled
> That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger
> To sound what stop she pleases. Give me that man
> That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
> In my heart's core, in my heart of heart,
> As I do thee.
> (Act III, Sc. 2)

Horatio is not moral in the ordinary sense of the term but he is amoral in the sense that he is beyond good and evil. He does not choose between passions but is above all passions, a self-poised soul. Shakespeare does not present Horatio as a typical moral character; Horatio seldom advises Hamlet to do this or that; rather, he, through his silence and, sometimes, very short remarks, discourages Hamlet's passionate moods. Once he remarks critically to Hamlet's effusions, "You might have rhymed" (Act III, Sc. 2). Once he said, "Be ruled" (Act, I, Sc. 4); on another occasion, "Good my lord, be quiet." (Act V. Sc. I). For Horatio every passion is bad, goodness consists in transcending one's affective nature and living a composed life of the rational spirit. Feelings should be ruled by good sense (judgment) and actions should issue not from irrational gusts of passion ('blood') but from a

detached spirit that regards everything in the light of universal good not personal That is, of course the highest morality, yet it implies something beyond morality as it is ordinarily conceived Horatio may be called moral from an absolute moral point of view which is adopted in Hindu ethics For he is one who follows the dict which Lord Krishna gives to Arjuna to live and act considering victory and defeat, joy and sorrow, as one

Shakespeare views in his tragedies the clash of passions and shows the pitiable plight to which passions lead man how they bring discord in his world and disintegrate it. Though the moral order asserts itself in the end, the world order (e g, the world of Othello Hamlet and Lear) crumbles In one of his last romantic plays, Tempest, Shakespeare seems to give a more direct expression to his philosophy of life Prospero has forsaken the world and his position in it because he finds them not worth his while there is too much of scramble and narrowness in men He views life as a veil of *maya* and says

> "We are such stuff as dreams are made of
> And our little life is rounded off with a sleep

Yet his world weariness is not lasting for it is not a true and ultimate attitude to life He finds the island 'bare' and breaking his magic wand returns to his world to live among his own people So that, he is now neither infatuated nor dejected by life, which he accepts with inward detachment He will now live in the world, like king Janaka of Mithila enjoying as a witness everything and never getting entangled in anything In this lies ultimate wisdom and true happiness Says Gita (II, 64) 'He is happy who, having been free alike from infatuation and dejection and having controlled his senses, enjoys through these senses the worldly goods" The Western critics of Shakespeare point out that Prospero by deciding to return to his people revokes his stoical outlook, and, so there is a contradiction in his character They point out that Shakespeare himself had a weakness for worldly life he returned to Stratford after leaving his profession and bought property there to live as a "gentleman". So Shakespeare (the critics say) could not conceive of the quiet stoical satisfaction that Prospero might get from his resigned life in the bare island But these critics have not a deeper and larger view of life, which we have seen, teaches us to live amongst our people without either infatuation or disgust for the world, in a spirit of detachment The secret of self less action as taught by Gita is the root of a correct philosophy of life and we believe Shakespeare, the great human poet knew this secret through his insight Neither stoicism nor hedonism but a higher and more comprehensive philosophy of life is taught by Hindu ethics Tagore has taught this philosophy and Shakespeare too teaches this, though very indirectly, quite unobtrusively like a true poet that he was



50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

(From Editorial Notes)

THE LAST SOCIAL CONFERENCE

MR JUSTICE RANADE'S ADDRESS

Not the least important of the different conferences held recently is the Indian Social Conference held in Lucknow under the auspices of the party of reform in that historic city Its sittings seem to have been characterised by an enthusiasm and an earnestness that the organisers of the gathering do not always succeed in enlisting on behalf of the conference As usual the guiding spirit of the Conference Justice Ranade prefaced the proceedings with an address which was an earnest plea for organized and united action on the part of Muhammadans and Hindus alike to remove the many social abuses that stand in the way of the progress of the Indian Mr Ranade recognizes as no friend of India recognizes that the salvation of India lies not in emphasising the sectional differences that divide the Indians and keep them apart but in making us all understand that these superficial differences of Jew and Gentile, Hindu and Muhammadan weigh as nothing against the common humanity of all

LAW AND DEMOCRACY

By Mr. RAM KESHAV RANADE, LL M.

District Judge, Sangli.

"ALL the evils of the world would cease," says Plato, "if lawyers would become philosophers and philosophers lawyers." Relying upon this assertion Scholars assert that law and philosophy should go hand in hand and that the fundamental problems must be decided not by lawyers or by philosophers ; but by legal philosophers. The question of democracy has engaged for many years past and is engaging at present the attention of legal philosophers all the world over and the implementation and harmonisation of their thoughts has been and continues to be the main problem of modern democracy. India has now gained freedom and we are on the threshold of a long period of constructive readjustment and restatement of our views regarding the democratic form of Government. It may be of some use at this juncture to have a glimpse into the fundamental principles of democracy as unfolded by legal philosophers, like Dr. Friedmann, Dean Pound, Prof. Hall, Mr. Jones and others.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

The evolution of the individual as the ultimate measure of things is a universally accepted standard of democratic society. The development of the individual to its complete potentialities is an old idea appearing in various philosophical systems. But the conception of a society based on well defined rights of the individual is a special idea of democracy. In philosophical systems the emphasis is on duty and not on right, but in a democratic society special stress is laid on right and not on duty. Democracy has not accepted the "right to do one's duty" as the only right. The trend of the modern democracy is extending the sphere of individual rights beyond the original trinity of life, liberty and property. It is increasingly tampering individual rights by social rights. The French convention stipulates common happiness as the end of society, whereas Bentham postulates the greatest happiness of the greatest number as the end of law. For getting a clear idea regarding the trend of modern democracy the specific individual rights which are said to constitute the legal pillars of democracy, may, in short, be adverted to.

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT AND FREEDOM OF LABOUR

The freedom of contract and freedom of labour are supposed to be the essential aspects of democracy. It may be remarked that freedom of contract calculated to emancipate labour from various fetters but afterwards owing to the inequality of bargaining business, freedom of contract came into conflict with freedom of labour. Taking into account the position of the rich like mill-owners and the poor like labourers, freedom of contract and freedom of labour which are essential requirements of democracy, have been subjected to various benevolent restrictions. Legal philosophers have no objection to such restrictions which are calculated to favour the poor; but they say that a real threat to freedom of labour comes from the increasing practice of Governments to direct and tie people to their jobs. All democratic States have introduced compulsion of labour as a war measure. But it is said that that measure should not be retained for a long time. The freedom to choose one's job and to change it at one's desire is one of the most essential aspects of democracy. The Soviet Constitution of 1936 has been the first to include the right to work that is the right to guaranteed employment and payment among individual rights. A consideration of the fundamental rights regarding freedom of contract and freedom of labour, shows that modern democracy has now blended individual rights with socialistic rights.

FREEDOM OF PROPERTY AND PERSON

In the opinion of Locke, Bentham, Spencer and the makers of French and American Constitutions, freedom of property constituted a cardinal principle of democracy. In modern conditions, however, property often becomes a means of control over other peoples' life and labour. Taking into account these conditions modern democracy has everywhere had to circumscribe freedom of property by social responsibility.

Personal freedom involves more rights than physical integrity of life and body.

It includes the protection of personal reputation of family relations and of domestic life The most important aspect of personal liberty is spiritual and intellectual freedom whose principal expressions are liberty of religion and thought liberty of speech writing and printing and liberty of peaceable association and discussion Freedom of speech and press is no doubt subject to the restraining laws of defamation and to the sound requirements of public safety but all the authors of modern democracy unanimously agree on the point that a system of State licensing the press or the control of opinion by the Ministry of propaganda are not at all compatible with democracy Regarding liberty it may be noted that the fundamental aspects of liberty are those which express and ensure 'the highest and the most harmonious development of man s powers to a complete and consistent whole

EQUALITY

The doctrine of legal equality dates from the era of the French and American Revolutions Legal equality means equal treatment of those equal before the law It includes in principle the extension of individual rights to all citizens as distinct from a privileged minority Neither the limitation of franchise or other civic rights nor legal inequality as between men and women or between white and black races is in tune and harmony with the basic legal ideas of democracy It may be noted that the ideas of individual freedom and equality are to be understood in a dynamic and not in a static sense Freedom means opening the road to the fullest development of personality and equality suggests equality of opportunity for all to participate in such development It signifies the removal not of natural differences but of the man made differences So far the U S S R has gone the farthest in carrying out the legislative implications of this democratic ideal to the greatest extent by giving full equality of status and opportunities to men and women by opening educational facilities to all citizens regardless of means and by removing many man made differences

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE

Individual rights and equality may exist even under a benevolent despotism They do not sufficiently characterize democracy unless they find fulfilment in the right of the people to participate in Government Democracy tries to reconcile popular will with individual rights and in particular the rights of the majority with those of the minority It is said in this connection that if the will of the majority is the supreme law individual rights cannot be inalienable The difficulty of reconciling both has involved many lawyers in contradictions The three main suggestions which indicate a way out of the dilemma are (i) the idea of proportionate representation championed by Mill and other liberal lawyers (ii) the idea of a protection of minority rights which is accepted by the American Constitution and (iii) the idea of the individual participation in Government from the national sphere The British constitution does not recognise any formal protection of individual or minority rights Nothing prevents the majority from passing any law it being supposed that the parliamentary recognition of an organised opposite party with a salaried leader would try to protect the rights of the minorities As regards the Constitution of the Soviet Union it may be noted that it is clearly undemocratic in as much as it allows only one privileged party as the expression of organized political opinion

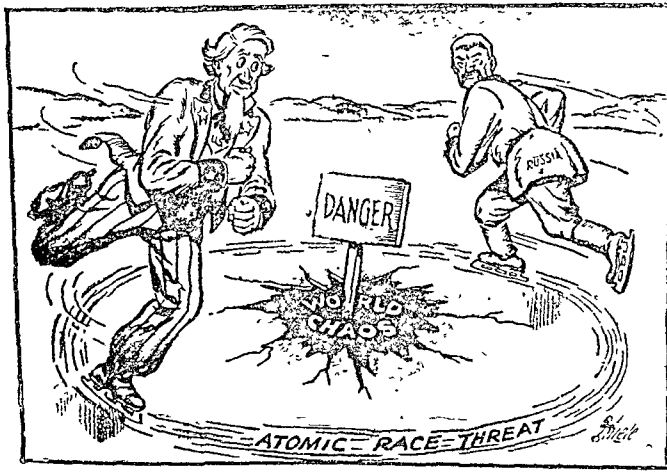
RULE OF LAW

The rule of law implies the principle of equality before the law and excludes the aristocratic principle which in the name of divine rights or inspired leadership exempts individuals and groups from the law of the land The recognition of a privileged class like the members of the Nazi organizations subject only to party tribunals is repugnant to democracy The inevitable corollary of a rule of law is the separation of the Judiciary from the executive and unless this is accomplished the form of Government cannot be compatible with democracy

CONCLUSION

Having regard to the aforesaid fundamental rights it will appear that modern democracy is trying to blend individual rights with socialistic principles At such a juncture all legal philosophers attach highest importance to the separation

of the judiciary from the executive. Democracy without a fearless and independent judiciary is well-nigh impossible. The democratic form of Government is not to be determined so much from the influence and popularity which the executive enjoys as the strength and independence of the judges and the respect and regard in which they are held. Democracy does not simply mean the rule of the majority, but it also means the respect of the majority for the rule of law and its willingness to honour the decisions of the judiciary even if they go against their wishes and expectations. The rule of law can prevail only and only when the judiciary is put in such a fearless position that it can compel the executive to function within the law. There is a dangerous tendency abroad to have a tall talk about democracy without understanding its fundamental principles. So far only the stream is fouled, but any attempt at minimising the importance of the rule of law will surely tend to corrupt the very fountain.



THIN ICE FOLLIES

Courtesy *The Pioneer.*

INDIANS FORGE AHEAD IN MAURITIUS

By Prof B BISSOONDOYAL B A (Hons) (Punj) M A (Cal)

THE various European powers that went out to India came to Mauritius too The Portuguese and the Dutch occupied the tiny island off the east coast of Africa only to abandon it later like the Romans who left Britain to take care of itself It is the French that came here to stay Mill's History of British India contains pages that are reproduced in the manuals of History of Mauritius read by school children Those pages are interesting in that they tell us of French governors whose names are associated both with India and Mauritius Mill relates how Mauritius and other neighbouring islands looked like during the French occupation when he writes —

> So little had been done for the improvement of these islands that the people few in number were living nearly in the state of nature They were poor without industry and without the knowledge of almost any of the useful arts They had neither magazine nor hospital neither fortification, nor defensive force military or naval They had no roads they had no beasts of burden and no vehicles

There was a change for the better owing to the labours of Bertrand Francois Mahe de la Bourdonnais The same British historian says that La Bourdonnais could construct a ship from the keel he performed the functions of engineer of architect and of agriculturist he broke bulls to the yoke, constructed vehicles and made roads To introduce any degree of vigilance and order in the management even of a hospital which he constructed for the sick it was necessary for him to perform the office of superintendent himself and for a whole twelve months he visited it regularly every morning During eleven years that La Bourdonnais was Governor there was but one law suit in the Isle of France he himself having terminated all differences by arbitration

To succeed in performing the functions of engineer he had recourse to Indians When twenty carpenters worked under the French Governor who shifted the capital of Mauritius (Isle de France) from Grand Port (the South) to Port Louis (named after Louis Napoleon) of the North West Harbour carpenters from India were in the proportion of 16 to 4 to the blacks He had 53 Indian masons as against 14 blacks ones.*

We are still in 1740 In 1810, the British would not allow the French to stay, at any rate to stay as rulers An important naval fight ensued and Mauritius was captured

It is on the fifteenth of August, 1947 that it was revealed in a book with the Asoka *chakra* on its unattractive cover, † that Indian sepoys numbering three thousand accompanied the conquering British soldiers and succeeded in giving the finishing touch at the Battle of Montagne Longue (the North)

Indian soldiers then preceded Indian immigrants Working under unfavourable conditions as they did the Indians developed the island further They continued the work begun by Governor La Bourdonnais Gratitude was not a virtue that could be sought in the rulers of Mauritius in those dark days Writing as far back as 1856, an Englishman sprang an unpleasant surprise on the readers of '*The Friend of India* ‡ He said amongst other things —

> "We recently warned all Indian readers, in search of health or anxious for leisure, to avoid a visit to Mauritius Port Louis, it is true is easy of access It is within the Indian limits the great attraction of all those who adhere to the rules of military leave The island itself is beautiful enough to allure even those who have seen Sicily, and the planters are said to be hospitable in the extreme but the curse of ignorance is over all If a Coolie (Hindu) or Lascar (Mohamedan) on board has an attack of diarrhoea, if a man of the crew becomes delirious with drink it is all over with the voyager The island goes mad Port Louis is in an uproar The Municipality (A Municipality had been established in 1850) passes treasonable resolutions They (the coolies) are sent thither on a barren rock under official protection under an implied guarantee that their lives shall not be sacrificed to the ignorant selfishness of a creole mob We are assured in the most positive manner that under existing regulations they are sacrificed—we had almost written murdered in scores at a time In January of this year the *Hyderee* and *Futteh Mobarruck* arrived in Port Louis with a cargo of coolies There were a few cases of diarrhoea on board such as will occur among all large assemblages of natives They were not, however, cases of cholera The Coolies, 656 in number worn out with sea sickness want of

* *Memoire a Orry* Page 126
† *Indians in the capture of Mauritius*
‡ A Calcutta paper

exercise, and all the *deagremens* incidental to a sea voyage, were turned out upon the islets. Nothing was given them for shelter, no wood, no grass, not even mud for building huts. The food was insufficient, the water was fetid, the exposure was such that even natives are unable to endure two hundred men perished on the rock . . .

The matter deserves, and will, we hope, receive the most serious attention of the Government of India. The follies of the Mauritians are nothing to any of us. They may believe they are hospitable, or that the sun goes round the earth or that Port Louis is an enlightened city, or any other absurdity they please. But even ignorance and credulity are not excuses for the wholesale sacrifice of our fellow subjects

The Coolies are attracted to Mauritius by an official pledge that their engagements shall be kept; that they shall be fairly treated and protected in the enjoyment of their rights. That pledge has been broken in a manner as silly as inhuman Without these Coolies, whom they thus leave to die, the Mauritians would be the happy possessors of a barren rock. We cannot appeal to their humanity, but we may to their thirst for dollars."

During the decade 1851-1861 the Indian population rose from 77,996 to 192,694. In no other decade has there been such a phenomenal rise. that Mauritius should have been hostile just at the time Indians gave the greatest help, is indeed a sad comment on the mentality of the people inhabiting the island then.

The dawn of the twentieth century saw the arrival of a great saviour. The late lamented Gokhale had founded his "Servants of India Society". A barrister young in years got inspired by the selflessness of its members and determined to play his part. The torch-bearer reached Mauritius on 11th October 1907. In the *Mauritius Almanach* there is an entry to the effect that he was the "first Indian lawyer practising in the colony." Shri Manilal Doctor, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, wrongly named Doctor Manilal by the 91-year-old weekly *Le Monde Illustre* of Paris, in its issue of March 27, 1948, succeeded in starting a paper christened *Hindustani* in English and Hindi. The Arya Samaj sprang up. The Ahmadiya movement, another religious movement wielding no mean influence in the Punjab, came upon the heels of the Arya Samaj.

Material prosperity went hand in hand with intellectual advancement. The French who stayed in Mauritius ceased to be the moneyed class. Part of the wealth that the country possessed had changed hands. The children of whites born of non-white mothers had most of the riches. As nobody could claim that all those who go by the appellation of Franco-Mauritians now are really whites, the well-to-do section began to be gradually assimilated to the white population. Rev. Patric Beaton, M.A., (Lond) institutes an instructive comparison:

"In Europe, we often hear of noble blood; but in Mauritius, all blood that circulates in white men's veins is noble".

The Indians were not lagging behind. From labourers they became land owners. Their children began to admire Shri Manilal. It was then that Indo-Mauritians went out for the first time to Europe and India in search of knowledge.

It is interesting to compare the Indian renaissance with the Mauritian one. Every movement that has a great beginning slackens with the passing of time. Many *Mandals* and *Maha Sabhas* were formed. Coming under the inspiration of scholars and reformers sent out to Mauritius by well-known Indian organisations, numerous youths served the community and earned the praise of all and sundry. But the period of enthusiasm was not to last for ever. Discouragement set in. Gloom descended upon the country.

When the writer left Mauritius in April 1933, to set sail for India for higher studies he was a dejected young man whose only hope was that he would gather strength in the land of his forefathers for the great struggle that was in store for him in his fatherland.

He came back in 1939. World war II was on. Restrictions were the order of the day. Little by little the people learnt to congregate. Mauritius is India in little. Here too provincial prejudices was a poison. Punjabis, Biharis, Bengalis, Madrasis and Gujaratis were taught to come together so often that they began to shed the century-old prejudice. They were all educated out of their aloofness When a *Mahayajna* was performed all o them contributed to its success. Educatec Mauritians did not disdain to take part in it.

The members of the *Scouts Dal* and the *Seva Samiti* showed so good a performance that the imagination of the whole population was stirred A day after the *Mahayajna* i e on 13th December 43 Municipal elections were held and Indo Mauritians scored an unprecedented success The Indian community came out so to say of the shadow of death

Three weeks before the hartal the whole world rejoiced on the 15th of August a red letter day in the history of Modern India The new movement in Mauritius had reached its apex in 1943 for it is not a passing interest that the *Mahayajna* had aroused The countrywide influence it exerted made the Indian Independence Day Celebrations a success December 12 1943 set the pattern for August 15 1947

On the 15th there were universal rejoicings Thousands of flags were hoisted Prayers were offered in all the temples Huge processions were held in important towns and villages of the island The masses were however disappointed when they reached Port Louis the capital Every speech delivered there was calculated to please those who have always illtreated the Indian population The villagers who stayed at Port Louis were left to spend a very sad night Many Indians had to sleep in the open They had been shocked during the day to see that when people flocked at the Champ de Mars the place where the meeting was held the police failed to maintain order although only some 15 to 20 thousand people assembled The ladies had not the chivalrous treatment that they are accorded in great cities The whole night they kept brooding over the insults offered gratuitously

But their disappointment did not last long On the 17th the date on which British soldiers began to leave India for good another meeting was organised Some twenty thousand Indians and non Indians attended it Once again the *Swayam Sevaks* gave a good account of themselves and the momentary gloom became a thing of the past The whole situation was saved The Indians of Mauritius are in good spirits The celebrations have heightened their prestige in the eyes of their non Indian countrymen They who were sometimes ashamed of their Indian origin as the direct result of their inferiority complex only a few years ago are among the first to hoist the flag of the Indian Union

The appointment of Mr Dharam Yash Dev as Commissioner coupled with the general elections held under a new Constitution may bring about a change But in this billowy world of change will the change in Mauritius be for the better? Are we going to pass from darkness into light? The new Constitution has been secured at the cost of great sacrifice 'Franco Mauritians now have to sit side by side with an equal if not superior, number of members of the coloured population and Indo Mauritians in the new Council It has become next to impossible for a disproportionate majority of whites to sit in the Legislative Council at a time when the Indian element is forging ahead and thinking highly of the coloured population that have in recent years produced a leader of the calibre of Dr Curé the founder of the Mauritius Labour Party A Government having no roots in the life of the people cannot be backed enthusiastically We who are doing what little we can remain dissatisfied with the results achieved so far We are prepared to meet reverses with renewed accessions of strength My co workers and I are destined to suffer again

Not for us are content and quiet, and peace of mind
For we go seeking a city that we shall never find"

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest and in particular on subjects bearing on the political commercial industrial and economic condition of India Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review* G T, Madras

LEAGUE COVENANT AND U. N. CHARTER

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

(University of Allahabad)

WAR-weary Worlds have in them the atmosphere for evolving schemes of perpetual peace. Linyutang, that versatile Chinese writer, dubbed Europe as the breeding-ground of War-microbes. Attempts at reconstruction of the world could be made in Europe also. The fall of Napoleon, the abdication of the Kaiser and the collapse of Hitler had each in turn given birth to the Holy Alliance, the League Covenant and the United Nations' Charter. The League Covenant since 1931 when Japan crossed the Yalu was being given a smothering by Big Powers as Japan, Italy and Germany. One power never co-operated with the League from the very beginning. On its Economic and Social side, the League proved a success. Its auxiliary organizations, the International Labour Organization and the Permanent Court of International Justice have left behind conventions and judgments of profound value to students of International Organization.

THE PROBLEM IN 1945

Three possible solutions were open to the allies, U. S. A., U.S S.R. and G.B. who had co-operated in war against the common enemy. One was to fill up the gaps in the League Covenant and perfect it in the light of events from 1931-1945. Another was to plunge into a scheme leading to a world-federation. A third view was to pursue pragmatically and evolve an institution where Collective Security could be achieved consistent with the acknowledged primacy of the Big Three.

The mechanism that has been evolved at San Francisco in 1945 had been foreshadowed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals of 1944. The third track has been followed keeping intact the I.L O. and the International Court of Justice. One tremendous change has happened. The centre of gravity has been shifted to the new world and U. S. A.'s determined stand-away from her century-old isolationism—to take full responsibility to preserve global peace is an epoch-making change in international affairs.

THE CHARTER STARTS

Critics have not been wanting who find in the increased documentation of one hundred and eleven articles—an improvement over the more elegantly drafted Covenant by eighty-five articles—much verbiage, avoidable looseness, and platitudes galore. Unlike the League Covenant which was not given a fair trial, by Big Powers, the United Nations' Charter starts with the determination "of the peoples of the United Nations". It is not an accident that the Drafting Committee of our Constituent Assembly has elected to incorporate the preamble of the League Covenant in Article 40. Any comparison of the two documents has to suffer from the fact that sufficient time has not yet run to understand the implications of the U. N. Charter. Fifty-eight nations are now members of the U. N. O.

THE PIVOTS OF U.N.O.

One of the causes of the failure of the League experiment was the "absence of an executive authority able to take binding decisions and possessing adequate means to ensure these decisions being carried out." President Roosevelt stated that "the hope of a peaceful and advancing world will rest upon the willingness and ability of the peace-loving nations, large and small, bearing responsibilities commensurate with their individual capacities, to work together for the maintenance of peace and security."

In the new set up not one of the terms in the Covenant would pass muster—"The League Council" "The P. C. I. J." The Mandates system"—all these are substituted by the "Security Council" "the International Court of Justice" and "the International TRUSTEESHIP system."

The pivot of the U. N. O. is the Security Council where the permanent members *have an effective veto* power (Vide. Art. 27 and also Art. 108 dealing with amer

There was the right of withdrawal in the League Covenant the U N Charter deals with only contingencies of Suspension and expulsion (Art 5 and 6) The Security Council is entrusted with *primary responsibility for international peace and security* There was a *possibility of addition* to the number of the permanent members in the League mechanism (Art 4 of the Covenant) No such provision is found in the Charter

The crux of the United Nations Organization is that world *peace and security are only consistent with agreement between the Big three Super powers* U S A U S S R and G B Of course two others owing to historical reasons have been added to the list of permanent members Professor Schuman has graphically depicted this international situation — the three Super powers decently clothed in the garments of respectability and legality are enabled to rule large areas of the world outside their frontiers This is precisely as it should be because either the Big Three will rule the world or it will not be ruled at all

THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ACTION

It is too soon to assess the work of the world's most powerful Council in charge of peace and security Its existence has been taken up with seemingly interminable wrangles on points of procedure The apprehension of the small powers as Australia on the Veto power was set at rest by the commentaries of U S A and U S S R It is significant of the realistic shrewdness that has been characterizing India that she has supported the veto power as it is *the corner stone of* Big Power concerted action

Fears have been expressed as early as 1945 which are by no means imaginary — In our Charter there are marvellous words and marvellous sentiments If advantage will be taken of any rule to stultify what has been done—if all of us will not live up to the pledges we take in accepting the Charter and the whole of the Charter in all its ramifications then these beautiful words will become just empty sounds sounding brass and tinkling cymbals (MR FRASER)

PROGRESSIVE FEATURES

The International Court of Justice with its statutes has become stronger for the entry of U S A All members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice (Art 93) Besides the General Assembly and the Security Council other organs of the United Nations when authorised by the General Assembly may also request advisory opinions of the Court (Art 96)

It is yet too soon to pass judgment over the working of the International Trusteeship system If Art 22 of the League Covenant looked like an University Extension Lecture higher praise can hardly be bestowed upon the looser draftsmanship that characterizes Chapter XII of the Charter The Security Council has the Special responsibility regarding trusteeship over strategic areas As in all cases of trusts the success of the supervision rests upon the strict *bonafides* of the Trustee who is given powers for progressively developing the beneficiaries towards self government (Art 76)

PROSPECT AHEAD

In many provisions of the Charter though the terms have been changed there is a repetition of the covenant under the provisions of the U N Charter a revolution in International Law has been effected Neutrality is no longer a legitimate Status If an instructed international public opinion will vigilantly guard the basic principles of *freedom peace* and *Security* the United Nations Organization will be given a fair trial

A PHANTOM OF DESIRE

BY LT R L COOK

She comes in cloud and sunshine
A phantom of desire,
In cloud her flesh is water
In light it is a fire

Water and fire surround me
And I shall never learn
Poised on a blade of longing
Whether to drown or burn

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

SAY NOT, THE STRUGGLE NOUGHT AVAILETH

Arthur Clough's verses are familiar enough to students of English poetry. But the apt use of them by Winston Churchill when England was, facing the darkest hour of trial and tribulation lifted them at once from the obscurity of the student's chamber to the light of world publicity. For once listeners and readers alike felt the flash of sunlight and cheer breaking through the curtain of despair and gloom.

Say not, the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been, they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in you smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright

HOW ODD MEN ARE

How odd men are—if they die young they rail against the harshness of fate; if they attain old age, they say they have lived too long, that life is no longer worth living, and that they wish they were dead; and yet if they feel ill, they send off post-haste for a doctor and beg him to spare neither time nor trouble to keep them alive! What *do* they want?

—*Epictetus*

THE GLAMOUR OF LOVE

We know not life's reason
The length of its season,
Know not if they know, the great
ones above.

We none of us sought it,
And few could support it,
Were it not gift with the glamour of love.

—*The Garden of Kama.*

AN AGNOSTIC'S APOLOGY

Leslie Stephen wound up his "Agnostic's Apology" with these words:

We shall be content to admit openly what you whisper under your breath or hide in technical jargon, that the ancient secret is a secret still; that man knows nothing of the infinite and absolute; and that knowing nothing he had better not be dogmatic about his ignorance. And meanwhile we will endeavour to be as charitable as possible, and while you trumpet forth officially your contempt for our scepticism, we will at least try to believe that you are imposed upon by your own bluster.

Still more impatient was he of the "refined Epicureanism" or "rapid optimism" which he thought one of the worst and commonest tendencies of the age. He said:

The so-called believer of this type is a cynic in a thin disguise. He is partly aware that his belief is a sham, but he is not the less resolved to stick to so pleasant a sham. He answers his opponents with a shriek or a sneer. The sentiment which he most thoroughly hates and misunderstands is the love of truth for its own sake.

DOVER BEACH

Ah, love, let us be true
To one another for the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here, as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle
and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

—*M. Arnold.*

MAKE HASTE TO BE KIND

Life is short, and we have not too much time for gladdening the lives of those who are travelling the dark road with us. Oh, be swift to love, make haste to be kind.

THE TWINS

American humour is at its best in Mark Twain. In an encounter with a giant interviewer he has the following questions and answers:

Q. Who is this a picture of on the wall? Isn't that a brother of yours?

A. Oh! Yes, yes, yes! Now you remind me of it, that was a brother of mine. That's William—BILL we call him. Poor old Bill!

Q. Why? Is he dead then?

A. Ah! well I suppose so. We never could tell. There was a great mystery about it.

Q. That is said very sad. He disappeared then?

A. Well, yes, in a sort of general way. We buried him.

Q. Buried him! Buried him without knowing whether he was dead or not!

A. Oh no! Not that. He was dead enough.

Q. Well I confess that I can't understand this. If you buried him and you knew he was dead—

A. No! no! We only thought he was.

Q. Oh I see! He came to life again?

A. I bet he didn't.

Q. Well I never heard anything like this. Somebody was dead. Somebody was buried. Now where was the mystery?

A. Ah that's just it! That's it exactly. You see, we were twins—defunct and I—and we got mixed in the bathtub when we were only two weeks old and one of us was drowned. But we didn't know which. Some think it was Bill. Some think it was me.

Q. Well that is remarkable. What do you think?

A. Goodness knows! I would give whole worlds to know. This solemn, this awful mystery has cast a gloom over my whole life. But I will tell you a secret now which I have never revealed to any creature before. One of us had a peculiar mark—a large mole on the back of his left hand. That was me. THAT CHILD WAS THE ONE THAT WAS DROWNED.

THE DO NOTHINGS

Between the great things that we cannot do and the small things that we will not do, the danger is that we shall do nothing.

—*Adolphe Manoh*

Browning in 'Grammar and Funeral' gives poetic expression to this idea:

That low man seeks a little thing to do
Sees it and does it
This high man with a great thing to pursue
Dies ere he knows it
That low man goes on adding one to one
His hundreds soon hit
This high man, aiming at a million
Misses a unit

In the Inn Album, however, Browning makes his hero say:

Better have failed in the high aim as I
Than vilely in the low aim succeed
As God be thanked I do not!

FAREWELL

I have got my leave. Bid me farewell, my brothers. I bow to you all and take my departure.

Here I give back the keys of my door—and I give up all claims to my house. I only ask for the last kind words from you.

We were neighbours for long, but I received more than I could give. Now the day has dawned and the lamp that lit my dark corner is out. A summons has come and I am ready for my journey.

—*Tagore*

THE TOMB IS A THOROUGHFARE

For half a century I have been writing my thoughts in prose and in verse, history, philosophy, drama, romance, tradition, satire, ode and song. I have tried all. But I feel I have not said the thousandth part of what is in me. When I go down to the grave I can say like many others, I have finished my day's work, but I cannot say I have finished my life. My day's work will begin again the next morning. The tomb is not a blind alley, it is a thoroughfare. It closes on the twilight, it opens on the dawn.

—*Hugo*

SUFFERING AND SONG

They learn in suffering what they teach in Song.

—*Shelley*

BREAKING IT GENTLY

A wealthy planter returned to the South after some time and rang for his Negro servant Rastus

"Well, you old rascal, anything happen at the estate while I was gone? '

"Nothing worth mentioning boss, except of course the two boys who died from eating too much burnt horse-flesh ?

"Where on earth did they get hold of burnt horse-flesh ? "

"They were when the stables caught fire, boss "

"The stables ? "

"Yes sir ! Sparks from the big house, they figured "

"How did the fire start ? '

"From the candles round the coffin, boss "

"Good heavens, Rastus ! Whose coffin ?"

"Your ma boss I expect she died from shock. '

"What shock ? "

Your wife, boss She done run away with the butler

THE WORST LINES

We are all familiar with patches of dreary wastes in long poems No poet indeed could maintain his top form all through Not unfrequently one comes across a line or two unworthy of Burns and Shelley even in their short lyrical pieces Wordsworth's "Excursion abounds in them But the palm for perpetrating the worst couplet in English should go to a distinguished poet who flourished in the jolly days of King Edward VII of whose illness he wrote

Along the line the electric message came,
He is not worse, but much the same

PIOUS SELINDA

Pious Selinda goes to prayers
If I but ask the favour,
And yet the tender fools in tears
When she believes I'll leave her

Would I were free from this restraint
Or else had hopes to win her
Would she could make of me a Saint,
or I of her a Sinner

—*W M Congreve*

THE WORLD—A BIG QUARRY

A passage in Goethe's novel Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship runs —

The entire world lies before us like a big quarry before the builder, who only deserves the name if he shapes these accidental masses of nature according to an image in his mind with the greatest economy, usefulness and firmness Everything outside us is only an element Yes, and I may add, everything in us too, but deep down in us there lies this creative force, which is able to create what ought to be and does not allow us any rest until we have shaped it outside or inside ourselves in the one or other manner

Though Goethe was on the whole averse to dogmatic axioms he believed to the end that only constant endeavour makes this short life worth living As Faust says at the end of Part II —

This is the last word of wisdom ;
Only he deserves his freedom and his life
Who daily has to fight for them anew

OLD AGE

Old age is a subject on which some people are a little touchy but Viscount Samuel, nearing eighty, has these heartening words in his 'Creative Man and other Essays" On the last page of his book he says

"If you expect me to end by telling you about the sad experiences of old age, that I cannot do, for I have not yet had any Although I find myself, according to the calendar not very far from eighty, this Polonius is not qualified by personal knowledge to add to his moralising any disquisition on the infirmities and disabilities of old age People ask me sometimes whether I am an optimist or a pessimist I answer—neither In the present state of the world optimism is fatuous, and pessimism always is ignoble George Eliot, when she was asked that question used to answer that she was a meliorist' meaning one who held that on the whole things were better now than they had been in the past, and might be better still in the future, but that we needed effort to make them so Meliorism is a good word, expressing a sound view life, and it is a pity it has not come into common use "

18th Century Indian Diplomatic Missions

MYSORE ENVOYS AT CONSTANTINOPLE

BY LIBRA

—— o ——

IT is not very often that one hears of pre-nineteenth century Indians going out of India to countries beyond the seas. It has always been the other way round and since the time of Buddha there have been any number of foreign visitors to this country who have come travelled returned and wrote about their experiences.

Hence it would refresh one to know that in the eighteenth century a small number of diplomatic missions consisting of Indian diplomats, were sent out of India by Tippu Sultan, the ruler of the Mysore kingdom. The missions were mostly anti British because the Sultan's lifelong desire and sole occupation was to drive the British away from India.

The first mission was to Constantinople and its leader was a Mysore Muslim Mir Ghulam Ali Khan. Ghulam Ali must have been a most remarkable man. He was Tippu Sultan's Mir-Suddur or Inspector General of Forts and Garrisons and Mir-e-Yem or Lord of the Admiralty and all these duties he discharged with 'great ability and competence without having control of either of his legs!

Rheumatism robbed Ghulam Ali of the use of his legs early in life and he became a complete cripple. He never could move his legs and always had to be carried in a silver chair by twelve bearers. Tippu Sultan and the people of Seringapatam called him 'Langda Ghulam Ali Khan' while the English, to whom also he was very well known, styled him as 'Ghulam Ali of the Silver Chair'.

Tippu Sultan's embassy to Turkey consisted of four persons Ghulam Ali Khan Lutif Ali Beg, Sha Nur Ullan and Muhammad Huneef. The Sultan had instructed Ghulam Ali its leader, to proceed to France after finishing his business in Turkey and negotiate directly with that power for help against the English.

The mission, with an armed escort of five hundred Mysore soldiers and six hundred other followers started from the Sultan's port of Mangalore in 1785 on four ships manned by Indian seamen. In accordance with the custom of all Indian courts Ghulam Ali carried with him rich presents for the Grand Seignor (Title of the Sultan of Constantinople) and the ladies of his harem and we learn that he also took with him four big tuskers from the Mysore forest all of which, unfortunately for the embassy, died before they reached their destination.

After two months at sea, the four Mysore ships arrived at the port of Basra but with the arrival started Ghulam Ali's first mishap. One of his four ships caught fire while sailing up the Shat-ul Arab (confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris). Flames completely enveloped it before anything could be done to bring them under control and fortunately all aboard were rescued just in time. Not a bit of the costly silks and shawls nor the provisions that were stocked in the vessel could be saved.

At Basra, Suleman Pasha, its Governor, was all politeness to the mission and treated Ghulam Ali Khan with great respect. But whenever the Mysore ambassador asked leave of him to proceed to Constantinople, he would not give it, saying that orders from the Grand Seignor had not yet arrived. It seemed as if the Mysore embassy was destined to live in Basra for ever waiting for that order, when one *morning*, Suleman Pasha sent word that his master 'had permitted his slave Suleman Pasha to allow the most worthy ambassador from the Kingdom of Mysore to proceed to Constantinople'.

The Sultan of Constantinople apparently did not think much of Tippu's ambassadors. He refused to see them for six months and when he consented to receive them into his presence this was all that happened. The interview is extracted from Wilk's *History of Mysore*.

"The Grand Seignor was seated in a balcony and they made their obeisance from below To the question 'Are you well?' addressed in a low tone to an officer near him and repeated through the medium of three others before it reached the ambassador, the customary answer was returned 'Praying for your prosperity

'You have sustained much fatigue? 'It is transformed into delight The sequel of taking leave instantly succeeded and they departed after performing the Indian *tusleemat* (three low salaams, the hand each time touching the ground) After nine months they had their audience of leave at which not one word was uttered and *tusleemat* began and concluded the ceremony

And what was the great business the embassy had to transact with the Grand Seignor? To get the port of Basrah in exchange for that of Mangalore to build a factory at Basra for stocking goods from Mysore and lastly the Grand Seignor's permission to dig a channel from the river Euphrates to the Shiah Shrine of Nejef Anyhow, this was the business Ghulam Ali had to transact for all unworthy ears to hear The real purpose was an alliance against the British

During a subsequent interview with the Vizier of the Grand Seignor a rather awkward moment arrived for the envoy from Mysore Tippu Sultan, it must be remembered, came from a very low stock to claim equality with the Sultan of Constantinople and the Vizier hinted it to Ghulam Ali Khan Whether Ghulam Ali was prepared for such a question is uncertain but he recited with promptitude and fluency a very plausible genealogy, utterly destitute of truth, which Tippu Sultan on the return of the embassy actually ordered to be inserted in his history!"

Though 'politically' a failure, 'socially' the embassy must have been a great success We learn that during its stay at Constantinople, the envoys were entertained with a great variety of public spectacle and were treated with much courtesy and distinction In one such public display, the five hundred sepoys from Mysore won Turkish admiration by showing their skill in all kinds of Indian military sports

In the midst of such gaiety, misfortunes began to rain on the Mysore embassy The dreadful pestilence of plague commenced and one by one the Mysorean escorts and servants began to die On the first day two men were dead, on the second twenty and on the third nearly a hundred This naturally alarmed Ghulam Ali and he immediately ordered his mission to leave Constantinople But even then the plague had its toll and before the Mysoreans got out of that Turkish city, five hundred and sixty-five of them were lying in its cemetries

From Constantinople the mission embarked for Alexandria for it still had to visit France and carry on negotiations with its government for help The plague followed them into Egypt also and even during the voyage killed an average of fifty persons per day The bodies, we learn, were kept in the ships and after arrival at Alexandria buried with all Muslim rites

At Alexandria Ghulam Ali was relieved of the greatest anxiety of his life He feared going into France in his present condition with his escort and funds reduced to such a great extent A French traveller from India proceeding to France met him in that city and told him that Tippu Sultan was proposing to send a separate embassy to France and that Ghulam Ali may return to India

On the news of this new mission, Ghulam Ali prepared to return to India The plague was still active in his camp and most of his personal servants fell victims to it However, the embassy started from Alexandria and hiring Egyptian boats travelled up the Nile as far as Cairo At Cairo, it disembarked and proceeded towards the Isthmus of Suez on a camel caravan During this journey, Ghulam Ali had to be without his silver chair for the first time in his life Of the twelve faithful bearers he had, eleven had died of the plague So the chair had to be packed on the back of a camel and Ghulam Ali Khan crossed the [illegible] in a cradle on a camel's back

nearly a week of travel they arrived at Suez but not before having a petty skirmish with some desert robbers at whom Ghulam Ali swore that he would let loose all the soldiers of Tipp Sultan

At Suez the mission again took ship to Jedda From Jedda the religious centres of Mecca and Medina were visited

At Mecca the tactfulness of Ghulam Ali Khan was put to test The chief of Mecca a venerable old man with a white beard let a rascal suggest to Ghulam Ali that the money from Mysore which was still in the hands of the mission would be gratefully accepted as a loan repayable in a year hence at the very residence of the worthy Mysoreans with interest regularly calculated and added The embassy of course was to remain in Mecca until it complied with his little request

Ghulam Ali was not taken aback by this He repaired to his quarters and taking some of Tippu's notepaper wrote on it in all verbosity how the Mysore army after beating down to dust all opposition in India was on its way to Arabia in five hundred ships and how the Sultan himself was preparing to lead it to victory The letter was sent with a Mysore soldier who was instructed to go out of Mecca disguised and come back with the letter and fall into the hands of the guards of the city gates On the morrow the Chief of Mecca having seen this letter sent words to Ghulam Ali that his little request might be overlooked as it was not after all very urgent and also asked him if he wanted an Arabian guard to accompany him and his retinue as far as the sea

From Arabia the embassy got aboard a ship bound for Mangalore exactly five years after starting from Seringapatam and only a portion of a ship was sufficient for it for out of the 1100 persons who made the team only 68 were alive the rest lying scattered in the graveyards of the various cities of Turkey Syria Egypt and Arabia The Secretary of the embassy estimated the total expense of the embassy including the pay of the escort and the value of the ship lost at 20 lakhs of rupees and slily observed that the only value received in return was a *firman* from the Sultan of Room (another title of the Sultan of Constantinople) and sixty five half quires of journal worth at the highest estimation of the two articles in rarity and waste paper about five rupees

Of course Tippu Sultan was mad with rage when Ghulam Ali reported to him on his arrival at Seringapatam He immediately dismissed him from his service and placed him under house arrest and began to call him and his three fellow-envoys as manaiters because they had returned from Constantinople after eating up their companions



Mr Ernest Bevin Britain's Foreign Secretary leader of the UK delegation to the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers

TASK BEFORE DEMOCRACY

BY DR SIR C P RAMASWAMI AIYER, KOSI

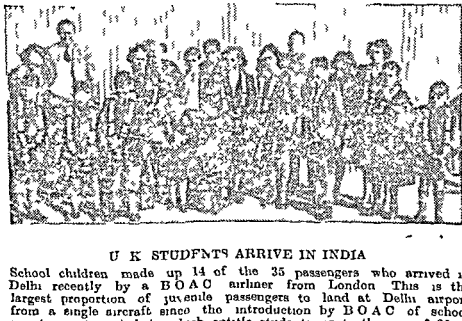
[Inaugurating the Twelfth Indian Political Science Conference at Madras on December 29, Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyer pleaded for a "reorientation of values and a regrouping of our ideas so as to fit democracy for the newer and more comprehensive tasks of to-day"—ED *I. R*]

WE have witnessed a rapid and phenomenal modification of world thought The political ideal of the immediate past was liberty, but its general outlook was mechanical and to no small extent, depended on the "laissez faire doctrine and its results Even the French Revolution did not basically transform the underlying scheme of society and England and France, after their political revolutions did not create economic equality The present insistence of human thinking is as much on justice as on liberty, such justice being founded on an integrated and purposive outlook, on the insistence of economic minima and on the need for leisure and freedom from apprehension of all kinds In this synthetic age, Governments have to enter into every phase of life not only national health, insurance and medical benefits being within their ambit but even the departments of education sport, radio and entertainment It is now realised that what was formerly called 'liberty of work' was really an illusion The bargaining power of capital was strengthened by all the forces of organised society and the dice was loaded against the worker In the modern industrial environment the danger is ever present of man becoming a cog-wheel in the mechanism and the present-day mass production methods accentuate the already existing tendency to minimise individuality of thought and action So much is this the case that the prevalent belief is that there is no choice between Capitalism and Communism and human freedom is, alas, at a discount in either case

The formulation of Fundamental Rights and even the inculcation of obedience and discipline are not enough, but what is essential is a sense of social solidarity and responsibility. In other words, there should be developed a moral strength to regulate individual freedom so as to allow equality of rights to others Democratic institutions are as liable to abuse as monarchical and the obedience to party and class interests is specially deleterious, and what a recent philosopher described as the distinctive flux of crowd psychology is a special risk A well-known writer has adverted to the tendency to create a mass standardised man increasingly deprived of initiative and divested of personal responsibility by an omnipotent central power The present conditions of over-production in the industrialised countries mean that man lives in a crowd but has no social integration He insists on rights, but is losing his independent and responsible character The larger the population which a Representative Government succeeds in covering, the less is the power of each person and the smaller the value of his vote Democracy will succeed only in proportion to the character of the people who have evolved it Democracy, no doubt, eliminates caprice and tyranny on the part of a single individual, but the danger of unregulated democracy not backed by character is that people are apt to judge rashly, impulsively or sentimentally, whereas leaders are all on the other hand to consider only practical expediency, deception being often used to avoid facing unpleasant issues Moreover, representatives elected for short periods have neither the time nor the equipment to consider or insist on long-term policies and stability and continuity are, thus, jeopardised The democratic system works best when people are agreed upon main lines of policy appropriate to the country and the best conditions for the evolution of truly democratic institutions arise when men's differences can be canalised into two broad streams, namely, conservative and progressive opinion as distinguished from reactionary and revolutionary opinion If genuine differences do not get adequate opportunities of expression, the party system may ultimately lead to bribery of the public and to partial and unjust taxation.

	Under Niemeyer award per cent	Under recent revision per cent
Bombay	20	21
Bengal (undivided)	20	13
Madras	15	18
U P	15	19
Bihar	10	13
Punjab (undivided)	8	5
C P	5	6 (Punjab East)
Assam	2	3
Orissa	2	3

This is only a provisional reallocation necessitated by the situation created by the partition of India As regards the income-tax, while the share of the centre is not disputed it is the allocation among the Provinces that is being criticised as arbitrary without reference to the due claims of the Provinces Already the reduction of Bengal's share of incometax from 20 to 12 per cent has come in for a good deal of criticism In the case of Bombay, it is now pointed out that according to 1948—49 budget Bombay s contribution was shown at Rs 61 crores against that of Madras and U P which amounted to nearly Rs 11 crores and Rs 7½ crores respectively The Sarkar Committee which was appointed by the Government of India in connection with the new constitution of the Indian Union soon after partition to examine the financial allocation recommended that in respect of incometax 35 per cent should be made available to the Provinces on the basis of collection, 20 per cent on the basis of population and 5 per cent on the basis of special needs, the balance of 40 per cent. going to the centre The Sarkar report is fairer to the Provinces than the Niemeyer award that the Sarkar report was not accepted It is now urged that there should be a re-examination of the whole question giving proper weight to all the factors namely population, area, venue of industry and place of collection Whatever be the findings of Sir Deshmukh regarding the reallocation of the income-tax between the centre and the federating units under the Union constitution, it is well to point out that a proper balance is necessary and the old idea of pitting Provincial against Central interests is now out of date so that however much the incometax is used as a balancing factor the Union government and the Provinces must hereafter look to their developmental schemes for additional revenues in order to meet their increasing expenditures



U K STUDENTS ARRIVE IN INDIA

School children made up 14 of the 35 passengers who arrived in Delhi recently by a B O A C airliner from London This is the largest proportion of juvenile passengers to land at Delhi airport from a single aircraft since the introduction by B O A C of school vacation return tickets which entitle students up to the age of 21 to travel to and from school at half fare On arrival, the first to greet the children was Mr C Reynolds Payne, B O A C's Station Manager, who garlanded each child as he or she alighted from the aircraft

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

By Mr ARNOLD D HUNT

THE Australian Government recently offered three scholarships to Indian students for studies in Australia from the beginning of 1949 These are for graduates and the aim is to help scientific development in India The offer of these scholarships is a new venture and will probably be followed by more of the same kind It shows that Australia is becoming interested in India

These two countries are neighbours and in the future they must get much closer together than they have been in the past We can best see the whole subject of their dealing with each other by asking and answering three questions

What do the people of Australia and India know of each other? What have the two countries had to do with each other in the past? What should be their future relationship?

Take the first Everybody in Australia goes to school between the ages of five and fourteen and in these years they learn a lot about their own country not so much about the countries of Europe and even less about the lands nearest to Australia—the countries of Asia But there are things which every school boy knows about India He knows that India is hot that it grows rice and tea He knows that most of the people are either Hindus or Muslims He knows a little about British rule but for most Australians Indian History means Plassey 1757 and the Mutiny 100 years later The Australian has read in his daily paper about Mr Gandhi and Pandit Nehru He vaguely thinks that precious articles can be bought for a song that snake charmers are a daily sight that tigers are dangerously prevalent and so on He may encourage his fussy child to eat by talking about the starving millions of India He knows that Indians can play hockey And so we could go on—the knowledge consists of bits and pieces

What do Indians know of Australia? The generality knows nothing The educated Indian is acquainted with certain facts about the country—its size its small population the existence of that strange animal the Kangaroo the advanced state of Australian farming the love Australians have for cricket Don Bradman—but on the whole the knowledge is lamentably limited Most Indians are not aware of the nature of the Australian climate—and the consequence—nearly half of Australia is arid desert in which few people can live

The second question concerns the past relationship between the two countries In the very distant past there was a land link between the two The Geological evidence for this is strong In the not so distant but still very remote past there was a movement of people from India through South—East Asia into Australia These were aboriginal people and anthropologists give the name Proto—Australoid to a group of ancient Indians in South India There is a kinship between these and the aborigines of Australia Australia remained isolated and as far as we know for centuries there was no contact with outside until the voyages of the Dutch French and English explorers in the seventeenth centuries and after This led to the settlement of the country by the British in 1788 Since then there has been little association between the people of the two countries In 1882 Indian Coolies were brought to help with Railway building in northern Australia but most did not stay long

There have been occasional Indians in Australian schools some professional people a few business representatives and a few have come with trading or educational missions

The same can be said of Australians in India Their number in Government service business and mission work has been small

The relationship has been primarily a trading one Australian farmers use wheat bags made of Indian Jute and drink tea grown in Assam Bengal and elsewhere Australian wheat has in recent years been a great help during food shortages in India and Australian jams are sold in every decent sized bazaar in the country The list is a long one

What of the future relationship between India and Australia? There are two new factors in the situation

One is that India now has its own foreign policy. Up till a year ago this was not so, but self governing India can make an independent approach to foreign countries. This foreign policy will be increasingly concerned with Asia and as was apparent at the Asian Relations Conference early last year India aspires today for the position of leadership in Asia.

The other factor is Australia's discovery that the 'Far East' is really a very near East. There have always been hundreds of thousands of Asian people living near Australia but only in recent years has this fact come home to Australia. Australia must have an Asian policy. Her leaders know that Australia is really in the Asian Zone. Australians will be interested in Indian's foreign policy.

In any discussion of Indo-Australian relationship the subject of Australia's immigration policy is bound to be raised. To call this, "White Australia' is to confuse the issue and justifiable resentment on the part of Indians is the natural result. The policy is immediately regarded as another example of colour prejudice. When the history of the legislation is stated and Indians see that the two chief reasons for the strict control of incoming population are, firstly, to protect Australian living standards and, secondly, to safeguard the continent's defence, then a great step towards understanding will be made. Even so, liberal groups in Australia see that some modification of the policy must take place. On the other hand it is unlikely that immigration from India or any other Asian country to Australia will solve living problems in Asia. The solution of Asia's poverty does not lie in migration but in a changed economy.

Finally, India and Australia must get to know each other. Greater publicity, teaching exchanges, student conferences, lectureships for Indians in Australian Universities and similar posts for Australians in India—these are some of the ways of increasing understanding. And last but not least, more sporting tours.

Who knows what the future holds for Asia? Perhaps even our generation may see India and Australia united in the defence of democratic ideals, allied together against those who would destroy the fundamental liberties without which a truly human life is not possible.



MISS QUERTIER IN CALCUTTA

A striking action picture of Miss J. Quertier, the British tennis star, who took part in the Asian Championship Tournament in Calcutta on 18th December.

Germany, 55 years in England and 47 years in Japan And what is even more alarming is that with the rapid industrialisation of the country the longevity in India has been steadily going down The average expectancy of life in 1881 happened to be about 30 years ; to-day we have just seen, it is so low as 23 years With this low level of health and the persistent deterioration in the nation's vitality, we can hardly afford to go on with all sorts of random schemes of disjointed industrialisation, without having first planned our distributional and our living conditions For what is a nation's wealth worth if the nation itself be dying out ? Following is a vivid picture of the workers' mode of life, as quoted from Mrs Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Says she " You enter timidly the little door of the chawl and grope along A faint light flickers casting a lurid shadow over the family A child is gazing in troubled wonder at a world that knows not how to feed his hunger Its rickety limbs stand out like the widowed limbs of a tree in winter The father, bent with grief and thwarted hopes has found his regeneration in a mug of toddy and now hovers over them like a monster The mother's shadow flits silently across hither and thither ministering to a hundred thousand wants, her hands endowed only with the wealth of an empty purse Prowling all over the floor are little mites in whom the future is shadowed like a grim spectre, a life without hope and ambition, nothing but an endless vista of dreamless existence That is more a death than life " Without being sentimental, it might well be asserted that a large part of the social and moral ills of society to-day, are due exclusively to bad housing conditions How often do not the workmen's tenements and the appalling living conditions engendered by them and curiously enough, the acute shortage of even such housing facilities, prove an open gate-way to prostitution ? How often do not we find the wide-spread prevalence of numerous wasting diseases, festered wholly and solely by insanitary living conditions ? No wonder, that infant mortality should be high and the death-rate even higher than the high birth-rate. The following are detailed mortality figures, per thousand in some of the world's busiest industrial centres —

COMPARATIVE VITAL STATISTICS

	Calcutta	Madras	Bombay	New York	London	Cawnpore
Population	2,110,051	768,798	1,421,498	7,521,000	4,095 000	487,324
Death rate per thousand	27 6	33 9	25 0	9 9	11 4	32 69
Infant mortality rate per 1000 of live births	212 0	205 8	201 4	30 8	48 0	433 43
Birth rate per 1000	26 1	43 2	33 4	13.6	15 0	27 5

The above vital statistics show that Indian cities compare very unfavourably with other industrial centres While the population is comparatively lower the mortality figures are very high And what is more alarming is that the death rate exceeds the birth rate

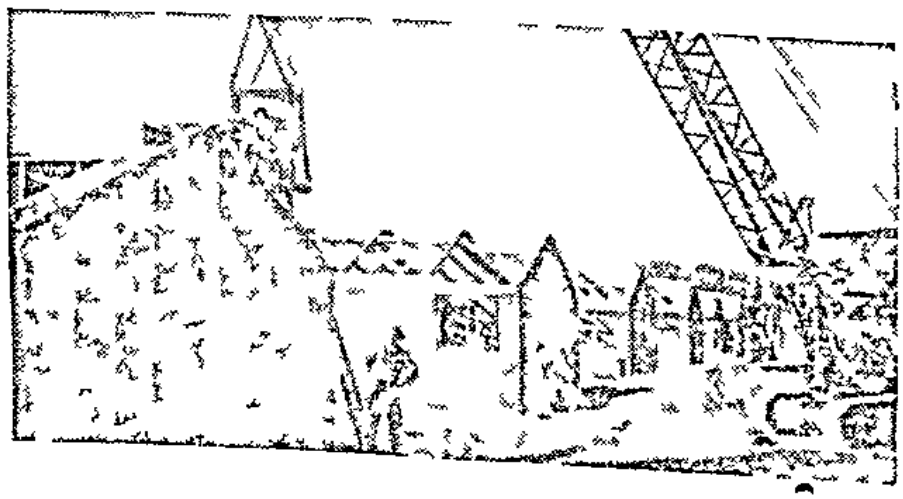
The above figures do not have an extraordinary story to tell Cholera, T B, and similar wasting diseases, are highly contagious, how is it, then, that they affect the lower classes to a far greater extent than they affect the upper strata of society ? Poverty, and consequently, lack of treatment may be one minor cause ; but it may well be asked how is it that the lower classes are more liable to these attacks Clearly, insanitary living explains a good part of this mystery And insanitary living is only the natural corollary of wretched housing conditions

From the foregoing analysis, we can reasonably infer the poor health among the working classes It is they who in fact swell the mortality figures Malaria takes toll of thousands of workers yearly. Cholera sweeps the city from time to time and accounts for an ever greater number Tuberculosis and other diseases arising from deficiency of diet and unhealthy living conditions form a part of the heritage of the child who is unfortunate enough to be born in the workmen's chawls Their dumb silence is fraught with dull life of pain that no pen can describe

Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee once observed There is no clearer index of bad environmental conditions in an industrial city than a heavy infant mortality and there can be no surer criterion of social efficiency and sanitary administration than the lowering of this mortality Among our industrial cities Cawnpore has been especially notorious for its high infant mortality rate Of every 1000 children born in Cawnpore on an average 433 43 die before they reach the age of one year

The Royal Commission on Labour had attributed decades back this high infantile mortality to the extremely insanitary conditions of living exposing infants from their birth to infection of almost every description The same is true even to day Along with the serious evil of high infant mortality there is a large number of still births in our industrial cities In the year 1942 the still births for the city of Cawnpore were recovered at 320 and in 1943 at 348 Abortion is also quite common The economic loss to the community in the birth and the rearing of offspring who do not live and in the sickness and disease that devitalise the working class is incalculable

Epidemics work havoc among the industrial workers thus bringing down their average expectation of life and production capacity These diseases again are largely due to the wretched sanitary conditions and even the total absence of latrines in many of housing areas In many cases the water supply is not pure and no bathing and washing facilities are provided The use of the ordinary surface tank pond or stream causes frequent outbreaks of dysentery and other ailments Sanitation must therefore receive special attention at the hands of the municipal authorities The insanitary conditions of streets and lanes are the mainstay of the cholera germ Thus there are innumerable specific diseases which could easily be prevented but which make serious inroads on the workers health and efficiency Cholera malaria dysentary and small pox are all controllable diseases and have been proved to be so in New York London and the Japanese industrial towns And aught we know that good houses create a possibility of home life happiness and health Contrariwise bad houses lead to squalor, drink disease immorality crime and in the end hospitals prisons and asylums in which we seek to hide away the human derelicts of society that are largely the products of state negligence Society's indifference and industrialists carelessness



EUROPE'S LARGEST OIL REFINERY IN THE MAKING

The first phase of the construction of the oil refinery at Fawley near Southampton which when completed will be the largest in Europe Houses being erected for workers

Asoka's Dharmachakra & Our National Flag

BY PROF K C CHAKRAVARTI MA

SINCE August 15 1947 the day when the Indian struggle for freedom came to its successful termination the new state of India adopted her own national flag the Tri-colour which includes a big circle at the centre This circle is called Asoka s dharmachakra the significance of which is generally not understood It symbolises the Indian Ideal for the realistion of which her sons and daughters have struggled in different ages in so many different ways Some two thousand and five years ago Lord Buddha gave to this world a new ideal and his followers including the illustrious Maurya Emperor Asoka who is regarded as the greatest ruler ever produced on earth adopted several symbols for the new dharma The wheel is one of them This wheel is seen so prominently in the Sarnath Capital which has a history of its own

Asoka is believed to have erected some eight thousand monolithic stone pillars at different places to commemorate the important events connected with Buddhism Some thirty of them still exist in more or less good condition In the Deer park at Sarnath some six miles from Benares where the massive Dhamek stupa stands Asoka got one such pillar erected some time between 243 B C to 232 B C to mark the spot where the Master first turned the Wheel of Law or in plain English publicly preached his doctrine From the standpoint of art and sculpture the Asoka pillars are unique The spiritual meaning underlying them is also equally sublime A pillar is a single stone cut from the rock One such pillar is some fifty tons in weight with 32 ft 9¼ inches in height diminish ing from a base diameter of 35½ inches to a diameter only 22 inches at the top —proportions which render such a thing extremely graceful To cut such a single stone out of the rock to polish it so as to look like metal to transport it hundreds of miles away and then to erect it in such a way that it remains standing for thousands of years—is a real wonder and shows the extent of perfection to which artistic as well as engineering skill reached in ancient India

The stone cutting and polishing was done so brilliantly that for hundreds of years people were misled They believed them to be metals and experts regret that it was an art which is practically lost to the world Authorities on the subject hold the view that they are proofs that the engineers and stone cutters of Asoka s age were not inferior in skill and resource to those of any time and country At the top of such a pillar stand the capital which is most often one or other of the four animals—namely the elephant the horse the bull and the lion The magnificent Sarnath capital discovered in 1902 and now kept in the Sarnath museum is one of the finest specimens of Indian sculpture still existing The capital consists of four lions standing back to back on a circular slab stone called the abacus This abacus was formerly believed to be a Persepolitan bell, now experts think that it is an Indian lotus with turned down petals It once supported a stone wheel 2 ft 9 inches in diameter of which only frag ments remain The space between the capital and the abacus contained various decorations Sometimes it is a row of sacred geese in quite low relief, sometimes it is an elegant design of the lotus and palmette or honey suckle Whatever the design selected it is invariably well executed and chiselled with that extra ordinary precision and accuracy which characterise the workmanship of the Maurya age and have never been sur passed in Athens or elsewhere (Smith History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon)

If the Sarnath Capital is unique as an artistic production it is also unique as symbolising the Indian ideal of dharma The English rendering of Asoka s dhar machakra is the Wheel of Law It is difficult to translate the word dharma into English as no single term expresses all that is conveyed by the Sanskrit word dharma Today dharma means religion in English But seldom was the

word used in this sense in ancient Indian literature For a creed or doctrine the word *mata vada* is used Thus we have dwaitavada adwaitavada sunyavada charvakavada etc For rites and ceremonies the word acharya is used Thus we have Mlechhachara Aryachara etc Most often dharma is used in the sense of virtue or piety Yudhisthira of the Mahabharata is called the son of dharma or dharma incarnate and the great Bharata War was fought for establishing a reign of dharma Here dharma means justice or righteousness When Mahatma Gandhi said that the ideal of the Indian State will be Rama Rajya he meant the reign of justice or righteousness Dharma also means the right rules of conduct in society and civil as well as criminal laws are included in the dharma shastras As Buddha preached and Asoka propagated the word dharma conveys the sense of both law and righteousness combined In a sense it is law and in another sense it is justice and there is no contradiction because justice or righteousness is the law that ultimately prevails on earth Dharma is law in the sense that it acts in one uniform way To burn is the dharma of fire and if it is true in one case it is also true in other cases in fact it is true in all countries Certain truths hold good uniformly and admit of no exception If fire burns in the house of a Brahmin it will also burn in the house of a Chandala These of course are rules which obtain in the physical world In the spiritual world also there are rules which are universal in their application If offering of food to a starving man is piety in one case it cannot be impiety in another case One cannot say that a particular action is justice when it suits one and the same action is injustice when it does not suit him If I see a small boy falling into the water and if I run to his rescue my action will be considered right and just If I don't my action will be considered wrong and unjust The consideration that the particular boy is a Hindu or a Muslim has nothing to do with the justice or injustice of the case It cannot turn my praiseworthy action into something abominable So simple and obvious a truth is often blurred by our individual or national prejudices

Dharma or righteousness as understood by Asoka is above all these things It is really universal In this sense there is only one dharma for the whole of mankind that dharma has one set of rules for all Dharma which is truth is like the wheel It moves evenly It metes out even justice to all Not only that Ultimately it triumphs over all adharma A particular rite or ceremony may cease to be practised A particular doctrine may not influence the lives of men in all ages and in all countries but dharma in the sense of universal justice can never be stopped Once set in motion it moves on and on No power on earth can stop it A King I am, said Lord Buddha the King supreme of righteousenss The royal chariot wheel in righteousness do I set rolling on—that wheel that no one can turn back This was the dharma—preached by the Sage of Kapilavastu and Asoka set up the celebrated stone pillar with the Lion capital at the top at Sarnath to commemorate the event of the introduction of such dharma

This ideal of dharma as universal justice or righteousness was not altogether new in India nor was it introduced for the first time Lord Krishna of the Mahabharata had a weapon called Sudarshanachakra It was used to protect the good and to chastise the wicked. The ideal of punishing the wrong doer and helping the virtuous irrespective of any other consideration was always there though in practice the ideal was seldom fully realised We can take pride to day that free India of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru has adopted the ideal which Asoka's dharmachakra symbolises

HEALTHIER

As two elderly ladies were walking along the street they passed a couple of military policemen One of the ladies drew the others attention to the armlets bearing the letters M P

That's what I call sensible she said It's much better for them to patrol the streets than to waste their breath in the House of Commons

THE SUICIDE PACT

A SHORT STORY

By MR L D CLANFIELD

MARCUS Anthony staggered out of the bar door hastened by a well directed kick and followed by a roar of derisive laughter Lurching along the mean and dirty street he turned into a vacant plot and sat down on a heap of rubbish Soon the effects of the liquor overcame him and slumping to the ground he relapsed into a drunken sleep broken by muttered curses and snatches of ribald song It was nine at night and comparative quiet reigned in the Bombay slum area which had been Anthony s camping ground for the past week or so

Along the street came a woman, young but heavily painted and flashily dressed No second glance was needed to tell what she was Attracted by the heavy snores of the drunken sot she walked up to the sleeping man Bending down she shook him roughly by the shoulder There was no response She kicked sharply at his ankles with her shoe The pain aroused Anthony and with some difficulty he managed to sit up and peered at his tormentor He spoke unsteadily .

" Hey, what the Hell do you think you are doing ?

" Get up at once, you drunken loafer ' retorted the woman fiercely ' Do you want to be picked up ? The police are in the next street Get up I say "

She grabbed his arm and got him to his feet Swaying he stumbled along by her side and in a little while found himself in the one room that was her home Sitting in the one broken down chair that the room boasted Anthony watched the girl light a small stove and put on a kettle of water to boil Anthony grinned at the girl rather sheepishly and wondered if she had a drink He said

" You're the girl they call Olga around here, aren t you ?'

' Yes," she answered shortly

" What was the hurry in waking me from my beauty sleep ? You said something about the police, didn't you ?"

' You're new to Bombay, I can see," replied the woman," don't you know that the police are making a special drive to round up drunks and vagrants If they had caught you you'd have been charged and got a good sentence Now drink this cup of coffee It's all you ll get And tell me about yourself "

' Nothing much to tell, old girl," said Anthony as he sipped the hot coffee, " my home is in Madras but things went wrong there and I had to slip away. Been in Bombay about a fortnight now trying to get a job I'm an engineer, you know "

' And haven't you found any work ?" enquired Olga

' Why yes I got quite a good post after I had been here two days But I got chucked out for being drunk Can't keep off the booze, my dear A little failing of mine '

Olga looked at him curiously " Why can't you go back to Madras ? Surely you have friends there, at least ? Or have you got to keep—

" Anthony broke in with a chuckle " Oh, no Nothing criminal My wife, she—she got rather fed up and we decided to break it up So after the papers were through I wandered about India a bit and then eventually got to Bombay."

" Were you very fond of her ?" asked Olga softly

" Yes, I was But time is a great healer. Can't blame her really though I always was a bit too fond of the bottle but, previous to this affair, managed to keep the drink Demon under control Now, I don't care '

' Don't be silly, Mr —Mr Why, I don't even know your name '

' Marcus Anthony, my dear Call me Marcus and let s hear something of yourself "

' Of myself You know what I am and how I live What else do you want to know ? How I got like this, I suppose. Men are always curious about how

women fall As though they don t know My name is Saxena and my home is in South India though I haven t been there for years and years I was trained as a pianist and worked in this city until a few years ago Then something went wrong and here I am

And your people?

All dead

Hell said Anthony sympathetically we are a pair Well thanks Olga But I had better be getting along now

Whereto Marcus? enquired Olga

Oh the family mansion you know

Listen Marcus said the woman I know more about you than you think You have no money no lodgings and nowhere to go Right?

Correct but what concern is it of—

Shut up Marcus cut in the girl You can stay here for a few days Get the liquor out of your blood and then start looking for a job

Do you propose to feed me also? asked Anthony with a grin

Don t be such a snob I am offering you a refuge until you get on your feet If you are not an obstinate prude and idiot you will accept What will you do on the streets? Be run in as a vagrant?

Anthony stood up and went over to her chair He bent over and kissed her on the forehead Thank you my dear I accept he said very quietly

The next day Anthony managed to get a small job Under Olga s care his previous intense desire for drink gradually lessened He and Olga had much in common and he began to enjoy his life once more Within a month he had improved his position and his prospects were quite bright Being a really clever engineer his worth was soon appreciated One evening he came home jubilant bearing in his arms a present for Olga , his Olga as he had begun to call her to himself

"My dear my dear he cried as he entered the room I ve just landed a new job Six hundred a month and a bonus thrown in What do you think of that?

To his amazement Olga burst into tears Anthony looked at her and then rushed across the room and picked her up in his arms He said anxiously Why Olga darling What is the matter?

She put her arms around him Sobbing she said I m so glad Marcus but— but but I hate the thought of your leaving me It s mean to think like that but I can t help it She rocked to and fro in misery

Why you silly girl said Anthony slowly What ever made you think that I should want to leave you Look at this and this He pulled two pieces of paper from his pocket and showed them to her

Look darling he continued a special licence You and I get tied up day after tomorrow And this A receipt for a month s rent in advance for a little three room flat near my new job in the suburbs

A few days later Mr and Mrs Anthony moved into their new flat and life went on blissfully Soon a stroke of luck came his way His immediate superior left and Anthony was promoted in his place With more money coming in Anthony began to spend a little more Being a happy and convivial soul he made plenty of friends and began to drink again Not too much at first but at a gradually increasing rate Olga began to get alarmed she could read the signs

She remonstrated with him but seemed to have lost all her old power over him Tranquillity and happiness was replaced by suspicion and dislike After an evening of bickering Anthony would now retire to his own little den with a bottle of whisky and leave his wife to sob herself to sleep in the darkness She debated leaving him and returning to her old life But she could not do that If Marcus was heading for the gutter again she must go there with him So things went from bad to worse The end came one morning when Anthony was carried home from his work suffering from an incipient attack of D T s He was given a month s pay and told to keep off the job That evening and far into the night Anthony pulled himself to

pieces ruthlessly. At one in the morning he went in to his wife She was awake and he knelt down at her bedside

'Olga, dearest," he began, "I want you to leave me With the little money we have left in the bank and the furniture and things you will have a few thousand rupees Take all this and go for I am afraid I am finished No, Olga I am not mad I just know that the drink has got me again and this time for good '

"Don't say such things, Marcus," gasped Olga If you go back to the gutter I am coming too Do you hear, Marcus, I am coming anywhere you go '

"Listen, my dear, to something that I have not mentioned before Drink runs in my family and all the males for generations were dipsomaniacs My grandfather committed suicide and my father, in a drunken orgy, fell downstairs and broke his neck. I had resigned myself to 'the family curse' when I met you Then I began to hope again but it is quite useless

Olga sat up and switched on the light

"Then, my husband," she cried in anguish, "rather than see you sink and sink I would prefer to put an end to myself. Even would I rather see you dead than—" she lapsed into silence She murmured again "Why prolong the agony? Let us both go out now while we still have love for each other " Anthony stirred uneasily. He whispered

"I believe you are right, darling Let us hunt together elsewhere Maybe on some happier sphere Wait "

He left the room and returned with a bottle of whisky and a full bottle of sleeping pills Crushing all the pills he divided the quantity between the glasses and filled both with water and a generous quantity of whisky Anthony rose and putting his arms around his wife kissed her adoringly. Then handing her one of the glasses he took the other They both drank to the end They lay together waiting

The bright morning and streaming into the room awoke Anthony. He felt awful Must be the effects of his very heavy drinking of yesterday; but he had never felt quite like this Then with a shock he remembered Their suicide pact It hadn't worked on him for some reason or other But Olga, his Olga galvanised into action he turned to his wife Her body was cold and clammy but she was still breathing My God, My God, he thought, she is going By a gigantic effort he managed to reach the telephone and dial the doctor who lived a few blocks down the street Doctor Pestonji, who luckily was an old friend of his, answered immediately

"Doc Anthony here The wife, an overdose of drugs Serious Quick?

But the Doctor had heard enough and a moment later raced into the house He took one look at Olga and called for hot water bottles and strong black coffee After a while he turned to the sweating Anthony

"She will do now, Anthony I've just given her an injection Just in time Another half an hour and—" He stopped and then said quietly

"Now, Marcus, tell me all about it "

Anthony obeyed and the Doctor listened intently, Then he said·

"You have both had a most fortunate escape The particular brand of pills that you both took has an affinity for alcohol If there is any alcohol in the system it absorbs the drug and makes it less effective If you both had taken the pills in plain water instead of mixed with a strong dose of whisky neither of you would have been here now But enough of this subject Now, the next thing You say that you are a confirmed dipsomaniac "

"Yes, most of the Anthonys have suffered from—"

The Doctor stopped him "Don't you realise, Anthony, that medical science has made great strides ever since your father's time Good God, man, surely you know that any competent doctor could cure you of your craze for drink provided he had your co-operation If you had come to me six months ago things would have been different now."

"I didn't know that, Pestonji I wish I had," replied Anthony in excitement. "What do you suggest?'

"Candidly, Anthony, I think you ought to get out of here. You say your home is in Madras. Why not go back there and take your wife with you It is your home town and psychologically it is good to be back home Can you get anything to do there?'

"Yes, Doc one of my old school mates is now head of his own engineering firm He has always wanted me to join him"

"Good. That is very good Before you go I will give you a case report to hand to any reliable doctor in Madras With this information and your active co-operation, mind you, it will take about six months to make a new man of you. Now I'm off Look after the wife. She is out of danger now and should come round in a couple of hours."

With that the good Doctor left. Anthony sat by the bedside and watched his wife with thanksgiving in his heart Leaning over he kissed her gently and murmured:

"A new start, sweetheart, with no back sliding The sun poured into the room and a bird on a tree in the garden chirped happily to its mate.

THAILAND'S SATURDAY NIGHT COUPS

BY MR WALTER BRIGGS

[Siam's frequent comic opera coups flare up suddenly and as suddenly fizzle out, as this little country experiences political growing-pains Siam changed its name back to Thailand in May — ED *I. R.*]

AFTER the day's scorching tropical sun the evening was refreshingly cool Much of Bangkok's Siamese elite and foreign community was gathered at Saranrom Garden for the annual show of the American University Alumni. Ambassadors, cabinet ministers, generals and admirals, princes and princesses were there

In the pavilion, pretty Siamese mothers and their pretty daughters together displayed their pretty legs in a chorus line. Dancers in gilded crowns and capes performed in the slow, sensuous classical manner Foreigners burlesqued a night at a night club, torch singer, bumpkin waiter and all

When the curtain rang down a Siamese orchestra struck up "Stardust" outside Parties of friends clustered together drinking mekong, the national whiskey Couples danced under the stars.

It was a carefree night in this carefree kingdom

Then came whispers: "Coup d'etat Phibun out Direk new premier Free Thai .Shooting. .Radio broadcast . Army and Navy..."

Army officers rushed into the garden to report to their chiefs Navy officers came too Hurried conferences. Drawn faces. Smiles. And the dancing continued.

"A night at a party," a friend recalled "The Siamese always pick a Saturday night, a party night, for their devilment."

Yes, the last big coup had been pulled on a similar night That was in November, 1947. (Since then several attempted coups have failed) Part of Siam's high society was attending an official ball. The aesthetes were watching a revival of Siam's ancient shadow plays at the National theatre. Meanwhile, soldiers marched and tanks rolled along the streets. The government changed hands. But it was a peaceful coup. The only shots fired were to break the lock on a gate.

In fact, the frequent coups in Siam (on May 13 the name was changed back to Thailand, but the world still knows it as Siam) had been spectacularly bloodless Victory went to the faction which commanded the greater loyalty among the army and navy.

But on Feb 26—the night of this latest coup—a rat—tat—tat reached party goers' ears. Flares lit the sky.

Going home in the early hours on Sunday, the partygoers, found themselves carefully inspected, in one district by soldiers, in another by marines, at barricades

LITTLE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

DAYS passed before the full story was known What became known immediately, however, was that this time there were casualties. about 20 dead and 50 wounded For once a Siamese coup had lost its comic opera flavor

The full story hinged on two men the premier, Field Marshal Luang Phibun Songgram, and a former premier Nai Pridi Phanomyong To know Phibun (pronounced Pee'boon) and Pridi Pree dee)—these are their given names, the only ones normally used in this informal country—is also to know Siamese politics

The two studied in France—Phibun soldiering and Pridi law—in the early 1920 s There they plotted to overthrow Siam's anachronistic absolute monarchy In Siam they joined a junta of about 50 men dedicated to this cause In 1932 they engineered a bloodless revolution Constitutional government was established, royal powers were limited The men of the junta became known as the ' promoters " Since 1932 many of these "promoters — notably Phibun and Pridi—have fought among themselves for control of the government

Political ideology has meant little in these struggles One sage politician summed it up: "In Siam there is no left, no right, no centre Politically, we are children " The issues have been control of the political work barrel and the prestige which comes with authority

In the February uprising the factors were the same Communism or any other "ism" had nothing to do with it

Back in 1938 Phibun forced Pridi out of the government and became premier A bit of a martinet—he is said to have admired Hitler and Mussolini—Phibun irritated the Siamese with such inanities as requiring them to wear hats in public and to dance in government offices on Wednesday afternoon When the Japanese attacked, Phibun quickly surrendered the country Soon he declared war on the Allies Phibun gradually grew unpopular. The Siamese were pro-Allied Under heavy pressure, he resigned in 1944

Pridi regained leadership Under the code name 'Ruth " Pridi working with Allied agents ran the Siamese underground —the ' Free Thai "—against the Japanese By the end of the war he was a national hero However, his governing, part of the time as premier, part from behind the scenes, was inept Prices rose Crime and corruption flourished Public confidence waned And in June, 1946, beloved 20-year-old King Ananda Mahidal was shot dead Whether this was accident, suicide or murder is still a mystery, but Pridi was popularly blamed

Meanwhile, Phibun was scheming A formidable clique of high army officers was sworn to him Finally they staged the November coup Pridi escaped out the backdoor of his house and fled the country The field marshal ruled behind a "front man" for a few months, then took over

Western diplomats, regarding Phibun as a war criminal, were sorry to see him back They figured he would try to establish a military dictatorship But the dapper little soldier has fooled them Parliament meets as usual Phibun has balked at excesses of military extremists; he has catered to democratic elements Commodity prices have fallen, exports increased gangsterism and looting of the public till diminished

Nevertheless, Phibun has ruled uneasily. The ' Outs'—Pridi and his followers and other factions as well—went in The Rose palace, where the premier lives, is closely guarded Phibun s men search Bangkok and the countryside for hidden arms Leading politicians and officers of the armed forces are questioned even imprisoned

COUP FIZZLED OUT

Pridi and the "Free Thai ', his wartime-colleagues, undoubtedly sponsored the February uprising Whether Pridi was in the country—some reports say he returned in disguise—or whether he

directed the Free Thai from China or elsewhere abroad still is not known

The Free Thai apparently attempted to win some elements of the army and navy to their side and to pit other elements against one another In any event shots were fired between the two services which are natural rivals and tension flared In the chaos the Free Thai apparently hoped to take over the country

Seizing a government radio station for a few minutes the Free Thai broadcast that Phibun was finished Nai Direk Jayanam Free Thai adherent and war time ambassador to Britain was the new premier the radio said Free Thai men also rushed into the royal palace held it against government forces for several hours There were other incidents in the city and nearby countryside

But the coup fizzled out Something exactly what is not clear went wrong with the rebels plans Perhaps the expected greater disaffection among servicemen

Fortunately for most of the Siamese people those political machinations occur at a level high above their heads The coups and countercoups they watch nonchalantly from the sidelines Life is good in Siam Only completely idiotic leadership could spoil it

The Siamese are beginning to enjoy politics Democracy is immature but growing At election time radios blare from shops and houses But interest centres on what the candidates say they ll do about the price of rice and the scale of taxes

A recent survey showed that among Siam s farmers (and Siam is predominantly agricultural) the average annual income was only about $ 110 for a family of five An insignificant sum by western standards this suffices here for comfortable living Food is self grown and inexpensive Only thin clothing is needed and little of that

A measure of Siam s well being was the recent conclusion of Dr Thomas Parran former director general of the U S public health service that Siam's children are the healthiest in Asia

One blot stains Siamese lives today Their dead king s younger brother has not come home from Switzerland where he is studying to ascend the throne The Siamese respect their king as Britons do and worship him a bit too They yearn for him

RUSSIANS ARE ACTIVE

Siam s prosperity is built on a solid foundation—of rice tin teak rubber Alone of the great rice producing countries of South east Asia Siam by virtue of its internal peace is quickly boosting exports back to prewar output In 1948 for the first time since the war ended Siam again achieved its normal favorable balance of trade Its U S dollar balance—$ 80 000 000 in only $ 20 000 000 out should make Britain s Sir Stafford Cripps sigh with envy

Among the nations interested in Siam both for materials and as a market is Russia However Siam unlike British Malaya has shown no disposition to give Russia any strategic tin and rubber Britain and the U S tried and friendly customers get most

Last year Russia slipped into Siam with the only permanent Soviet diplomatic mission in Southeast Asia Siam agreed to exchange diplomatic missions it is understood in return for Russia s yes vote for U N admittance

Western diplomats have found nothing suspicious about Russian activities here The Russians issue propaganda in Siamese and English offer a few Prague and Moscow scholarships and delve into trade possibilities These are all legitimate diplomatic functions

' But we know from experience with Russians elsewhere how clever they can be politically a western diplomat told me Probably we just haven t caught on to them yet in Siam Behind his words was the fear felt by many Siamese and foreigners alike that Russia is using the legation as supreme combat command for its native terrorists in Burma Malaya and Indonesia

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY AN INDIAN JOURNALIST

India and Pakistan

To the regret of all men of peace and goodwill India and Pakistan have missed an opportunity for setting an example to the rest of the world of a wise management of affairs of conflicting interest by methods of reason and common sense Pandit Nehru's proposal to outlaw war though confined to the limits of India and Pakistan would have had a wholesome influence in international affairs It is a pity that Pakistan could not see eye to eye with India on a matter of such momentous significance

Pandit Nehru first made the No War proposal in his public speeches in East Punjab in August and later in Srinagar and elsewhere He also referred to it at his Press conferences

Mr Liaquat Ali however complained that no formal approach for a No War declaration had been made by India to Pakistan Upon this the proposal was made by India to Pakistan through diplomatic channels about the middle of December This was followed by a draft declaration which was handed to the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi

The draft was a simple formula to the effect that the two countries would in no case go to war to settle any existing or future disputes between them

> The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan being desirous of promoting friendship and goodwill between their peoples who have many common ties hereby declare that they condemn resort to war for the settlement of any existing or future disputes between them
>
> They further agree that the settlement of such disputes between them shall always be sought through recognized peaceful methods such as negotiation or by resort to mediation or arbitration by special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognized by both of them
>
> It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that the implementation of this declaration in the spirit which lies behind it will serve to maintain good relations between the two countries and advance the cause of world peace

Pakistan has taken five months to answer this simple plea for mutual understanding which would outlaw war between the two countries And at the end of that time what does the Pakistan Prime Minister say? He puts the cart before horse by suggesting

> that (1) before such a declaration is made it would be better to resolve the major disputes between the two countries because otherwise in his opinion the joint declaration would be of doubtful value and (2) if this be not possible, the procedure for settling each dispute should be stated precisely in the declaration itself

This is obviously evading the issue. Where there is the will to peace the details could be adjusted by mutual give and take Can Pakistan give an exhaustive list of all points present and to come, that may crop up for settlement? That is obviously impossible and India that has known the way of the old Muslim League can hardly be caught again in that endless mess of ever increasing demands following appeasement Concessions only lead to more demands But if there is a general desire for peace and a determination to settle disputes by agreement there surely is vast scope for fruitful association Pakistan will do well to give a little thought to this urgent plea for peace and progress

Blockade

We need not go far for an evidence of Pakistan's unwillingness to come to an amicable understanding with India She is creating incidents with a zeal worthy of a better cause Hindus are still fleeing from Sind and East Bengal some times in fear and often in disgust at the chaotic rule which differentiates between Hindus and Muslims The latest move in East Pakistan affords the most conclusive evidence

Designed ostensibly to 'blockade' Assam, and indirectly force the Government of India to recognise the superficial value of its currency the Government of Pakistan have banned the transit of Indian goods through the East Bengal Railway with effect from midnight January 19 20 1950

In this Pakistan is clearly guilty of breaking the Inter Dominion Agreement

reached in Calcutta after a five day conference in April 1948, A clause in Section Three of the Agreement reads

Each dominion should take effective measures for the smooth implementation of transit facilities to the other Dominion in accordance with the provisions of international agreements governing such transit

In the light of this provision India is under no obligation to comply with Karachi's demand for a deposit of Rs 10 lakhs with its State Bank, presumably as a *quid pro quo* for the movement of Indian goods traffic through its eastern zone Similarly Pakistan's decision to levy an extra fare from Indian passengers on its eastern Railways is indefensible

Pakistan's unilateral decision has been as sudden as it is reprehensible But in all this she is not likely to succeed as India's foresight has, in a measure, upset her calculation Thanks to the prudence and energy of our Government, we have established direct railway link with our Eastern province and her economy cannot be so easily paralysed Pakistan's high handed action will doubtless provoke Delhi to adopt suitable counter measures But cannot this vicious circle of strokes and counter strokes be avoided with a little tact and goodwill?

Noon's Threat

One would despair of any such returning sense as one is confronted with such infantile puerilities as Sir Feroze Khan Noon's bluster in the Pakistan Assembly.

"I would go to the extent of saying that the people of Pakistan would much rather be a province of Russia than of India, despite what the Democracies say"

Fancy a diplomat talking this rot One would ignore it as childish, but if that is the official view of Pakistan it would hardly pass muster Any more of this nonsense will recoil and the bluff will be called And as to Russia, Pakistan should have known by this time that Stalin would not hesitate to show Pakistan her proper place

After placing flowers on a grave in the cemetery, a man noticed an old Chinaman placing a bowl of rice on a nearby grave and asked 'What time do you expect your friend to come up and eat the rice?'

Replied the old Chinaman: 'Same time your friend come up to smell flowers"

The Colombo Conference

The fact that the Commonwealth Conference met in Colombo and not as usual in London is significant of the new orientation of things In the first place, it emphasises if such emphasis were needed that the Commonwealth conception is taking root and the old notion of Empire has gone the way of all old things Secondly, it is definite that the centre of gravity in world affairs is shifting to the East. The future of the world is with Asia, just as Europe has played a historic role during the last few centuries

Now it would be folly to minimise the importance of the Colombo Conference because of the lack of positive decisions. The impression has been created that the main objective was the forging of an anti communist front That would be a mistake though no doubt it would have weighed with some minds.

If the intention was to rally anti Communist forces under one banner, some of the nations most immediately concerned like Burma, India and Pakistan would not have accorded recognition to Red China even before the conference met to discuss the issue Another pointer to the approach of the conference to the problems of the Far East was 'the refusal of both Britain and India to contemplate anything in the nature of a Pacific Pact similar to the Atlantic Pact"

Now this is a fairly correct assessment of the session But apart from anything else it is clear that a new school of economic thought has emerged practically all over the world which is unanimous in its conclusion that the most effective bulwark against Communism, threatening individualism, is the economic betterment of the people's condition

Addressing a Press Conference at Colombo, Britain's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, said that in Asia a new upsurge of nationalism had resulted in new liberties, but liberty without proper economic conditions could lead to disappointment. In a message to the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, also held in Ceylon, India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru also emphasised the same point "The problem of political freedom having been largely solved, we are now to face more basic and intricate problems of economic advance".

The British General Election

Mr. Clement Attlee's election announcement on Jan. 11 signalled the start of probably the most bitter British election campaign in a century. The announcement set the date of election at February 23.

Nominations must be made by February 13. Polling will take place on February 23.

The new Parliament will meet on March 1 and will be formally opened by the King on March 6.

The election will be fought on the issue whether the British people wanted to continue the Socialist form of government.

Mr. Winston Churchill, Leader of the Opposition, launching the first thunderbolt in the Conservative campaign told Britons that the choice before them in the coming General Elections was whether to take another plunge into Socialist regimentation, State ownership, and State control, or to restore a greater measure of freedom of choice and action to the people.

In a broadcast to the nation he said that Socialism is based on the idea of an all-powerful State, which owns everything, plans everything, distributes everything, and thus decides the daily life of the individual through its politicians and officials." It has been found in all European countries to have been the weakest defence against Communism.

Britain's Liberal Party, which put 400 candidates into the field, rebuffed the Conservatives, who have been wooing their support for a combined anti-Socialist front at the election. Viscount Samuel, Leader of the Liberals in the House of Lords, speaking in Cambridge, declared that an alliance between the Liberals and the Conservatives would not ensure the defeat of the Socialists, but would mean the destruction of the Liberal Party.

He said millions of voters who were not convinced Socialists or Trade Unionists, voted in 1945 for the Labour Party.

Now, there is good ground for believing that a great number, perhaps the majority of those voters, are dissatisfied with present conditions.

They want the Socialists out—but they do not want the Conservatives. If a Liberal candidate is standing they will vote for him. If not, they will abstain or else vote Labour after all.

THE PARTY LEADERS IN BRITAIN



Mr. Winston Churchill



Mr. Clement Attlee



Mr. Rhys Davies

The Akhand Bharat Ideal

The Hindu Mahasabha is still at it The other day the executive of the Sabha, meeting at Bombay reiterated its stand for Akhand Bharat and declared that it 'will strive for the re union of the two separated parts" This is neither good sense nor practical politics The division of the country was brought about anyway by agreement to which our leaders had set their seal As such however irksome or undesirable the division may be the agreement must be respected if we have any sense of law or decency until such time, at any rate that the two countries feel like joining It may be said that such feeling could be generated only by propaganda But propaganda against a pact even before the ink is dry is a kind of repudiation for which there can be no moral justification By another resolution the committee regretted that the Bharat Government have taken no step to bring the Pakistan Government to a proper frame of mind' and urged that the principles of the Reciprocity Act passed by the Indian legislature in the year 1943 should be made applicable to the Muslims residing in Bharat deeming the Hindus in Pakistan as nationals of Bharat

This is a dangerous plea that cannot be sufficiently condemned The thought of such vicarious punishment is unworthy of an Indian Are not loyal Muslims in India as much part and parcel of the country as the Hindus? India is as much their motherland as it is the motherland of the Hindus and the Sikhs It would be monstrous to think otherwise in Republican India Do these reactionaries realise the implications of their threat of reciprocity? By the same token Pakistan could continue to harass the Hindus—a thing which we abhor and which we should do all in our power to prevent

But no responsible government as indeed no sensible person, could act in the way that the Mahasabha suggests Indeed this is precisely the way of Pakistan which we are denouncing and whatever Pakistan may do, we shall not descend to such depths We still hope there are other means to bring Pakistan to her sense of justice and humanity

The Andhra Province

It is clear from the trend of things that the formation of the Andhra Province at the moment is 'impracticable" Announcing this a Home Ministry *communique* says that 'the Government of India consider it essential that before the question can be taken up again the outstanding differences and unresolved questions should be settled first"

And what are those "out standing differences'? The *communique* lists a formidable number of issues agreement on which is a prerequisite for the early formation of the new Province The issues described as 'essential" are the status of Madras City, the apportionment of the assets and liabilities, boundaries of the new Province particularly regarding Bellary District and the execution of the Tungabhadra Project

There is a feeling that the Andhra leaders themselves are responsible for the failure to bring the new Province into existence at an early date—as they could neither agree among themselves nor put forward their final demands without prevarication Even their enthusiasm for a separate province seems to have waned with the realisation of the practical difficulties and consequences, financial and administrative, following the immediate implementation of their demand for separation But it must be made clear that what ails Andhra desa must injure the rest of India as well The demand for an Andhra Province should not be mistaken for a demand for separation in the sense in which Pakistan cut away from India It is therefore the duty of all parties concerned to see that if the new province comes into being it must be made viable and must have the best wishes of her neighbours There is need for goodwill and understanding all round For that a little delay, if it could put the new Province on stable foundations, must be welcome

REDEMPTION OR CONVERSION

A lady telephoned her bank to arrange for the disposal of a thousand dollar bond Is the bond for redemption or conversion? the banker asked her There was a long pause then the lady asked in a small voice 'Am I talking to the First National Bank or the First Baptist Church?

UNITED MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL

An Epic of the Sea

Feats of heroism and endurance are not rare in British naval history and the Epic of the seamen who raced for life or death in the ill fated H M S *Truculence* must add to the lustre of a great and shining tradition Of the 80 men aboard the submarine only 15 survived to tell the tale of the collision in the Thames Estuary with the Swedish spit *Divine* A few we are told, lie drowned in the flooded hull on Shivering Sand 54 feet below the surface

They told of cheerful discipline comic songs and jokes about the general election cracked as 45 men faced death in the after part of the stricken submarine for more than an hour

Sitting in a bare barrack room at Chatham eight of them told baldly how the 45 calmly decided that since there were too few escape suits only non swimmers should wear them

When the Swedish steamer sheered into the submarine's bows many of the crew were at supper Inside the submarine says the *Daily Mail* Reporter the 45 held a Confer ence Although distributed about the ship there were three Davis escape appliances for every two men, the flooding of so many forward compartments had left them short

About 20 people would have to attempt to reach the surface without them

'Who can swim?" asked Hine who took command, as the Captain and the leading seamen on duty in the conning tower were blown into the water by the up rush of air as the sea gushed into the hull

About 20 men stepped gr mly forward They had agreed without flinching to allow the non swimmers to use the apparatus

After that it was strict Naval discipline

One by one the men entered the twill trunk into the air pocket turned the cock and in a flurry of bubbles shot to the surface

Then came one hour and 25 minutes of waiting The water began to rise up to their ankles

"You can t blame this on the Socialist Govern ment ' cracked one of the men There was roar of laughter, somebody started to sing

So they sang laughed and joked as the water rose inch by inch up to their chests Pressure and the foul air were bursting their lungs and eardrums but as they gasped for breath they still sang

Mr R E Stevens, 35 year old Inspector of Electricians was one of the civilian survivors He said

"The men were marvellous They insisted that civilians must go first because that was a rule They laughed and joked There was never an instant of panic "

The courage of the men and their calmness in the face of certain death is marvellous The British navy has a great tradition—of courage and heroism from which generations of sailors have drawn inspiration Now we in India who are building up a naval tradition of our own cannot have a better example for emulation

These hard bitten men singing courage from their flooded boats—they are the stuff of all ballads and Epics How comely is affliction borne cheerfully! Think of Capt Scott of the Antartic or his comrade who went out into the blizzard so the expedition might prosper No height too lofty for human nature, and thank God, the breed is never extinct

Indo-Afghan Friendship

A Five year treaty of perpetual friend ship between India and Afghanistan was signed at New Delhi last month

The treaty affirms ever lasting peace and friendship between the two countries and provides for the establishment of diplomatic and consular posts in each other s territory and for g ant to their representatives of diplomatic and consular privileges

Besides providing for the establishment of trade agencies in each other s territory, the treaty affirms their mutual desire to strengthen and develop cultural ties and to assist in each other s industrial and agricultural progress

This is doubtless a feather in the cap of our Department of External Affairs For Pakistan has been bidding the support from the Islamic nations on the ground of her being a Shariat State It has spared no pains to enlist Islamic nations in support of her crusade against a *kafir* state like India The attempt has so far failed and Indonesian spokesmen have made no secret of their frank espousal of India's stand

But as Sardar Patel said in Bombay, Pakistan is continuously talking of war against India She has also been carrying on a war of nerves against Afghanistan What could be more natural than that India and Afghanistan should enter into a defence pact against a common danger?

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SOCIAL BIOLOGY AND WELFARE By Sybil Neville Rolfe Allen & Unwin London 21s

That modern industrial society makes strenuous and exacting demands on the individual forcing the individual prematurely into adult life and into a state of economic self dependence precariously maintained is becoming increasingly widely recognized The social consequences of the strenuous conditions of modern life have however not been studied adequately or carefully enough as yet Among the most important of these consequences is the effect on the emotional and sex life of the individual Having regard to the serious consequences both to the individual and to society as a whole of the deleterious effects of adolescent promiscuity and juvenile delinquency the problem of social hygiene is one of exceptional importance and urgency to day Mrs Rolfe who has been a sincere and strenuous worker in many departments of social reform for a number of years is exceptionally well qualified to write on the subject and to propound some lines of further study and work The wise use of biological knowledge in its bearings on social affairs is according to Mrs Rolfe an indispensable condition of restoring health to our sick contemporary society Ignorance is here as elsewhere the unblest mother of all those monstrous evils which are making for social decay to day The book is a stimulating appeal for more instructed and intelligent attention to the problem

HINDU MUSLIM CULTURAL ACCORD by Dr Syed Mohmed Hd Minister Government of Bihar Vora & Co Publishers Ltd Bombay 2

The volume is a compilation of a series of articles which originally appeared in the Statesman They roughly fall into three sections

The first few chapters relating to the pre British cultural relations not only between Hindus and Muslims in India but also between India and her Muslim neighbours are the result of patient and extensive studies Some of the facts revealing the debt which early Islam owed to Mother Ganges and the reverence which this country commanded in the eyes of the Prophet and the Muslim saints as pointed out by the author may shock the protogonists of separation

The part played by British officialdom and the successive Britishers who had charge of the Aligarh University in the creation of Hindu Muslim discord forms the subject of a few chapters The author having been a student of Aligarh and Secretary to Nawab Mohginulmulk is able to enlighten this portion of the book with uncontrovertable facts

The last section deals with probable solutions and is a forcible plea for a spiritual and cultural accord based on unbiassed understanding and lasting love

The book is a very useful one and if circulated widely in India and Pakistan may contribute to peace in great measure

TENALI RAM By A S P Aiyar Third revised and enlarged edition Price Rs 2

Tenali Rama the Royal Jester associated in tradition with the court life of the famous Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar was in reality a rare combination of the poet and jester and the anecdotes about him that are presented here show that he is at once a philosopher a genius and a Brahmarakshasa but nevertheless a clown all the same and a real Vikatakavi The well known Royal Guru Tatacharya is satirised in several of the anecdotes into foolish and self condemnatory actions Tenali Rama s date is really some generations later

MARRIAGE IN EAST AND WEST

Marriage in China is like putting a kettle of cold water on the fire Soon it is boiling and stays hot

But in the West marriage is like putting on a cold stove a kettle of water that is boiling tempestuously—but presently cools off

A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE.—Vol. I (Early and Middle period) By Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, (Allahabad University) Tirabhukti Publications, Allahabad.

Maithili has a script and literature of its own; and Vidyapati, its greatest poet, has been claimed both for Bengali and Hindi. The claim is made that every literary form and subject has been attempted in the language which differs both from Hindi and Bengali in vocabulary and grammar. The aim of the author is to prove that Maithili is the home—and mother-tongue of Tirhut. Maithili literature is traced from the 14th century when Mithila became the sole refuge of Hindu scholarship on the coming of the Muhammadans into Eastern India and the protector of Mimamsa, Dharmasastra and Nyaya studies. The lyric form of poetry flourished later: and the literary glory continued undimmed till the end of the 18th century.

Our author gives a good account of the people and religion of Mithila and of the Maithili scripts the different periods in its literary history and types of its literary compositions. Special attention is devoted to an account of Maithili drama which has affected Nepal and Assam. Maithili prose took form as early as the 14th century: and its development is said to be traceable down to the present day. In it what is called documentary prose calls for some notice, as being marked by brevity of statement, economy of words, simplicity and clarity. The development of Brajabhasa gave a set-back to Maithili literature. We come across a number of poets and writers who adorned the age of middle Maithili literature. The book is packed with details which may perhaps have been better grouped.

ALL INDIA EXPORTERS' ASSOCIATION Bombay. Classified Trade Directory of Members—1949. Published by the All India Exporters' Association, Churchgate House, Churchgate St., Bombay.

The book contains names and addresses of members with other particulars of trade in which they are actively interested. The list is also arranged commodity wise.

A COMMUNITY AT THE CROSS ROADS: By Sapur Faredun Desai. With a foreword by Sir H. P. Mody, Bombay. New Book Co., Ltd. 188/190, Hornby Road. Price Rs. 10.

The social and economic problems facing the Parsi community in India are discussed in this volume with commendable skill and insight by Mr. Sapur Faredun Desai. The major ills afflicting the community is diagnosed with scientific detachment and rare penetration and the author expresses great concern at the moral deterioration of the community. After a crisp and well-documented analysis of the diseases and infirmities such as diabetes, asthma, tuberculosis, insanity, feeble mindedness, blindness, unemployment, steadily increasing pauperisation and a rapidly falling birth-rate, the author suggests the need for comprehensive data and vital statistics for a thorough grasp of the issues which go to the very root of the community's canker.

Some of the remedies suggested by Mr. Desai are of a very radical character, such as selective mating and the sterilisation of the unfit and the eradication of the religious fanaticism which has seized large numbers. To those who are devoting themselves to the regeneration of the Parsi community, this book will be an indispensable guide.

BOOKS RECEIVED

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A YOGI. By Paramahansa Yogananda, The Philosophical Library, New York.

BEYOND REALISM AND IDEALISM. By Wilbur Marshall Urban, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF ADULTS. International Labour Office, Indian Branch, New Delhi.

THE WARDHA SCHEME. By K. L. Shrimali, Ph.D., Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur.

FUTURE INDIA. By M Bheemsana Rao, Eukanna St, Adoni, M. S M. Ry. Bellay Dt

Transactions of the Fifth Tuberculosis Worker's Conference, Madras January 1948.

Transactions of the Sixth Tuberculosis Worker's Conference, Calcutta December 1948.

Tuberculosis Association of India, 20 Talkatora Road, New Delhi.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Jan 1 *Indian Review* begins its 51st year
—Science Congress meets in Poona
Jan 2 Agricultural Economic Conference meets at Madras
Jan 3 Pandit Nehru opens first National Laboratory in Poona
Jan 4 Government of India freeze cotton stock with Bombay dealers
—Five year treaty with Afghanistan signed at Delhi
Jan 5 President Truman announces that U S will not send aid to Formosa
—United Kingdom recognises Red China
Jan 6 The Wafd wins in Egyptian elections
Jan 7 Fiscal Commission meets in Madras
—I L O Session in Mysore concludes
Jan 8 Pandit Nehru tells Pressmen in Madras that separation of Andhra is hardly possible by Jan 26
Jan 9 Commonwealth Conference opens in Colombo
—Cabinet of United State of Travancore and Cochin reconstituted
Jan 10 Britain's General Election on Feb 23
—Soviet delegate walks out of U N Security Council
Jan 11 India pleads for working relation ship with Chinese Communists
Jan 12 Sardar Patel in Calcutta Pandit Nehru addresses Ceylon University Convocation
Jan 13 Karen capital captured by Burma Government troops
—Commonwealth Conference votes 7½ million aid to Burma
Jan 14 Commonwealth Conference concludes
Jan 15 Royalaseema deputation to Prime Minister disapproves separation of Andhra
Jan 16 Russia boycotts all U N meetings
—Delhi protests against Border incidents in E Bengal
Jan 17 Pakistan replies to India's no war declaration
Jan 18 Pakistan bans transit of Indian goods over E Bengal Railway
Jan 19 Nehru lays foundation stone for Stadium in New Delhi
—Indo Pakistan rail traffic suspended
Jan 20 Secret meeting of U S Committee in Washington discusses military aspects of hydrogen bomb
Jan 21 National Physical Laboratory opened in Delhi
Jan 22 Chinese Foreign Ministry in London claims Tibet as part of Chinese territory
Jan 23 Delhi advises postponement *Sine die* of Andhra province
Jan 24 Babu Rajendra Prasad unanimously elected first President of the Republic
Jan 25 Farewell banquet to Governor general
Jan 26 Sovereign democratic Republic is born Historic proclamation in Delhi and celebration and festivities all over the country
Jan 27 Sri C Rajagopalachari the retiring Governor general arrives in Madras
Jan 28 Supreme Court of India inaugurated in Delhi
—Members take oath in first Parliament of the Republic
Jan 29 U S A approves Bao Dai regime
—Train collision at Sirhind and quake shock in Persian Gulf area
Jan 30 The President addresses the first Parliament of the Republic
Jan 31 Deshmukh award on allocation of States share in incometax published
—India discontinues licences to Pakistan vessels to ply in Indian waters



SIR FRANK WHITTLE
The jet pioneer and adviser to B O A C on the development and operation of gas turbine engines now on a visit to India and Pakistan

AMERICA AND WORLD LEADERSHIP

America's rise to world leadership, and assumption of "global duties" heads the list of ten events that "most profoundly shaped and shook history" in the first half of the twentieth century according to American historian Dr Arthur M Schlesinger

Probably no other event—including the two wars, an economic depression the League of Nations and the United Nations—equals the importance of the end of American isolationism Dr Schlesinger said in the *Washington Post's* special half century" edition

However much science and technology have dominated our times' Dr Schlesinger asserted politics and economics have continued to provide the great turning points in man's fortunes

The internationally known historian lists in a more or less chronological order the following events which have most vitally affected "mankind's life, liberty and pursuit of happiness"

1 World War I

2 Political emancipation of women in many parts of the world

Climaxing the long struggle of one half of the human race for equal opportunities with the other half and for an equal say in government"

3 The upsurge of labour influence in law, industry, political life and the realm of foreign affairs

Everywhere the traditional balance of power in politics and society was unsettled, with long range consequences yet to be seen'

4 The great economic depression —

The most terrible peacetime calamity that has ever befallen humanity, it spread ruin deep and wide through all peoples classes and countries"

5 World War II, democracy's greatest challenge

6 The harnessing of atomic energy, the crowning exploit in man's progressive mastery over nature . the creative achievement of countless scientists of various nationalities under American leadership"

7 Abandonment of colonial imperialism.

8 League of Nations and United Nations, "milestones in humanity's groping toward the goal of collective security."

9 Russia's emergence as a dominant world power

The prospects of a stable world created by the smashing of the Axis and the forming of the peace time United Nations have been endangered chiefly by the new international role of the Soviet Union A ruthless Communist dictatorship she commands untold natural resources and vast manpower combined with an advantageous geographical position in Europe and Asia and a passion to propagate Communism throughout the earth . If she is as Churchill once said, 'a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma', it can only be hoped that the answer is not already, too plainly indicated'

10 America's rise to world leadership After the second World War

isolationism died an instant death Though hampered by inexperience, the nation quickly rose to the occasion The results appeared in such daring breaks with American tradition as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact and the Military Assistance Programme, as well as in massive expenditure for national defence Only the Communist countries have attributed these actions to a lust for war The free peoples see in them the best hope for lasting peace Probably no other event in this list of ten is of equal importance'

END OF DEMOCRACY!

With the general elections now approaching in Britain and the main parties spoiling for a fight, it is interesting to see how the public react to changing connotations of democracy

A writer in the *Nineteenth Century* sees the end of democracy near in Britain The Socialists have already adopted the Conservative foreign policy and the latter have adopted the former's domestic policy. What is then left to quarrel about?

The writer calls Stalin the most outstanding Conservative Socialist of our times And the end of Conservative Socialist democracy, he feels, can only be the end which Stalin has already brought about in Russia—the end of all democracy!

ECONOMICS, ETHICS AND POLITICS

Dr L Delgado, English Educationist writing in the *Aryan Path* for January discusses the relations between Ethics and economics He points out that economics is not the slave of sentiment The laws of mutual dependence even for material well being cannot be flouted with impunity

Many of the problems with which we are concerned in this world are not ethical religious or material but are frankly political he says

Problems which fall within this sphere are of a complex nature In politics the possible ends are many and vague Until these can be clearly set out and agreed upon there is little hope that political action can be guided by economic principles Economic principles cannot be used as a basis for aims which themselves are nebulous No economist would advise that a war should be embarked upon He would point to the destruction of capital and the wasteful diversion of resources One may doubt whether he would be listened to in a time of patriotic fervour Similarly the advice of an economist to the effect that tariffs may be harmful to the community as a whole would be ignored in face of the obvious fact that tariffs do increase employment in particular industries Yet it must be obvious to everyone that the advantages arising from the division of labour inherent in a given geographical area such as say the subcontinent of India cannot be destroyed simply because a political boundary is fixed overnight through the area such as that between India and Pakistan There is no fundamental difference between domestic and foreign trade This is an economic truth that no political argument will alter

But as in the case of ethical considerations, the economist can point out the implications of a given choice

The economist cannot use his science to frame legislation but he can scrutinize proposed legislation and point out the possible repercussions in the sphere of economic activity He can point out that two polices are incompatible or that two aims are inconsistent Economics cannot tell us what is best to do because that is a matter of opinion Political problems are mainly matters of opinion

And then follows a suggestive application of his thesis to the relations between a truncated India and Pakistan

The leaders of the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan must therefore make a clear distinction between economic questions on the one hand and ethical or political questions on the other An economic problem may exist—and indeed is bound to exist in this world of limited resources—independently of political considerations A political arrangement to a purely economic problem is no solution it serves merely to mask what is to be solved

RED THREAT TO INDIA

An insight into probable Communist tactics is given by the '*Manchester Guardian*," which considers India as one of their next prey after China *The* "*Guardian*," considers India as one looking for new prey The Far Eastern Cominform has been making threats at all nationalist, non Communist leaders in Asia at Dr Hatta, at Thakin Nu and especially at the greatest of them Pandit Nehru who is becoming the symbol of free world in Asia The Far Eastern Cominform will not try to carry out its threats by armies It will operate through the Communist Party The condition of the party in non Soviet lands of Asia is thus a matter of world interest

Even after Communist victory in China, the Indian party still seems to be the accepted leader of Communism in a part of South East Asia The party in India has been passing through a crisis about which not very much is known Some of the ablest leaders have been purged '

The Guardian continues ' Yet Communism remains a danger to India partly because the Indian Socialist party is not exciting enough for those who want to be in opposition "

The paper describes the situation in Burma, Siam Malaya, Indo China and Indonesia and concludes ' after India became independent the Communists alleged that Lord Mountbatten Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru were hand in glove with one another to deceive the Indian public The bewildering question is whether the Communists believe this nonsense themselves '

'THE SOUTH INDIAN JOURNALIST "

The South Indian Journalist Edited by Mr K P Viswanatha Iyer and published by Mr Khasa Subba Rao at Swatantra Press is the official organ of the biggest association of Pressmen in South India The President of the Federation Mr N Raghunathan has outlined in the opening issue the genesis and the ideals of the new journal The journal has set before itself a difficult task It will champion the rights of the working Journalist but it will also keep a watchful eye on the maintenance of high standard in the profession We welcome this new monthly conducted by Journalists for Journalists

THE NEW YEAR

The new year that has rung in promises to be full of momentous significance There are so many international problems it must solve, says the *Asiatic Digest* so many political and economic complications it must resolve

However, the prospects for Asia are much brighter—decidedly far less gloomy than for any other region—because this year begins with three gigantic changes in her history

1, The full fledged establishment of a United Communist State in China

2 The emergence of India as a Republic in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and

3 The coming into being of the United States of Indonesia

Further these events are bound to have their repercussions on other parts of the world 'They must upset the existing balance of power create new international situations, and disturb the European American monopoly of world politics Hence, for us, the people of Asia, despite all the anxiousness there is this is a year of rejoicing for in this year Asia has come of age True, with it her problems would mount her responsibilities increase But it is wonderful to be on one s own legs and become the master of one's own destiny "

CRISIS IN JAPAN

It is expensive for Uncle Sam to subsidise Japan But can he afford not to, asks Bernard G Davis who has just returned from Japan where he made a survey of trade and economic conditions President of the Ziff Davis Publishing Company he is a close observer of world affairs has girdled the globe several times during the past few years, and reported his findings on economic and business matters for national magazines and newspapers

Magazine Digest, summarising his reports and observations says in conclusion that it is useless to talk about a programme or pattern for Japan, or for the Far East alone What is sorely needed is a world wide blueprint that makes sense, and in which the Orient will necessarily be a major factor Japan cannot settle anything by itself, it is too intimately a part of the economic life of China Netherlands East Indies, Philippines, Malaya, and India.

If Japan fails, we have failed Should we abandon Japan we do not release her into a political vaccum but into the hands of the Communists, be they Chinese, Russian or native' On the other hand, can we afford to subsidize Japan indefinitely on the present scale much less on an ever increasing scale? Can we afford not to ?

These are questions which America must decide The decisions must be made in Washington London, and perhaps Moscow We cannot ignore the crisis rising in Japan, for when it comes it may be too late

If Japan is to survive economically, drastic international reorganization—at least on our side of the Curtain—is of first priority Somehow we must find a way for Japan to have ready access to the raw materials she needs, the markets she must reach And the time is short, very short

'THE DISAPPEARING MIDDLE CLASSES OF INDIA'

A writer in the Annual number of *Capital* provides a brilliant analysis into the miserable plight of the middle classes. Examining for his purpose the family budgets of representative families in the great cities of this country the article sounds a serious note of warning to the politicians who are handling the country's destinies It says 'The record of history reveals that it has been the function of the middle classes to act as a buffer between the haves and the havenots It is only when the position of the middle classes begin to be undermined and when they tend to disappear as a balancing factor between the very rich and the very poor that 'Evolution" turns into "Revolution"

Mr A C Sampath Iyengar's analysis of the incometax figures is the result of penetrating insight and is full of material for study to the practical tax gatherer as well as student

The article justifying the claims of the Damodar Valley Corporation to priority contributed by its secretary Dr Sen will remove a lot of prejudice in the popular mind about the scheme on account of its official character Dr Sen's article appears to be intended for the hardheaded businessman and his article certainly fulfils at least part of the intentions

The Annual number is packed with very valuable material on various subjects of economic and general interest to this country Every contribution bears the impress of an expert hand behind.

GANDHI AND BASIC EDUCATION

Prof Humayun Kabir, now Secretary to the Ministry of Education Government of India, writing in *United Asia* discusses Gandhi's reaction to the present day education and commends his Scheme of basic education Gandhi felt that many of the problems of India could be solved by a more creative system of education

Such a system must first and foremost reintegrate the child and find him a useful place in society The present tendency of loosening the social ties must be checked Education must prepare the child for a useful social life Education must develop both body and mind and make the child conscious of the dignity of all labour—whether mental or manual Finally such a system must be within the reach of all and economically feasible in the present impoverished conditions of India

It was out of Gandhi's awareness of these needs that the system of basic Education was evolved It treats the child as a member of a community from the very beginning of his educational life

As a unit of a co operative group all his activities have a social content Not only are school activities organised in groups but they are such as have an immediate social utility All educational psychologists today agree that the child can learn more quickly through activity than by passive reception of what he is taught The child loves to do things It is an imposition on him to be compelled to sit silently without movement for long periods Except when his interest is engrossed in what he is told—for example, when he listens to a fairy story—he likes to talk or to do things himself In Basic Education this aspect of the child's nature is fully recognized

Gandhi's scheme of Basic Education, in fact, goes one step farther and gives the *child activity* which is socially significant This is the essence of his emphasis on a craft

Education centred round a craft not only helps the development of the child's faculties but also gives him a consciousness of performing a social function from the very beginning of his life In addition the child has *immediate experience* of the results of his labour The product of the craft is to him a physical symbol of success and gives him a sense of achievement

Apart from this there is another reason too why we should go in for Gandhi's scheme of basic education

The system of Basic Education also aims at making education accessible to all

COMINFORM OF THE FAR EAST

The London *Economist* is of opinion that the Far East now has its "Cominform."

Stating that the recent Peking Conference of Asian and Australian Trade Unions had already marked out the main lines on which Chinese Communist activity is to develop, the *Economist*, in an article entitled, "China looks south" says

The conference declared its support for the 'national liberation forces in Burma Malaya, Indonesia, Indo China and the Philippines

It should be noticed that this *Communist* offensive is directed not only against the survivals of Western sovereignties in the East, such as British rule in Malaya but also against all those Asian national leaders from INDIA eastward to the Philippines who have been trying to base the policies of their respective countries on friendly relations with the West

What is *most striking* in the new Chinese Cominform programme is that it is to be applied over a region in which the Chinese imperial monarchy formerly held a kind of paramount position and in which large Chinese communities have been built up in modern times by emigration from China'

Stating that there were two *main* reasons why Communism is in a position to give an attractive lead to Chinese nationalist sentiment the *Economist* adds

'In the first place by aligning China with the Soviet Union in defiance of the West, the Communists can pursue a forward policy in the south, whereas the Kuomintang was unable to take a *strong line* either in the south or in the north

Secondly the Communist technique is the one which promises the best returns on a very small capital of national military power"

Of the prospects of 'Titoism" in China, the *Economist* observes that there are signs that the Russians are *willing to accept* from China much looser form of attachment than is required from the European satellites

There may be conflicts between Moscow and Peking and if a serious heresy were to arise Russian possession of Port Arthur would enable the Kremlin at least to set up a rival regime in Manchuria

But for the present there is no detectable heresy, and it looks as if the Moscow Peking axis may work about as well as did the Berlin Rome Axis'

A LONG WAIT

Artist 'Do you mind if I paint your cottage?"
Old woman 'Mind? It's been needing painting since I came into it thirty years ago'

"EASTERN ECONOMIST"

The annual number of the *Eastern Economist* for 1949 with its many charts and abundant statistical information provides very interesting and instructive reading It opens with a chronology of economic and political events during the last 50 years followed by a story of India with emphasis on the Gandhian age The last half a century has seen changes in ideas, liberty and democracy have pushed out all the others and occupied the throne the relation between India and Britain has been put on a footing of equality and the long campaign of hate has ended with no bitterness on either side

The Annual is divided into two parts the first of which specially deals with India's land and its fruit Indian Industry Labour, Business Activity Transport and Public Finance while Part II is devoted to the Nations' Economic Budget Food, Cloth, Cost and standard of living deval nation and its consequences, balance of payments, Government account etc In fact no feature of the economic life of the nation has been neglected Although the annual is packed with facts and figures, statistics and illustrated charts yet it is written in such easy narrative style that it cannot fail to interest the ordinary reader, while as a work of reference for students of economics and statistics it is bound to prove useful Each subject has been treated with such thoroughness and realism that it is difficult to single out any for special mention One would have wished that co operative Banking had come in for a detailed review. It was a foster child during the British regime but with the advent of freedom, whether one likes it or not, the country is bound to develop co operation, all round particularly in rural areas

In order to stimulate banking enterprise the Annual has chalked out an eight point programme which the authorities of the Reserve Bank of India would do well to consider There is a large amount of idle money in the country and in the quest to ferret it out, success will depend, 'on the vigour, initiative and independence displayed by the banking system and not the least by the Reserve Bank of India"

PAKISTAN'S MILITARY OBJECTIVE

An article in the *Army Quarterly*, London, by Major A J Wilson, Personal Assistant to the British Commander in Chief to the Pakistan army, throws light on Pakistan's military preparations and objective

Major Wilson claims that Pakistan's frontier policy resulting in the elimination of Hindus and Sikhs has increased the striking power of the army He says "Another factor which has increased the striking power of the army has been the absence of the need to employ troops in support of civil power The almost complete evacuation of the Hindu and the Sikh minority from the N W. F P. and West Punjab has meant that communal trouble has become a thing of the past It has consequently been possible to organize and train the army in mobile formations ready for active operations"

Major Wilson continues "From the point of view of the professional soldier there is great scope, for though the army proudly retains its old traditions, it is still in the formative stage, and there is ample room for experiment and originality Best of all, perhaps, there are formations and units ready and trained for war, a happy change from the present suspend ed animation' Situated at the cross roads between the East and the West and neighbouring States whose stability is less certain than her own, Pakistan's main pre occupation at present is to ensure her own security and integrity '

Three things emerge from this article First, evacuation or squeezing out of the Hindus and Sikhs was according to plan which is now in operation in Eastern Pakistan The plan is designed to increase the striking power of the Pakistan army Secondly, the stability of Pakistan's 'neighbouring states," such as India, is less certain And thirdly, 'the formation and units are actually ready and trained for war' And while Pakistan is furiously and vigorously importing war materials from Europe and America people in this country are playing with a 'no war joint declaration"

NONE

Coroner 'Had the deceased any financial worries? Witness "None, he was bankrupt'

'TEN GREATEST OF OUR TIME'

Mahatma Gandhi heads a list of "the ten greatest of our time' in a review prepared for the mid century edition of the Canadian monthly *Maclean's Magazine* Compiled by Prof Robert T Hutchins of Chicago University the review places in order of merit three famous Americans, and one person each from Britain, Russia China, India Germany, Austria and France

Prof Hutchins criterion is that "true greatness must rest on the depth of a man's influence, and the effect of that influence in changing our thoughts and lives'

Mahatma Gandhi is given pre eminence in this list of immortals because he is "the man who most resembles Christ in the last 2 000 years"

Mr Churchill comes sixth in the list because his greatness lies in his amazing personality courage and inspiring oratory

Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt is three places above that of her husband President Roosevelt and wins her place as the symbol of hope and encouragement to women all over the world"

Prof Einstien comes second in Prof Hutchins' opinion, as 'in the age of poor thinkers Prof Einstein is the greatest'

The name of Sigmund Freud for his work in psycho analysis, is coupled with that of Prof Einstein as 'the two forces which mentally and physically have most changed our lives in this half century"

Other famous names mentioned in the review are those of Albert Schweitberg (German philosopher) Lenin, Sun Yat Sen first president of the Chinese Republic, and Henry Ford.

THE PASSING OF THE "STRAND"

Those of the older generations in India will learn with regret that one of the favourite old time (and perhaps most popular) monthly magazines is about to be wound up It is the *Strand* which during the past 58 years has had many famous writers amongst its contributors

"There was first and foremost Conan Doyle, whose Adventures of Sherlock Holmes used to find a valued place in the *Strand*, there were W. W Jacobs' night watchmen and Thames captains H G. Wells wrote "The First Men in the Moon" for the magazine, Kipling his "Puck of Pook's Hill, P G Wodehouse and his Jeeves and more lately Agatha Christie with her famous detective, Hercule Poirot Many now famous artists (one of them was Max Beerbohm) had their original works in the once lavishly illustrated *Strand* When Sherlock Holmes first appeared in the magazine Conan Doyle was paid £35 a story That was in 1891 When the last of the Holmes adventures appeared (in 1927) the *Strand* had to pay £800, and that was for the British rights only But it was still a going concern up to the war, when it had to come down to pocket size Now the *Strand* is a casualty of the post war era for with paper three times its pre war price and other heavy costs, it has been found impossible to revert to the "traditional character and size of the *Strand*" and "rather than mar the glorious record of nearly 60 years by continuing a policy of expedients, the directors, with great reluctance and regret, have decided to bring its long and distinguished career to a close"

"TIGER' VARADACHARI

'Tiger" Varadachari was in a sense the 'musician's musician" He was a great link with the giants of an earlier era Prof P Sambamurthy, Head of the Department of Indian Music, Madras University, writes that in the passing away of Vidwan Tiger Varadachariar,

South India has lost a veteran in the realm of music He was an outstanding singer of our times His concerts were an aural feast His dynamic *manodharma* gave one food for musical thought He was justly famous for his *thana* style of raga exposition It was a rare experience to listen to his singing in the *mandara sthayi* Singing in the *mandara sthayi* is unfortunately now getting out of vogue The deep and round notes that bubbled forth from his voice in the shape of *nabhi thana* left an indelible impression on the listeners The phrases that emerged on such occasions were characterised by remarkable beauty and excellence He was a past master in singing the different types of *thana* His exposition of *chakra thana* was thrilling The swara group pattern that came with whirling rapidity on such occasions appeared as if they were gushing forth from a deep fountain To the coming generation of musicians this style of *thana* as well as the chakra bandam style of Veena play must all sound as things of the past His *tha a* singing made us form pictures of the styles of such remarkable exponents of *ghanam* style of singing of the past like Bobbili Kesavayya and Ghanam Krishnier

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

ROUND TABLE TALKS IN S. AFRICA

Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Liberal leader has been appointed by the Government of India to represent India at the tripartite talks between India, Pakistan, and South Africa, scheduled to begin on Feb. 6 at Cape Town.

A Press Note issued by the Ministry of External Affairs stated that the talks would be for the purpose of discussing the possible summoning of a Round Table conference on the Indian question in South Africa and the subjects to be considered by such a conference.

The Indian delegation will also include as official advisers Mr. Y. D. Gundevia, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs and Mr. R. T. Chari, Secretary in the Office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa.

INDIANS' PLIGHT IN NATAL

Poverty, starvation and degradation have entered the homes of thousands of Indians in Natal. Owing to the country's economic position, they are being dismissed in hundreds every week from their narrow channels of employment. Nearly all the trades and some professions are closed to them.

Mr. C. M. Bassa, Secretary of the Natal Indian Organisation, told a *Globe* journalist, who interviewed him on the Indian position, that there were thousands of more Indians unemployed in Natal than were registered by the Labour Department. Many young Indians have never been registered as unemployed, as they had never succeeded in getting jobs since they left schools.

Mr. Bassa said a conservative estimate of the number of workless Indians in the province was 7,000.

Representations have been made to the Government to induce them to return to agriculture by granting them loans through the Land Bank and by providing land settlement schemes.

A request was also made that more Indians should be employed in post offices, railway services and on road maintenance.

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP IN CEYLON

Mr. A E. Goonasinghe, Minister without Portfolio, in an interview to a Press representative in Ceylon condemned the anomaly in the Indian and Pakistani Residents (citizenship) Act which denies citizenship to Indians born and bred up in Ceylon unless they proved to the satisfaction of the authorities that their parents were permanent residents in Ceylon or their grandfather and grand-mother were born in Ceylon.

When citizenship rights are granted for those who have been here for ten or twelve years there is no reason why the same rights should be denied to the people who were born here and have never seen India in all their life, the Minister declared. He had received a large number of representations from Indians who were born here and he proposed to take up the matter with the Cabinet so that justice might be meted out to these people.

While it has been made comparatively easy for new immigrants to acquire citizenship rights on production of proofs of the prescribed period of residence in Ceylon, those who were born here and have never seen India are refused registration unless they produce proofs that at the time of their applications. their father and mother are permanent residents in Ceylon. As a result many thousands of Indian estate labourers who were born here and have lived in Ceylon continuously for over forty to fifty years could not acquire citizenship rights since their parents have either retired to India or are unwilling to declare themselves as permanent residents for one reason or another.

Ceylon Indian Congress leaders in their informal discussions with Pandit Nehru, during his visit to Colombo, have, it is learnt pointed out this anomaly to him.

CLEVER KID !

Teacher : What number is 'Trousers' ; singular or plural ?

A Clever Student : Sir, it is singular at the top and plural at the bottom.

Mauritius

POSITION OF INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

Mr. J N Roy, a leading Indian Member of the Legislative Council of Mauritius, is reported to have said that the "colour bar has reduced the Indian population in the colony to virtual slavery"

In an interview at Delhi Mr. Roy said that the three lakhs of Indians, who formed two thirds of the total population of the colony, had representation in the legislature "only in name" "The Whites," he said,

dominated both the economy and the administration of Mauritius Without any control over finance, the legislature has been turned into a mere debating society, so far as Indians are concerned

The Commonwealth Ministers' Conferences, Mr Roy said, would be of no avail unless the Commonwealth statesmen satisfactorily solved the problem of racial segregation India under the leadership of Pandit Nehru was best suited for conducting a campaign for the emancipation of 1,600 million coloured people of the world.

He added

The colonies more than ever before are faced with a choice between Democracy or Malanism It is difficult for the Europeans there to bring themselves down to the level of the coloured people Before they part with their privileges, the Whites will dig new trenches to assert themselves

Mr. Roy pleaded for a more frequent contact between the Indians in Mauritius and those in the Motherland. He also urged the opening of direct shipping between India and Mauritius.

East Africa

"UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRANT"

Kenya has refused re entry to an Indian whom it describes as "an undesirable immigrant." He is 39 year-old Charandass, a former insurance and postal worker, who has a wife and four children at Nairobi. He went to Kenya first in 1926 and had been in the colony for seventeen years

He went to London last January to study law He has been informed by the Principal Immigration Officer at Nairobi that his decision deeming Dass an undesirable immigrant to Kenya has been confirmed by the Governor-in-Council.

Pakistan

HARASSMENT OF SIND HINDUS

Tragic tales of attrocities perpetrated on Sind Hindus by the Pakistan Government with a view to driving them out from Pakistan were narrated by Prof, B N. Nagrani, Secretary, Minorities Board, Karachi, at a Press conference in Bombay.

According to the U P I correspondent, Prof Nagrani, who was externed very recently by the Pakistan Government for "encouraging exodus" arrived in Bombay a few days back.

Describing the present conditions of Hindus in Sind, he said "We are given the choice of either to embrace Islam, or perish All our lands houses and business concerns are seized by the Pakistan Government as evacuee property.

"Our young girls are being abducted. Our sentiments and religious susceptibilities are subordinated to the whims and fancies of Pakistan Ministers Our temples and places of worship are being desecrated, looted and idols broken In some temples, they have opened butchers' shop.

"There is no law in Pakistan. Pakistan Government have let loose all Muslim refugees to get into the houses of Hindus and drive them out forcibly and thus get the possession of houses.

Stating that Pakistan Government do not care for protests from India Government, Prof. Nagrani added: "These protests are impotent The Pakistan Government know too well that India Government dare not retaliate. On the contrary great preparations are going on for war against India War slogans are written on walls everywhere."

Malaya

246 INDIANS DETAINED IN MALAYA

There were 5,815 persons in detention in Malaya on December 31, under the emergency law in force in connection with the Communist terrorist situation in the country. Of these 4,689 were Chinese, 246 Indians, 859 Malays and 71 Eurasians.

Two hundred and eighty-nine arrests were made in the Federation of Malaya during the week ending January 4 in connection with terrorism.

Government deported 6,100 persons from Malaya in 1949 under the emergency. Of these 5,991 were aliens and 106 were British subjects.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS † DEPARTMENTAL † NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

Among the recommendations to be submitted to the Commonwealth Governments by the Foreign Ministers' Conference which concluded at Colombo on Jan 14 is a proposal to establish a consultative committee to improve economic conditions in South East Asia The final communique issued by the Foreign Ministers stated that "in the changed conditions in this area, progress depends mainly on improvement of economic conditions" The *communique* said

The discussions which the Commonwealth Ministers have held at Colombo have once again demonstrated that among all members of the Commonwealth there is a continuing and substantial community of outlook in their approach to current problems of foreign affairs

Eleven plenary meetings have been held since the conference opened on Jan 9 The greater part of this time has been spent in a comprehensive review of the current problems of South East Asia, both political and economic

It was recognised that in the changing conditions brought about by recent developments in this area progress depends mainly on the improvement of economic conditions

The conference was impressed by the magnitude of the contribution which the success of progressive policies in this area could make to the peace and prosperity of the people

Executive decisions are not taken at Common wealth meetings of this kind but as a result of the valuable exchange of views which has taken place, recommendations for the furtherance of economic development in South and South East Asia will be submitted to the Commonwealth Governments for their consideration

These recommendations include a proposal for the establishment of a consultative committee representing the Commonwealth Governments The Australian delegation proposed that the first meeting of this committee when set up should be held in Australia

In the course of their discussions the Common wealth Ministers noted with satisfaction the political settlement recently reached in Indonesia They also gave particular attention to the situations in Indo China, Burma and Malaya

The conference also reviewed the current position in the Far East They discussed both the question of recognition of the new regime in China and also the future relations of Commonwealth countries with China

They reconsidered, in the light of subsequent developments, the provisional conclusions reached at the Commonwealth conference held in Canberra in 1947 on the conditions for a peace settlement with Japan On this subject, Ministers attending the conference will submit recommendations to their Governments

Finally, the conference was informed of the current political situation in Europe and the Middle East and of steps which were being taken to promote closer co operation, both political and economic, among the countries of Western Europe, and between them and the United States of America and Canada

The conference agreed that there need be no inconsistency between the policy followed by the United Kingdom Government in relation to Western Europe and the maintenance of traditional links between the United Kingdom and the rest of the Commonwealth

The Commonwealth officials concerned with economic affairs have held a separate series of meetings throughout the week Their primary purpose has been to exchange information on developments since the Commonwealth Finance Ministers met in London in July

Particular attention was given to the recent trend of, and future prospects for, dollar exports of the Sterling Area

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Addressing the Parliament on 31st January for the first time after India became Republic, the President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad reiterated the firm policy of the Government of India "to maintain peace and friendship with all the nations of the world and to help in every possible way in the maintenance of world peace"

"The Republic of India" he said, "inherits no enmities or traditional rivalries with other nations and my Government intend continuing a policy directed towards securing peace in the world and avoiding any alignment which leads to hostilities with any nation

After surveying the entire situation in India as at present, the President called upon the people of India to face the heavy and difficult tasks before them with courage, co operation and hard work

The President regretted that India's relations with Pakistan and concluded saying that wisdom and tolerance and the spirit of concerted effort should guide the new Parliament in its deliberation.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

THE SARDAR'S CALCUTTA SPEECH

Sardar Patel addressing a mammoth meeting at Calcutta on Jan 15 deplored the acts of lawlessness in Calcutta and appealed to the people to co operate with the Police in the restoration of law and order He said there were two ways of changing a Government through the ballot box or by a revolution but throwing of bombs was no revolution he said

Today the whole of India feels concerned to read every day something or other happening in some part of Calcutta Bombs crackers burning of tram cars attacks on police arrests fasts in jail, these are the incidents that are reported under prominent headlines

It is natural that in such circumstances people outside the Province should feel that there is general lawlessness in Calcutta and the machinery of Government has broken It is only when you come here and see the normal life of the city going on unchecked that you realise that all this is the work of some young men who have gone astray These handful of youths wish to upset the peace and tranquility of the whole city They wish to terrorise or overawe the whole population and the Government I do not know what they wish to gain out of it I can understand Communist ideology, but I cannot understand what they will achieve as a result of murderous assaults and other tactics

I am, however pained that while millions live in this city they are unable to express themselves or act in opposition to the machinations of the wrongdoers They are content to leave matters to the Police and the Government That is all wrong If there were a foreign Government they would have dealt with this menace as they did before but we cannot act in the same way After all those who are doing these acts are our own people The Police is also our own The Government is also our own

PLEA FOR PROPER ATMOSPHERE

"If you feel dissatisfaction with your Government you can replace it Some months ago the Prime Minister came to Calcutta He told you that if you wanted to change the Government you could do so by holding fresh elections and he thought those elections should be held if you wanted After all, whoever comes in our places will be our own men We are not afraid or ashamed of facing an election but when we examined this question at some length, we found various difficulties There were no voters lists Fresh voters had to be registered we had many refugees who had come from East Bengal and whose claims to record their votes had to be taken into account We wanted to do away with communal representation All these difficulties were there

We had also to consider that the next election on adult franchise was not far off We therefore, consulted your Government and the leaders of public opinion in Bengal to find out if they wanted elections even under these conditions All of them said that they did not want it and we gave up the idea When we announced our decision all papers welcomed it They, however, said that the new elections should be held early

We ourselves want to hold these elections early, but this is the first time that we have given the right to vote to crores of people It will entail an expenditure of millions and concentrated efforts to prepare electoral rolls and take other necessary measures for the holding of an election Nevertheless we have got to be ready for it and the Government will do its best but in the meantime, it is up to you to see that the proper atmosphere is created in which free and fair elections could be held

'TERRORISM' CULT OF LUNATICS

At the same time we cannot stand silent and inactive The Government has to be carried on If you are not satisfied with the Government you have the only way to change it is through the ballot box or by revolution Bombs attacks on Police and crackers do not symptomise a revolution All this is the cult of lunatics and the work of mad men

I do understand when people tell me that the young men are suffering from a sense of frustration, that they do not know whither they are going, or what is in store for them I sympathise with them but the remedy for it does not lie in the tactics which are being followed In fact, it will only postpone the day of their relief and amelioration They will spoil whatever good is being done

I fully realise the sorrows and sufferings which they have to bear, but in the past also you have suffered and braved it all Thirty lakhs of people lost their lives from sheer starvation No one dared to raise any voice then Today your own Police 70 per cent of which is Bengali is attacked with stones and bullets and not a single voice is raised

A WARNING

Instead accusations are levelled that they are terrorising out people and committing excesses People say that there is no civil liberty I ask you where is civil liberty gone? Has it been taken to the United Kingdom? Was there more civil liberty when people dared not do anything even when millions suffered or is it here now when people can do practically what they like? They can critise whomsoever they want, and they can throw bombs at and attack the Police

I warn you that if these tactics are not stopped, the civil liberty which you enjoy will disappear These few people will take it away You have either to face that prospect or to stop these nefarious activities No democratic Government can flourish on Police batons We have got used to calling the Police bad names in the past We have to change that mentality

HINDU MAHA SABHA

The 28th annual session of All India Hindu Mahasabha which concluded its three day deliberations at Calcutta in the closing week of December last defined the organisation's aim as "the protection and promotion of all that contributes to the advancement, strength and glory of the Hindu Rashtra, Hindu Race, Hindu culture and Hindu polity and as a means to that end to achieve Hindu Raj and re establish the integrity of Bharatiya State"

The session changed the present name of the organisation to "Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha" and authorised its President to appoint a Central Parliamentary Board in order to set up candidates in the elections to the different legislatures

The constructive programme of work which the session adopted for the organisation included (1) placing before the masses in general and the youths in particular the ideal of Hindu Rashtra, (2) helping refugees from Pakistan in getting accommodation and means of livelihood, (3) popularising grow more food campaign, (4) creation of an atmosphere among labour and capital to impress the need of more production

The session also passed a resolution defining its programme of work in the fields of labour, industries, land reform, defence, education and economics

In another resolution, the Mahasabha stressed the indivisibility and homogeneity of Bharatbarsha, denounced the establishment of Pakistan which, according to it, has led to massacre of thousands of innocent men, women and children and has deprived millions of Hindus in East Bengal of their basic rights, and alleged that no other party except the Congress party ever agreed to the "suicidal vivisection" of the country

The Mahasabha passed a resolution disapproving the Kashmir policy of Government of India

Winding up the deliberations Dr. N B Khare, President of the session, said that he would like to make it clear that the Hindu Mahasabha wanted to carry on its work peacefully, constitutionally and democratically

CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Addressing over 300 experts in social work who met in New Delhi in Christmas week Dr Jivraj Mehta, Bombay's Minister for Public Works, called for a "supreme effort" by Governments, and the people to eradicate the "five monsters" of want, disease, ignorance squalor, and unemployment

Referring to the problem of training social workers, he said that, according to one expert, India needed at least 60 00 000 trained and qualified social workers "As against this, we have only about 15 000 social workers out of which hardly 200 are properly trained"

The difficulty in securing the necessary staff to open new schools of social work should be overcome, he said, by help from the United Nations or the India Government The Education Ministry should reserve an adequate number of scholarships for students specialising in social work teaching The Provincial Governments also should subsidise post graduate institutions to train social workers

The experts met in a six day session under the auspices of the Conference primarily "to undertake, promote and develop" the study of social problem They included a large number of foreign observers

INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

The Indian Christian Conference of S India held a two day Conference at Guntur in Christmas week The following is one of the many resolutions passed;

'This conference protests against the policy, pursued by the Government of Madras and the United State of Travancore and Cochin, of discrimination against Harijan Christians in the matter of distribution of monetary and other helps This conference resolves that all the Christians originally from Scheduled Castes be included in the Scheduled Castes for all purposes as stated in article 341 of the Indian Constitution Act'

APT ANSWER

"Was the prisoner sober?"
"No, sir He was drunk as a judge
'You mean drunk as a lord'
"Yes, my lord"

EDUCATIONAL

UTKAL UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

The Congress President Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya addressing the graduates of Utkal University at its sixth annual Convocation suggested the conscription of the services of students for the eradication of illiteracy in the country

Dr Pattabhi said that Utkal University was largely modelled upon its senior institutions which had originally taken their cues from London University Since the first Universities of India were established soon after the Great Indian Mutiny the models of 1857 that made for imperialism could hardly be the models for 1950 that made for freedom

Today education must be linked to the needs of the nation that was developing not to the ends of imperialism that was in ruins Dr Pattabhi said

It is for you and your University to catch up the broken ends of the threads of national culture which snapped a 1000 years ago and produce them so as to piece them in the loose ends of modern science and knowledge

DEVELOPMENT OF ART

The Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education Government of India last September to draw up the constitution of the Central Advisory Board of Art to Advise the Government on all art matters has submitted its recommendations

The Committee which was appointed in pursuance of the recommendations of the Conference on Art held in Calcutta in August 1949 had seven members Dr Tara Chand Secretary Ministry of Education was its convenor and the other members were Mr N C Mehta Dr O C Gangoli Mr G Venkatachalam Mr D P Roy Chowdary Mr V S Amberkar and Mr Asit Kumar Haldar

It has recommended that a Central Advisory Committee on Art Consisting of seven practising artists five art critics and three representatives of the Government of India should be constituted This Central Committee would be mainly a co ordinating body which would not interfere in the day to day activities of provincial organisations

HISTORY CONGRESS

Dr Ram Prasad Tripathi Prof of History of the Allahabad University in his presidential address to the 12th session of the Indian History Congress held at Cuttack pleaded for broader outlook mastery of the technique of modern research and art of historical thinking and higher synthetic presentation which require a comprehensive understanding of human history and civilisation and a close contact with the progress of historiography in other countries particularly of the western world

Dr Tripathi suggested that the gates of the Indian History Congress should be thrown open to all workers in the field of history as such

He regretted that the study of history in this country had recently become confined to Indian history with the result that the study of history of other continents and countries had been neglected He was of the view that this state of historical study would not be in the best interest of Indian history and would bring serious deterioration of historical education and would make Indian history narrow and cramped

PANIKKAR'S PLEA FOR ENGLISH

Sardar K M Panikkar till recently India's Ambassador at Nanking addressing the Delhi University Convocation dwelt on the problems that India was facing and the new life that she would have to build The new life he said presented a challenge to each individual and India's potential greatness becoming a reality depended on the way in which the challenge of the new life was faced by her youth

Sardar Panikkar referred to the intergration of India and the new Republican Constitution and said it was a synthesis between the West and the East

While stressing the need for a national language he pleaded for the continued cultivation of the English language as necessary for their intellectual growth and deprecated intellectual obscurantism and spirit of intolerance which wanted to extend the cry of Quit India to the English Language

SUPREME COURT OF THE REPUBLIC

The Supreme Court of India, the highest Judicial Tribunal in the Republic met on Saturday the 28th January for the first time.

Speaking on the occasion, the Attorney-General, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, said that though the ties with the Privy Council had been snapped, the law laid down in its judgements would continue to mould and influence the decisions of India's Supreme Court.

The Chief Justice, Mr. Harilal Kania, said that although the decisions of the Privy Council were entitled to great respect, they had ceased to have compelling binding force. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the jurisprudence of that country and the principles of law laid down by that court would be perhaps more relied upon for decision by India's Supreme Court than they had hitherto been done.

ADAPTATION OF LAWS

The first act of the President of the Republic was the promulgation of the Adaptation of Laws Order, 1950, under Clause (2) of Article 372 of the Constitution of India.

The Clause enables the President to make such adaptations and modifications of any law in force in the territory of India, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as may be necessary or expedient for the purpose of bringing the provisions of such law into accord with the provisions of the Constitution and to provide that the law shall, as from such date as may be specified in the Order, have effect subject to the adaptations and modifications so made.

The Order says that, as from the appointed day, (January 26), all existing Central, Provincial, State and supplementary laws shall, until repealed or altered or amended by a competent authority, be subject to the adaptations, directed in this Order.

THE LATE SIR B. L. MITTER

The death at Calcutta of Sir Brojendralal Mitter, a former Law Member of the Government of India and for sometime acting Governor of West Bengal at the age of 75 removes a great jurist and statesman from our midst.

Sir B. L. Mitter, who practised as a Barrister-at-Law in the Calcutta High Court, became the Law Member of the Government in 1928 and continued in the post for seven years. Twice in 1931 and 1933, he led the Indian delegation to the League of Nations. He was at one time the Advocate-General of Bengal and later, the Advocate-General of India. He was also a member of the Bengal Executive Council during the period 1934 to 1937. One-time Dewan of Baroda, Sir B. L. Mitter acted as the Governor of West Bengal in 1948. Recently he was elected President of the Enquiry Committee to investigate into certain irregularities in the University of Calcutta.

Sir Brojendra was a valued contributor to this *Review* and he wrote a very appropriate Foreword to our publication—"Indian Judges."

CHANGE IN NAMES OF PROVINCES

The names of four constituent units of Indian union have been changed of late.

The United Provinces has been now named Uttar Pradesh, East Punjab is named as the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Berar as Madhya Pradesh, and Ajmer-Merwara as Ajmer.

The changes have been made under the Adaptation of Laws Order issued by the President.

SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURTS

The Government of India have promulgated an Ordinance which confers upon special criminal courts constituted under certain provincial laws jurisdiction to try offences against law with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the Federal Legislative list. The Ordinance which extends to all the Provinces of India, takes effect from January 21.

TRADE AND FINANCE

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

The question of attracting foreign capital in the country and the terms and conditions for such investments were the subject matter of a question and a series of supplementaries in the Dominion Parliament

Dr Syamaprasad Mookerjee told the House that so far 59 applications had been received from foreign capitalists for starting industries in India after the announcement by the Prime Minister on investment of foreign capital Sanction had been accorded already to schemes involving Rs 183 lakhs The foreign participants mostly belonged to the United Kingdom and the industries included electrical (including radios) iron and steel products vanaspati woollens general engineering automobiles paints and varnishes printing and finishing paper and strawboard leather goods raw films non ferrous metals fine chemicals footwear ivory buttons and sports goods

Generally the conditions laid down were the Minister added (1) majority of Indian capital (2) Indian management and (3) Indian technicians to be trained by foreign technicians so that the latter may be eventually replaced by the former The schemes might take three to five years to materialise

The Minister said that the Government received enquiries from individual firms from abroad and the negotiations were conducted with the firms who would be given all possible assistance

INDIA AND EAST PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Government have banned the transit of Indian goods through the East Bengal Railway with effect from midnight January 19 20 1950

In a communication to the Government of India the Pakistan Government have requested that no goods passengers or luggage should be booked to any station in East Pakistan or across East Pakistan

It is also learnt that nearly 1 000 wagons destined for stations in India are now held up in East Pakistan

SELF SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD

The wisdom of the present policy of achieving self sufficiency in food at the expense of other equally important things was questioned by Dr P S Lokanathan, Executive Secretary Economic Commission of East and the Far East addressing the Rotary Club in Madras

Dr Lokanathan who was speaking on the Economic outlook for India declared that taking a long view the future of Indian economy rested upon the nature of her economic resources which he pointed out having regard to India's population growth were strictly limited The growth of population was a very serious factor in Asia and all available resources should therefore be utilised most judiciously

On the policy of attempting to gain self sufficiency in food Dr Lokanathan said it was a debatable proposition whether India could really become self sufficient Besides self sufficiency was not desirable as it could be attempted only at the expense of other things equally important India he said should try to take the place which Japan occupied in pre war years in regard to industry This he said was India's great chance to produce capital and consumer goods required by other Asian countries

He added that Siam Indo China and Burma which had large exportable surpluses of food were perturbed at the emphasis being placed by India on self sufficiency

THE INDIAN TARIFF BOARD

The Indian Tariff Board will have only three members hereafter instead of five Mr M E Rahman will become a Collector of Customs while Mr B N Adarkar will rejoin the Ministry of Commerce as Deputy Economic Advisor to the Government of India This will leave the Board with three members Mr G L Mehta (Chairman) Dr H L Dey and Dr B V Narayanaswami Naidu

WOMEN'S PAGE

THE LATE MRS SATHIANADHAN

The passing of Kamala Sathianadhan at the age of 70 removes one of the earliest of our contributors Mrs Sathianadhan's article appeared in these pages as early as 1900 and in response to our request she was good enough to write to our Golden Jubilee number last month It is a remarkable instance of vitality of mind and body that at her great age she should be able to write with such vivid interest and grasp of things intellectual and spiritual Who could have thought that the writer of such an article was nearing her end ?



Mrs Sathianadhan matriculated in her fifteenth year and was the first Lady M A in our University A champion of the cause of Indian women and a determined fighter for their emancipation she edited *The Indian Ladies Magazine* from 1901 to 1918 and then again from 1927 to 1938 Besides contributing to most of the important newspapers in India she found time to write books for children students and grown ups

A woman of culture and learning and a true embodiment of modest Indian womanhood she was always frank straight forward progressive and industrious

MALABAR WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The third annual meeting of the Palghat branch of the All India Women's Conference and the second All Malabar Constituents Conference were held at Palghat on Jan 11 Srimathi T C Kochukutti Amma presided and a resolution supporting the Hindu Code Bill and urging the inclusion of Marumakkathayees within the scope was adopted

RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

Miss Mridula Sarabhai social w engaged in the recovery of abducted wom in Pakistan met Shaikh Sadiq H n adviser to the Governor of West Punjab and discussed with him certain proposal for intensifying the campaign in b the Dominions

There was complete agreement between them that the humanitarian work of re of these unfortunate persons should be vigorously pursued by both the Govern ments and that facilities should be granted to social workers on both sides to help their respective Governments in the achievement of this noble and important task

WORLD'S TWELVE FAMOUS WOMEN

Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit Indian Ambassador to the United States has been selected by the editors of the *Book of Knowledge* as one of a list of 12 women who are inspiring examples to American boys and girls

The women were selected from various fields of endeavour on the basis of their being inspiring examples of intelligence and accomplishment to the growing generation

Heading the list was Mrs Franklin D Roosevelt selected for her work with the United Nations where she is a member of the U S delegation to the General Assembly and for her participation in public affairs

INDIA'S FIRST LADY

An interesting interlude was provided at the Durbar Hall ceremony on Republic Day by an eager search for India's First Lady Shrimati Rajendra Prasad who was conspicuous by her absence from any of the front rows provided for distinguished guests Simple and unostentatious she was sitting with other members of the President's family in one corner where she was spotted out by the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru She was then persuaded to take her seat in the *front row* along with the Cabinet Ministers

GENERAL

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SCIENTISTS IN CONFERENCE

The Governor of Bombay Sir Maharaj Singh, inaugurating the 37th Session of the Indian Science Congress at Poona on Jan 2 expressed the hope that the negative side of science that is as a potent engine of destruction would remain buried in the limbo of the second world war and that science and its votaries would contribute to peace and ever increasing happiness and prosperity

Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee Industry and Supply Minister addressing the session deplored the lack of scientific attitude among Indians and said

The gap between our scientific knowledge and its application to some of our current problems is as much a consequence as it is a cause of this lack of scientific attitude

The Annual Session of the Indian Science Congress serves as a yearly reminder to our scientists of the need for continuous dedication of scientific knowledge to the service of our mother land and of humanity at large Such self introspection is particularly necessary at this juncture of world history when the menace of automic warefare hangs like a darkening cloud on the minds of all thinking men and women

The Hon ble Mr B G Kher Premier of Bombay welcoming the delegates expressed his conviction that unless there was a close and intelligent co operation between the scientist and other creative thinkers and 'those responsible for practical affairs of the country" no progress or improvement in society could be possible

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the Congress appealed to world scientists and technologists to aid India to raise her standard of living He wanted them to give not "vague advices worthy of consideration but practical help in the solution of this country's vital problems, social and economic

THE PRESIDENTS' ADDRESS

Prof P. C Mahalanobis, F R S., presiding over the session stressed, the importance of statistics in the field of science

'The growing importance of statistics in public estimation' he added, "is mainly due to its increasing practical applications in the affairs of everyday life'.

Statistics is essentially an applied science he continued Its aim is to reach a decision on a probable basis, on available evidence Statistics supplies a valid method for drawing general conclusions from particular experience Also, it helps the choice of a course of action by balancing the risks of gain and loss

Prof Mahalanobis dwelt exhaustively on the special needs of India in matters of food and general production and called for an increased reliance on figures to be able to successfully avert the crises facing the nation

The Congress divided itself into different sections to deal with various aspects of scientific thought and activity.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES

Dr C V Raman addressing the Institute of Sciences observed that scientific activities in the country needed a drastic reorientation and must be correlated with the fundamental and basic needs of the people Unless this was achieved there was a danger of 'unloosening of tremendous human passions, which may mean disaster to the country," he warned

Speaking under the auspices of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics Dr Raman said to many science today meant big laboratories cyclotrons and atom smashing machines

The work of many of the scientists in the country was turning out to be 'mere copy' of the work done in Europe and America They had to develop an independent approach to their problems and remember that many problems of scientific interest remained to be solved in the countryside they could not solve those problems by establishing 'national laboratories' but had to go to the country-side and study and solve them

INDIAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY

Dr J N Ray, Deputy Director General of Industries and Supplies, presiding over the annual session of the Indian Chemical Society, emphasised the need to develop India's technical manpower for her industrial advancement.

India he said, could not ever depend on technical help from outside So far about 87 German technicians had been brought here and 18 more were expected shortly.

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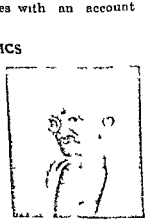
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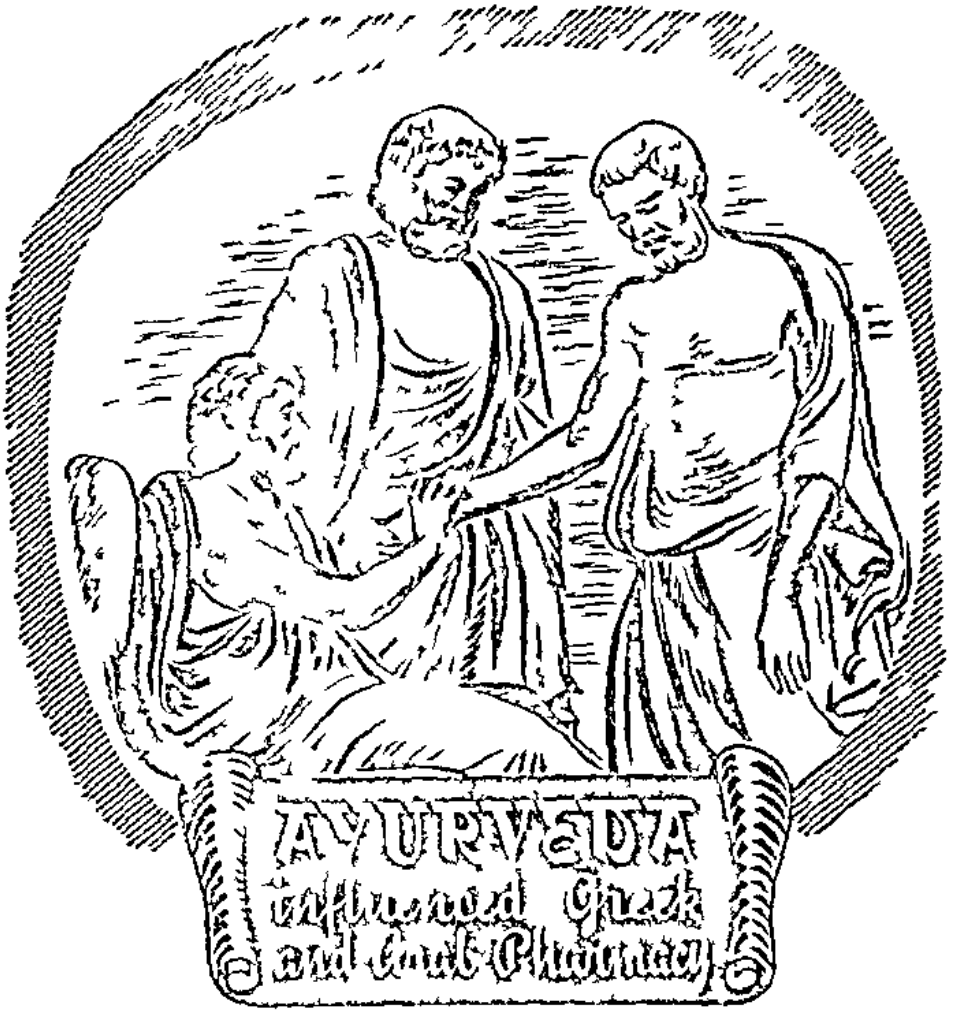
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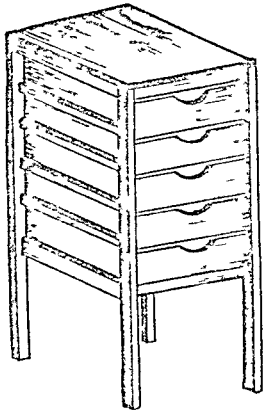
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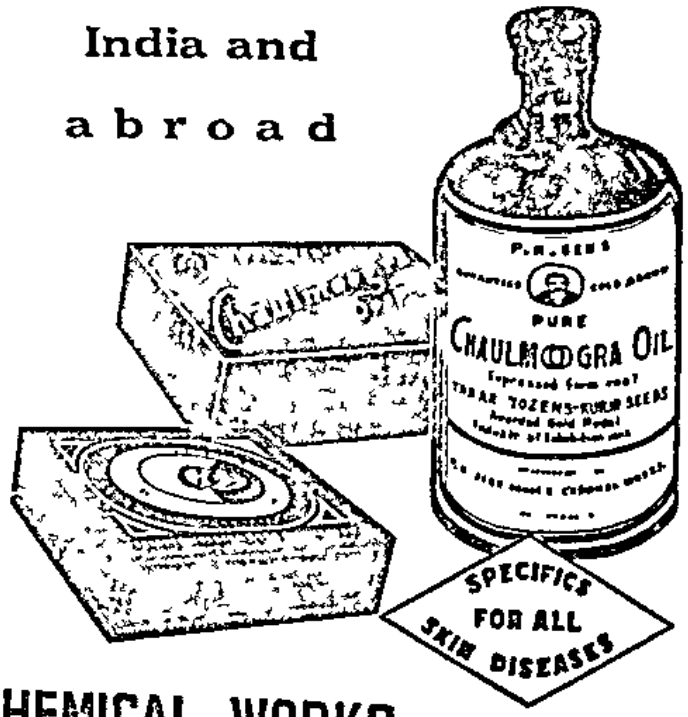
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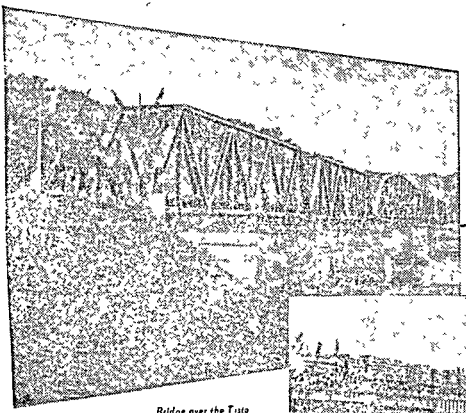
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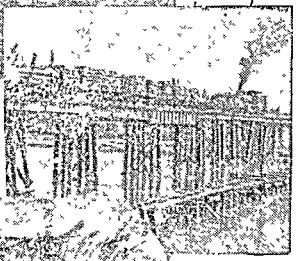
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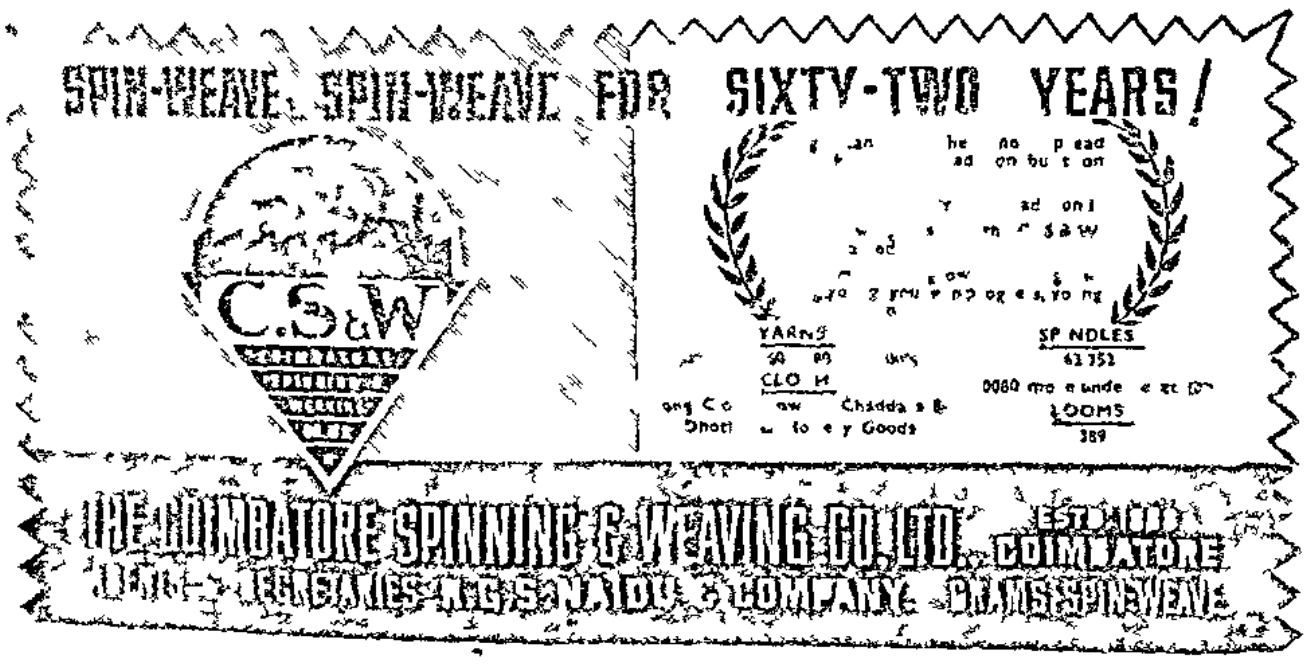
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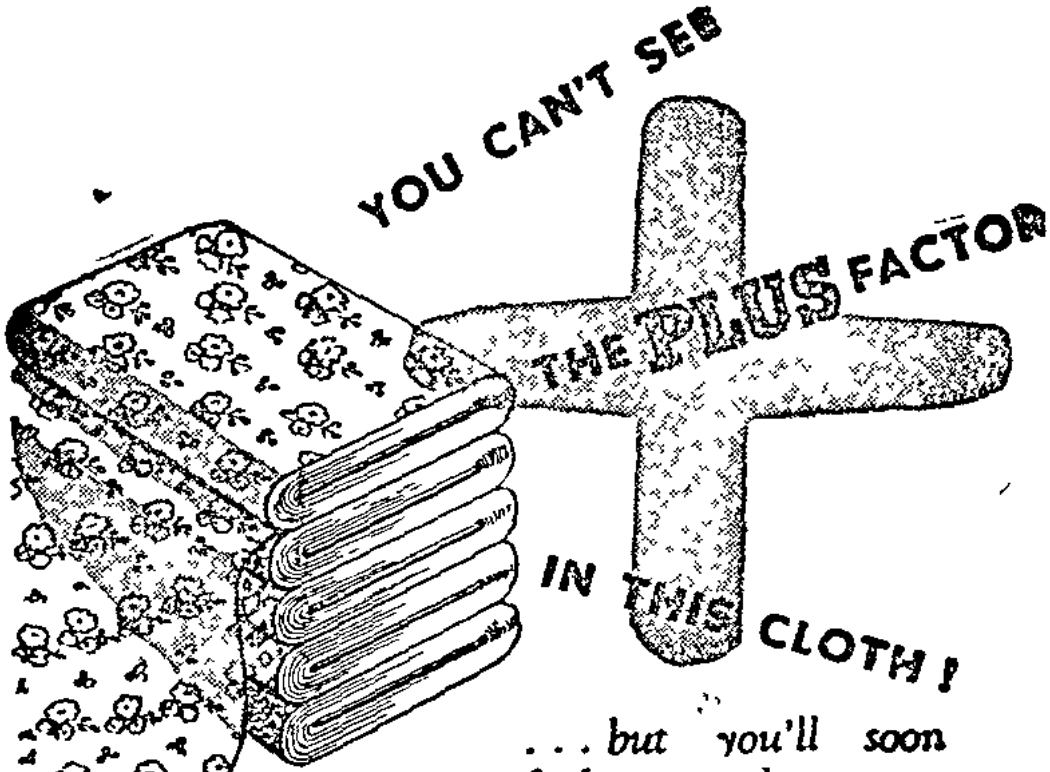
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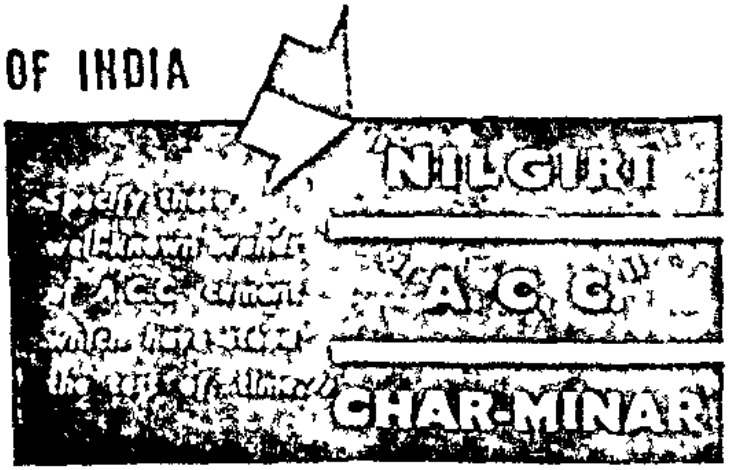
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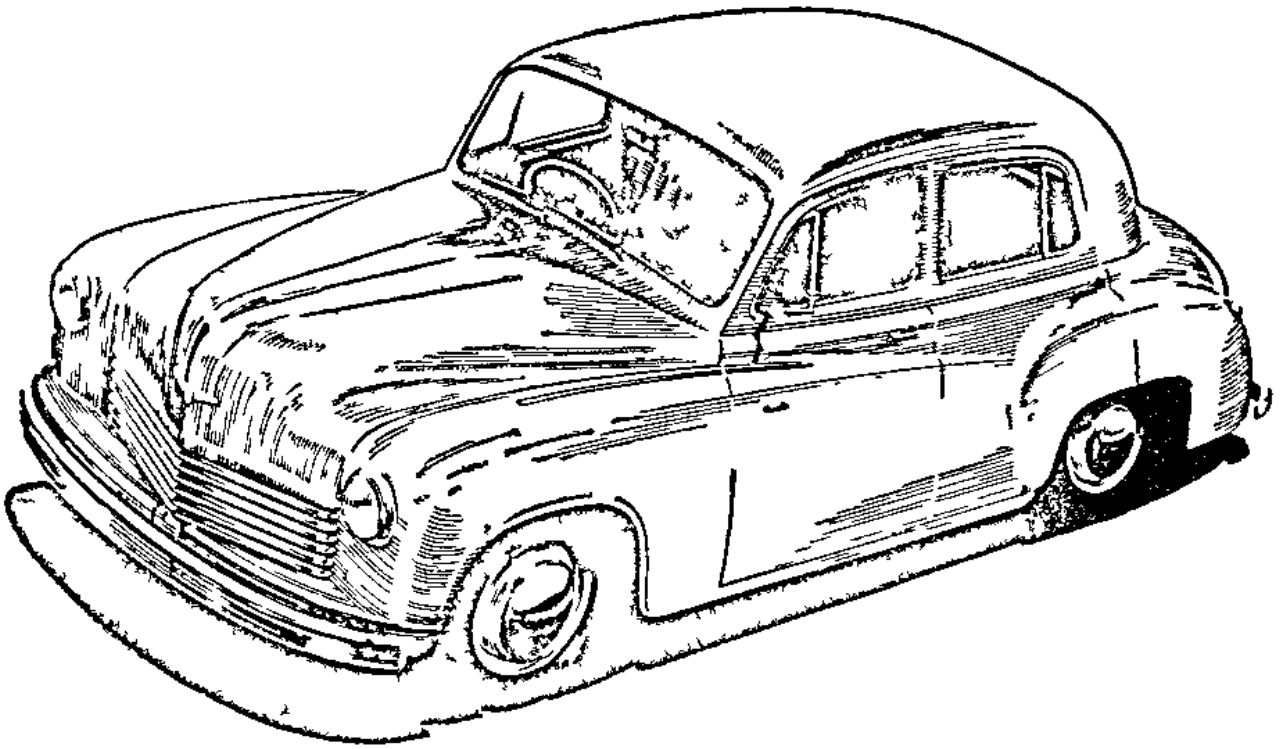
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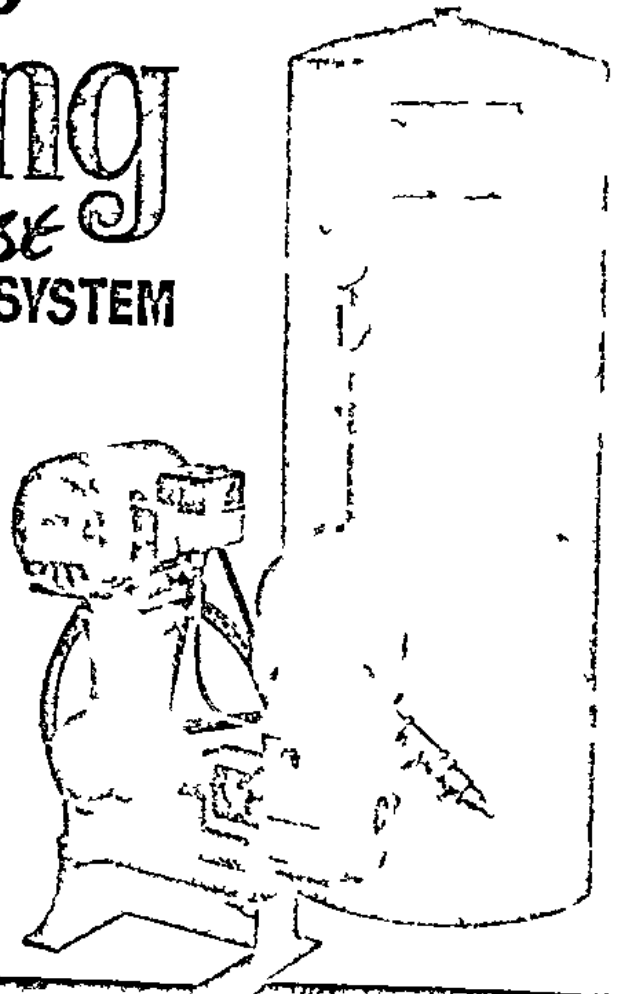
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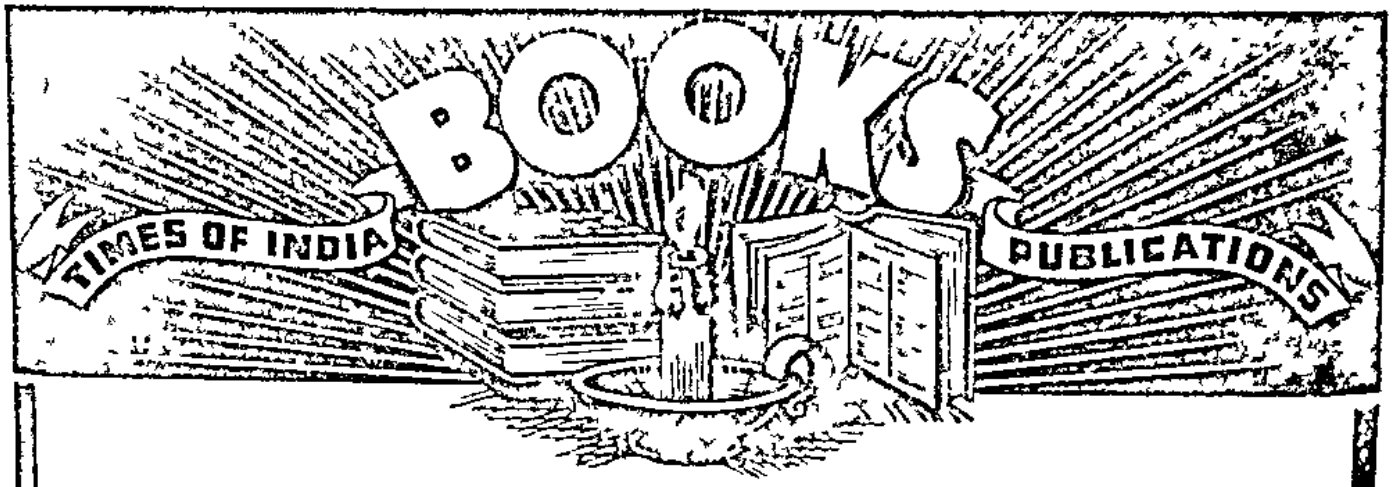
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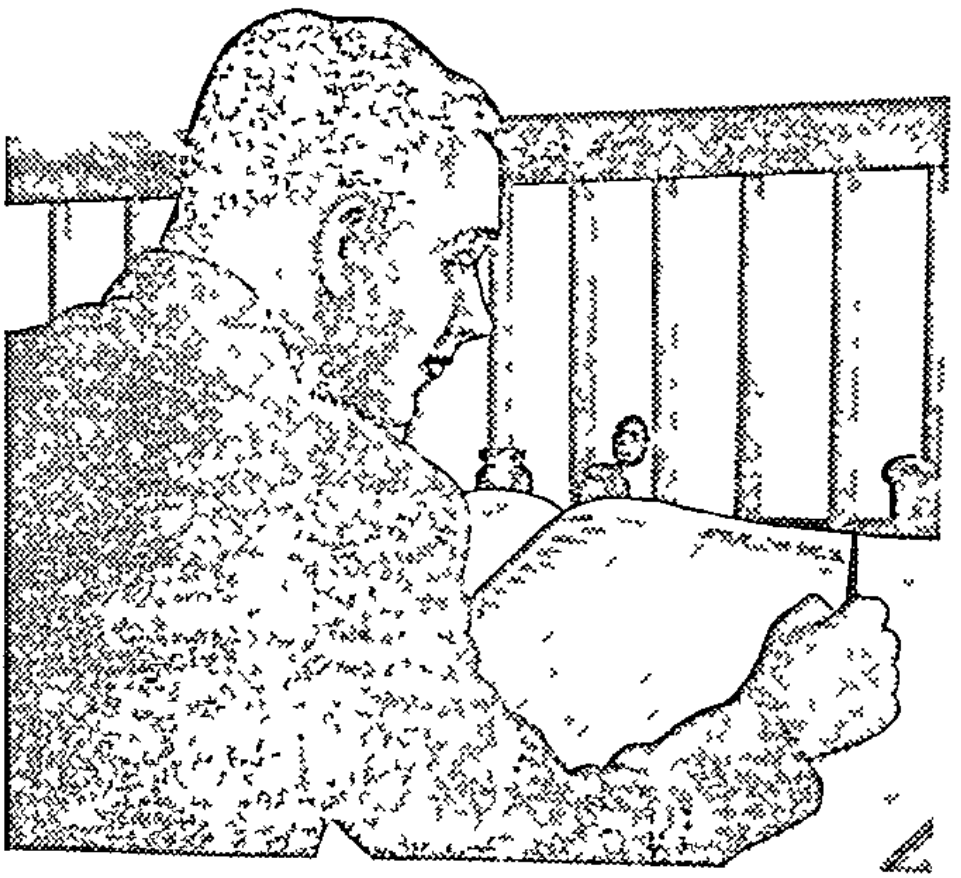
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Round the World in Seventy-Five Days

BY SIR T VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

—— o ——

MANY friends have asked me why I took it into my head to fly round the World at an age when I should rest in my own home and near my own fireside Other friends warned me against travelling to unknown places unattended by even a Secretary To use the language of distinguished public speakers, I had more reasons than one for undertaking the adventure What might have really deterred me was the numerous reports in the daily newspapers of aeroplane accidents I have a natural objection to being cremated in advance of the due date I got over that hurdle by insuring my life against accidents for a large sum I even insured my baggage for its full replacement value But luck was against me I finished the trip without accident and the only people who made a profit out of it were the Insurance companies I seem to be fated never to win in a race, or an Irish lottery or in an *Illustrated Weekly* cross-word puzzle At a time when I was a resident of Delhi and burglaries were rife and the local Police never detected a theft, I thought it wise to insure my house and property against fire and burglary After that I felt so secure that I kept my doors and windows open day and night, but sad to say, nothing was stolen and the only thing lost was my insurance premium The only occasion on which I lost anything was many years ago in my favourite country of Italy. Warned by precedents that I was never lucky in my baggage insurances, on one occasion I deliberately refrained from insuring it That was just the occasion when my hotel maid, tempted by open suit cases, stole a valuable overcoat It was a cold winter Rome can be very cold, and I got no compensation from the hotel keeper In those days the British Government of India had no embassies abroad, and I knew that the English Ambassador in Rome would not lose a night's sleep over my losses, and any complaint made direct to the Italian Government would be returned with a request to fill up in the Italian language a large form in quadruplicate which asked such relevant questions as my mother in-law's age and what was the exact reason which made me leave my own country for Italy



But I have not yet told my impatient reader what were the reasons (more than

one) that inspired my flight round the World *Number one*—The Indian Council of World Affairs was good enough to elect me as a delegate to a Commonwealth Conference in Canada and as a delegate had to bear his own expenses I know there was no risk of competing claimants *Number two*—On a previous occasion the Government of India nearly chose me as one of its delegates to an Agricultural Conference but at the last moment I was turned down because I was not a member of the Central Legislative Assembly I was not even a member of the Congress party The demi official reason vouchsafed to me was that a Joint Secretary in the relevant Ministry had assured the Minister that I was physically and mentally feeble and it would be an act of kindness to me not to send me That made me keen on proving to the satisfaction of the Minister that I had sufficient vigour left despite office notes to the contrary *Number three*—I discovered that a return air ticket to Canada cost me only Rs 600 less than a Round the World ticket

In spite of the official solicitude for my physical and mental welfare I undertook the journey and I was not sorry that I went I enjoyed every minute of my Journey, my fellow passengers, mostly Americans, were very helpful and the trip was wholly without accident or incident The gods were kind to the Insurance Company and postponed the accident till I returned home to the bosom of my family

My plane was the Pan-American Airways and I have no hesitation in recommending it to anybody who undertakes a long flight involving several days of continuous travel by day or night To my surprise the fact that I was a vegetarian did not trouble the air people The stewards and hostesses did their best to see that I got good food It was a surprise to me as my experience was that whether on the Indian railways or on the P and O steamers, any Indian who insists on vegetarian food was treated as an inferior citizen and even the Indian waiters seemed to feel it derogatory to their dignity to serve a man with such low tastes I recall the case of the first Indian Governor of a Province who asked his English Military Secretary to order Bengali style food for him and was told that gubernatorial dignity forbade it Thank God for Indian independence We can now eat what food we like We can forbid liquor from entering our household and wear what clothes suit us and our climate

The most outstanding impression left on me by my recent world tour is the respect shown to an Indian *qua* Indian Political freedom has made it easy for us, whether in India or outside, to hold our heads high and walk about the streets with the consciousness that we are as good as any white man It is not so very long ago that an Indian in Indian clothes was ordered by the Police off the Simla Mall in the afternoon and evening hours One would imagine that in a Scientific Research Institute racial distinctions would not be tolerated. Those who know Pusa before December 1929 will be able to testify how the English agricultural officers forbade their Indian colleagues from using the grand stair case reserved for Europeans, and how every Indian who ventured to ride on horseback in the streets of the Institute was ordered to dismount and respectfully salute an Englishman.

The second most outstanding impression I got was what a marvellous change had occurred even in the free country of England in the social relations between Englishmen and Indians I have known every High Commissioner for India from the time the office was first instituted and Sir William Meyer became the first holder of that office Even though an Indian felt more free in that office than he ever felt in that lordly office in Whitehall misnamed the India Office still many Indians were made to feel that they were a lower order of human beings Particularly it was the Indian students who felt humiliated and unless there was an official necessity for a visit to the Adviser to Indian students they carefully avoided going to this official who was paid from Indian funds to look after them The feeling continued even after Indians became High Commissioners It was reserved to Mr V K Krishna Menon the present incumbent of that office to break down the distinction and to impress on every subordinate that there was no place there for a man who did not treat an Indian with consideration

Almost simultaneously there has been a similar transformation in other public offices in London The BBC was till recently a preserve for non nationals and it was rare for an Indian visitor however eminent to be invited to give a talk there All this has changed There is now a large Indian Staff conversant with every important regional language of India and the authorities are on the look out to catch any well known Indian visitor for a talk Thanks to the recent fusion between the Indian Press and Reuter quite a number of Indians are now employed on Indian publicity work It will interest your readers to learn that there is a large colony of educated Indians now employed in London I got into close touch with them and those of them who live with their families find London a cheaper and more comfortable town to live in than New Delhi For one thing house accommodation is more easily available and on less extortionate terms food including Indian food stuffs such as dhall asafoetida vegetables and chillies is plentiful and cheap and above all the rationing officers are more human and honest and the womenfolk of Indian households are able to do their marketing and procure rationed articles without delay, bribe giving and red tape London experience corresponds to what I heard from Indian business men in Manila and Hongkong There are important Indian men of business in both the Philippines and China and I felt ashamed when they told me that all grades of officers in those countries are easily accessible and prompt to redress grievances while on their visits to India they found corresponding officers in India less courteous and more eager to put them off on some technical rule or other When I asked them why don t you see the higher Secretariat officers in New Delhi , they said they had sometimes to wait a whole day before they could get at the Secretaries Joint Secretaries Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries at the Secretariat When I suggested that probably the officers were busy and could not see visitors promptly and that they should make previous appointments by letter or telephone they replied that that did not improve matters The Secretariats were over staffed and the only result was that they were handed over from one officer to another and nobody seemed anxious to tackle the subject on hand.

The impression that the Indian business community left on my mind was that controls in India had become so many and so complicated that it was easier for them to resort to the black markets and pay their price than to dance attendance on Government officials

'AN HOUR WITH PROF. JOHN DEWEY'

BY PRINCIPAL S N AGARWAL

A FEW Indian students at the International House informed me that Prof John Dewey the well known American educationist and philosopher was in New York and it may be possible for me to meet him Prof Kilpatrick whom I had seen a few days earlier agreed to contact Prof Dewey and fix an interview for me

And so we did get the opportunity of meeting Prof Dewey a day before leaving for London Although the learned Professor was not keeping good health he was kind enough to spare full one hour for us Even at the age of ninety Prof Dewey showed a freshness of outlook and keenness of intellect which have always characterised his educational literature

I had with me a few books regarding the system of Basic education in India as outlined by Mahatma Gandhi I presented those books to Prof Dewey and asked him whether he knew about Gandhiji's educational scheme based on learning through a productive craft

Yes I have heard about Gandhi's scheme of Basic education answered Prof Dewey although I confess I do not have a very clear idea about it

Within a few minutes I tried to explain to him how Gandhiji's Plan of education was different from combining work with education On the other hand it was education *through* the medium of productive activity In this system academic subjects like History Geography Civics and Mathematics are taught to the students while they are working at their different crafts like spinning weaving gardening and agriculture by exploiting the different processes of handwork for educative purposes It is this integration of work with education or the correlation of hand culture and mind culture which distinguishes Gandhiji's Plan of education from other methods

Prof Dewey was glad to know these details and observed Gandhi's system of education is I am sure one step ahead of all the other systems It is full of immense potentialities and we all hope to learn much from India in this revolutionary educational effort

Prof Dewey then referred to the Chinese system of education as it existed several years ago when he had been to that vast and ancient country I was so sorry to find in China that the professors and students imitated the American manners and modes of thought instead of trying to evolve their own indigenous culture and traditions remarked Prof Dewey

The same thing is happening in Japan now I said

Yes I am glad you mentioned about Japan observed the Professor I will be thankful if you give me some idea of the changes that are being introduced in the Japanese educational system after occupation by the SCAP authorities

The American system of education is being foisted on Japan in the name of Democracy Co education and greater importance to the English language are some of the new trends I informed Prof Dewey But the worst feature of the Occupational forces is that plans are being prepared for wholesale conversions of the Japanese to Christianity

The Americans seem to think that only Christians can be real democrats"

'This is very sad indeed,' remarked Prof Dewey

"I did try to raise my voice against this cultural domination and conversion while I was in Tokio," I added

"I have no doubt in my mind that Western impact is liable to prove more disintegrating than helpful to the Eastern countries," said Prof Dewey in a serious tone

"What are your views regarding education in India?" I asked 'So far India had to suffer all kinds of cultural humiliations under the British rule stated the Professor "She could not develop her educational system in accordance with her own genius But now after regaining her lost freedom, India must try to build up her educational structure on the basis of her ancient culture and traditions

"What is your message to India? Mrs Agarwal asked the learned Professor

"What message can I give to India? remarked Prof Dewey in an admirable tone of humility which is so characteristic of all great men 'We have to learn much from an ancient country like yours!'

Later, the Professor was kind enough to write down his thoughts in Mrs Agarwal's Album He wrote the following remarkable sentence

> 'We look to India to elicit from its old history and culture that which will give help in the guidance of newer and younger peoples

Prof Dewey then, walked down with us to the adjoining room and showed us his Library and Study Corner He was very kind to present to me a copy of his latest book entitled "Reconstruction of Philosophy"

Mrs Dewey and her two adopted children were extremely hospitable and evinced keen interest in India She herself drove us back to our Hotel in that fairly hot afternoon

It was, indeed a great privilege to have spent an hour with, perhaps the greatest living educationist of the West in modern times And what a penetrating intellect and a spirit of humility at this ripe age of ninety!



50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

(From Editorial Notes)

THE TRANSVAAL WAR

The capitulation of Commandant Cronje with 4000 men at Paardeberg on Tuesday the 27th of February is the crowning stroke in the first stage of Lord Roberts operations It is the first important, perhaps even decisive turn in the tide of war which had hitherto run against the British, and reviving the glory of the British arms fully justifies the confidence of the nation in Generals Roberts and Kitchener If the credit of conceiving the combined and exactly dovetailing movements be due to these veterans the honour of executing them with pluck and gallantry must be given to General French

For nine days from Sunday the 18th, Cronje held out against a force ten times as large as his own enduring, the fiercest bombardment and repelling by the accuracy of his rifle fire all attempts to take his position by assault The marvellous heroism that he displayed against such odds fixed the eyes of the whole world on him, and most people must have wondered what could be 'the cause of humanity and civilisation that demanded the sacrifice of so many brave and generous souls Hard must be the heart that is not touched at the thought of the proud and fierce Boer commander walking with his wife grandson and de-camp, secretary and servants to the camp of the foe and humbly, suing for kind treatment

WHAT IS CIVIL LIBERTY?

By MR P C GHOSH

Advocate High Court, Calcutta

THE feeling of civil liberty is implanted in man's nature from his birth and from such feeling of civil liberty arises all our civil rights which belong to individuals as citizens or members of some social group In the formation of regular human society individuals have had to abandon some of their rights in favour of some head or leader, in order to establish a connection between the force of the State and the order of life Such transfer of power to a chief or head has come to be known as Social Contract in Political Philosophy

Civil liberty, as commonly understood consists mainly of three things

(1) Freedom in regard to personal action and property,

(2) Freedom in regard to religious belief and worship and expression of opinion, and

(3) Free participation in the government of the country But civil liberty gets circumscribed under certain conditions Those conditions arise, either for some emergent political cause such as, national safety during a war or for some social necessity such as some internal revolutionary movement In those conditions individuals come to forfeit their normal civil liberty

Civil liberty as accepted in the West in the modern age was unknown to the ancient world and was till recently unknown in many places, such as China Japan Burma and India where the individual was even the other day regarded as unimportant and insignificant, even in the West in Fascist Italy Communistic Russia and Franco's Spain the idea of civil liberty was more or less discouraged, nay sometimes suppressed although there existed in those places the urge for it from before the last Great War But after the termination of the last War, an unusual urge for civil liberty has sprung up throughout the Middle and Far East the winding up of the far-flung British Empire affording an impetus to the movement and threatening liquidation of the other European Colonial Empires

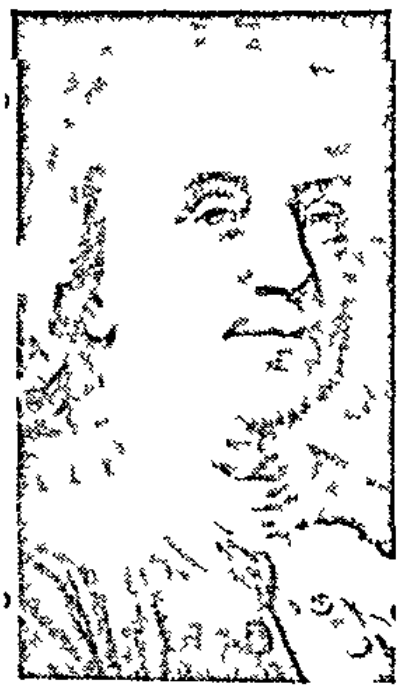
There have been four stages in the evolution of civil liberty The first stage came about long before Christ, with the advent in Greece of the Stoic Philosopher Zeno who laid down in his teachings special emphasis on assertion of the individual self The spread of Christianity developed further that individual conception of civil liberty by causing revolt against unreasonable control of the individual, or the family by the head or chief, as well as of the state by the Sovereign thus recognising the inalienable rights of the individual or the sacredness of human personality

The second stage in the growth of civil liberty synchronized with the birth of that medieval land system known as Feudalism, for Feudalism developed the individual proprietary instinct inasmuch as personal liberty is essentially bound with the possession of property Again that great European social catastrophe known as the Black Death which brought about almost a total annihilation of the then labouring classes converted the surviving serfs into small property owners implanting in them through force of circumstances a distinct idea of civil liberty

The third stage in the evolution of civil liberty was brought about by the conflict for supremacy that raged between the Church and the State caused by the bold and novel teachings of Martin Luther in the fifteenth century known as the Reformation heralding an era of further advance of personal liberty Because gradually as a result of those teachings status gave way to contract thus hatching the egg of modern democracy as one great thinker has so ably put it and leading the dissenting people to set at naught papal control and refusing to submit any longer to the old Inquisitional methods and to the fetish of the Divine Right of Kings by which the Kings were a law unto themselves

The fourth stage of the advance of civil liberty arose with the Renaissance or the Revival of learning in Europe from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century when through greater intercourse with distant peoples and by larger expansion of trade and commerce as well as by free interchange of thoughts and cultures the idea of individuality already in existence came too much in evidence and prevailed all over Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and in countries like Italy and Germany up to the time of the last Great War of 1914 1918

Thus in modern times the respect for civil liberty is the touchstone of everything for which civilization worth the name stands for Civil liberty is as essential for our political growth as are light and air for our physical growth The recent movement regarding Human Rights in the Councils of Nations or the agitation for the incorporation of Fundamental Rights in the draft constitutions in the different countries is all the outcome of an insistent feeling of civil liberty Most of our political conflicts arise from a desire for vindicating civil liberty or the rights that emanate from it The State through the criminal Courts defends civil liberty of individuals when such is violated criminally while individuals themselves safeguard civil infringements of it through actions for damages in civil Courts



Benjamin Franklin (1706 1790) United States publisher philosopher statesman and lessent at was born in Boston Massachusetts on Jan 17 1706

Benjamin Franklin s contributions to the cultural advancement and civic improvement of Philadelphia where he lived most of his life and to the entire Nation were many and varied He helped found the American Philosophical Society a public academy which later became the University of Pennsylvania the first public library in North America and the country s first hospital He instituted a postal service fire fighting companies and a police system.

LITERATURE IN FREE INDIA

BY PROF JAGDISH CHANDER M A,

D A V College, Ambala

LITERATURE—THE MIRROR OF THE AGE—

LITERATURE is the expression of life It is the sum-total of the emotional reactions of the artist to the world outside Apparently unrelated and in-coherent events of life crystallized through the imagination of the artist assume a shape and a form replete with the history of the times in which the artist lived and experienced them Literature thus is a mirror reflecting the variegated facets of life manifest in a particular age In very primitive times when Science had not revealed the mysteries of the universe man deified every object that seemed to him beyond the powers of his imagination Hence we have epics with gods and demi-gods as their characters moving about in the world and doing supernatural things As time went on and Science began to explain the phenomena of nature literature tended to become more and more realistic From the stories of gods and goddesses, of kings queens and extraordinary human beings to those of the common Man as the main character is a long process through which literature has passed up to the present day Why write about kings and queens ?' challenged the artist "why not about you and me—the man-in the street ? The thrill of joy felt by a potentate over his new conquest is in no way greater than that felt by a waitress over her first kiss Why then to discriminate between man and man when the intensity of emotions felt by each one of us is the same ? So much so that realism at one stage became an obsession with the artists Beginning from the photographic transcription of life the realists came down to depicting only its seamy and shabby aspects Inspite of this reaction, however the conception remained that the artist was like a man with a lantern going about in the world and showing life as it exists with both its beauty and ugliness The most important function of literature, therefore, is to record the essence of a nation's real life India has just emerged from a dark period of slavery The literature of Free India must reflect all the cross-currents of Indian life as it is to develop in the changed atmosphere of today.

LITERATURE—EMBODIMENT OF CULTURE —

Let us analyse what those cross-currents will be Culture is the essence of literature Just as politics without ethical basis becomes partisanship literature without the background of culture becomes journalism English literature would lose its value if it is not regarded as the embodiment of English culture Literature of New India too must be the exponent of Indian culture

India is at the cross-roads In its long and chequered history never was our culture threatened with such a grave crisis as it is to day with the death of Gandhi ' the greatest challenge of the East to the West this crisis has deepened all the more There are two distinct but conflicting ways open before us now Either we go West and relegate all our past culture to the background or to the East, discarding all that we have assimilated by the impact of the West If we adopt the former course, it means we disown our treasure our heritage, our glory The Western culture with so much stress on the material aspects of life develops a morbid possessive instinct and it is

focus of all our national aspirations was taken away by the hand of an assassin A faint streak of frustration therefore has been manifest in our recent writings But inspite of all these the mind of every Indian is bristling with aspirations and hopes about the future The ploughman in the field, the labourer in his factory, the clerk in his office—in fact everybody is anxiously waiting for the day when India will be a glorious land and our nation will be strong united properly fed housed and clothed Our literature should be the embodiment of these aspirations It should depict the pangs of an age which is dying and the hopes of an era which is being born There are so many evil legacies of slavery that we have inherited—corruption, nepotism, red tape, to mention only a few There are so many social evils which we have not been able to eradicate inspite of our persistent efforts No more should our artist be a helpless spectator of these evils now He should expose them to public gaze and by making them contemptible should inspire us to root them out Our artist must be a crusader

INDEPENDENCE—THE NURSE OF LETTERS

India today stands on the threshold of a new era when old values of life are giving place to new. Literature of Free India will not only be the literature of freedom, it will be the literature of a new outlook, a new way of life Our literary artists should realise the important role they are to play in the building up of a new and glorious India With the advent of freedom our literature will surely come into its own Literary geniuses have all in one way or the other been the products of some kind of independence —may be religious, social or political The Declaration of the Rights of Man ushered in the golden age of French Literature which we call *'le grand siecle'*. Victorian literature in England followed the all-round independence which the English nation symbolised in the Reform Bills of 1832 Goethe, Tolstoy, Shakespeare were all the literary manifestations of one or the other kind of Independence Wherever freedom has been denied or suppressed, literature has suffered Independence has been like the kind nurse of letters Duff Cooper aptly observed " Wherever heresy or Totalitarianism existed art and literature decayed Few countries have produced more creative works and literature than Italy during her long history, but not one important book appeared during Mussolini's rule Hitler's regime began with the burning of books "

That cramping influence of slavery has vanished and with that the darkness in the minds of the people will also begin to be dispelled With the dawn of a new era on the political horizon of India, we are sure to witness around us a phenomenal efflorescence of our art and literature too

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review*, G T, Madras

THE PUBLISHERS' REGRETTED

BY MR. DAVID GUNSTON

ASPIRING writers are always advised to be persistent in their work, to keep sending rejected manuscripts the rounds of publishers and editors until they are accepted and published. This is easy advice to give if not to follow, but the fact that it is well worth taking in all cases is borne out by the experience of a great many famous writers. The number of well-known books which were originally refused by the publishers to whom they were first sent is as surprising as it is interesting. It might be said, in fact, that almost all authors have to endure seeing their books rejected before they achieve print and subsequent success.

This is not the experience only of present day writers. Dickens was a most notable exception to this, his career being an unbroken line of success. But Thakeray had to hawk *Vanity Fair* round to many publishers before it eventually appeared in the popular green-covered parts. The Bronte sisters were met by persistent refusals from publishers for many years before their novels were printed. Charlotte had to send *The Professor* to dozens of firms before she had the happy notion of trying Smith, Elder & Co. They turned down the novel submitted but asked to see a three volume work. Thus *Jane Eyre* was born. Emily's novel *Wuthering Heights* went through many similar journeys to and from dusty publishers' offices and grey Yorkshire parsonage. Even Jane Austen had great difficulty in getting a firm to bring out *Pride and Prejudice*. Her father offered it first to Messrs. Cadell, but negotiations fell through at once and the book was not published for another sixteen years. Perhaps even more surprising was the continual rejection by one publisher after another of Thomas Carlyle's great work on the French Revolution, as proved by his own notebook.

Kinglake's masterpiece *Eothen*, now an admitted classic, was rewritten many times, turned down unanimously by all the London publishers and eventually brought out by a firm of booksellers into whose shop in Pall Mall the author had walked in desperation, offering them the manuscript as a gift. The book hung fire at first, but after being well reviewed in the old *Quarterly Review*, it sold like hot cakes Arnold Bennett's great *The Old Wives, Tale* was hotly condemned by the first American publisher to whom it was sent. Jeffery Farnol had long given up hope of ever becoming a writer after having *The Broad Highway*, his first book, returned endlessly from publishers, and went to America and earned his living as a theatrical scene-painter. It was only when his wife found the soiled manuscript hidden away in a drawer and sent it, still confident of its worth, to Sampson Low, it was published at all. It was a great success and made Farnol a popular romantic author.

Thomas Burke, who died not long ago, is best known as the author of *Limehouse Nights*, and on his own admission he was always only on the fringe of the literary world. Many of his books were rejected out of hand, only to be published later. *Limehouse Nights* itself met with twelve refusals and Burke kept it in a cupboard for over a year without submitting it further. Then one day walking from Charing Cross to the Haymarket in London he passed the publishing office of the enterprising Grant Richards. Burke

focus of all our national aspirations was taken away by the hand of an assassin A faint streak of frustration therefore has been manifest in our recent writings But inspite of all these the mind of every Indian is bristling with aspirations and hopes about the future The plough man in the field the labourer in his factory the clerk in his office—in fact everybody is anxiously waiting for the day when India will be a glorious land and our nation will be strong united properly fed housed and clothed Our literature should be the embodiment of these aspirations It should depict the pangs of an age which is dying and the hopes of an era which is being born There are so many evil legacies of slavery that we have inherited—corruption nepotism red tape to mention only a few There are so many social evils which we have not been able to eradicate inspite of our persistent efforts No more should our artist be a helpless spectator of these evils now He should expose them to public gaze and by making them con temptible should inspire us to root them out Our artist must be a crusader

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INDIAN PHILOSOPHY TO-DAY

BY PROF. S. RAMASWAMI, M A.

WHAT would an Indian of Upanishadic times or of the times of the Buddha or even of Kalidasa think of the India of to-day, asked Sri Arabindo a long while ago, when in the pages of *Arya* he was replying to William Archer's rather ill-informed attack on Indian thought and culture Proposing an answer himself, he suggested that our ancestor, if set down in our times, would experience profound and painful disillusionment He would be depressed by widespread evidence of moral, intellectual and spiritual frustration and failure He would find his descendants clinging pathetically to the shreds and patches of their heritage, to the dead wood, the decaying forms and shells and rags of the past, missing nine-tenths of its nobler meaning He would compare the spiritual light and energy of the heroic ages of the Upanishads, when the sages of India voyaged through strange seas of thought alone with the mental poverty the immobility, the static repetition the cessation of science, the long sterility of art, the comparative feebleness of the creative intuition So wrote Sri Arabindo in 1918-19

The picture then drawn, so dismal so sombre, so unpromising, is, it must be confessed, largely true Whatever the factors which contributed to the condition pictured—and a variety of factors political and economic internal and external contributed to it—it is unfortunately only too true that contemporary India still answers to Sri Arabindo's description Gandhiji has doubtless wrought in many spheres a tremendous change and his influence, whatever the narrow minded among both his admirers and detractors might say has functioned beneficently over a very wide range Gandhi was continuative, not innovative, of the Upanishadic tradition When in memorable words he declared in London that he would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived, he spoke in terms which perfectly expressed the spirit of the great seers of India who invariably exalted the spirit over the letter and who proclaimed Ahimsa and Satya as the twin principles of the highest Dharma of man The modern parody of caste thanks to Gandhi is doomed, though it is dying by inches But Himsa and Asatya, in numerous alluring and apparently inevitable forms are still evident in many aspects of our social and political life Gandhiji's castigation of the centuries-old perversion of our Arya Dharma has not been without effect but there is still too much mental sloth, too much religious formalism, too much sheer materialism in our outlook to justify our claim to be the true heirs and lineal descendants of the great sages of old and disciples of the no less great sages of our own times It is tragic indeed but it is true that, in particular, the Brahmanas of our time claim to be Vedantins and some of them even Advaitins, while at the same time cherishing and even justifying practices and beliefs wholly inconsistent with the Upanishadic teaching They condemn, themselves to a static, utterly soulless routine of duties performed without the faintest trace of the *sraddha* which they praise with their lips even to-day as essential to the efficacy of even the noblest acts But this is a familiar phenomenon, and is by no means peculiar to India Toynbee, in his Study of History points out how the aggressive growth of a creative minority into a dominant minority presages that failure of a civilization to respond to the challenge of changed times which spells its inevitable collapse and disappearance from the stage of life into history The latter-day evolution of the great creative minority of the Brahmanas of ancient India into the absurdly uncreative, almost feeble-minded collection of grievance-mongering individuals, concerned more with securing their secular rights and equities than with their hereditary task of spiritual and moral leadership is one of the most heart-rending spectacles of our times It threatens to end in tragedy. Indeed it will, unless we bestir ourselves betimes

Without minimizing the role either of militant Islam or of missionaries of Christianity or even of the moral

counted the letters in the name Grant Richards · there were thirteen "Supposing thirteen is my lucky number," he thought, and sending the manuscript on its thirteenth journey to Richards, he paved the way for its lasting success

When Compton Mackenzie set up as a professional writer his novel *The Passionate Elopement* was sent back within a week or two by one well known firm which said they could not make head or tail of it It went the usual rounds for over two years and was at last published by Martin Secker then just setting up himself as a publisher, who felt it was worth taking a chance on It was indeed and established its author

Best-sellers and masterpieces may not always be the same thing but they both get widely rejected by publishers who somehow fail to see anything in them It seems hard to believe that J B Priestley s *The Good Companions*, which assuredly falls into both categories, was turned down by a publisher before it was printed, but it was How that inefficient firm must have kicked themselves when they saw the great and continuing success the book achieved, going on as a play and a film as well, to say nothing of losing a potentially valuable author. Bernard Shaw's early immature novels were returned with a monotonous regularity by every publisher to whom the youthful Irishman sent them, some were published at all only long after their author had become famous as a playwright Somerset Maugham tried for years to become a dramatist, enduring many a harsh refusal from theatrical managers, but he succeeded, almost overnight, having the record number of three plays on in London at the same time John Galsworthy wrote solidly for eleven years without seeing a single word in print, and the experience is that of many other writers of all kinds, in all ages When he was unknown to the enormous fame which later overtook him, Sir James Barrie offered the manuscript of *Auld Licht Idylls* (mostly a collection of already rejected stories) to any publisher who cared to accept them for nothing

Edgar Wallace at the height of his fame could not get one of his detective thrillers taken by any firm at all, for some inexplicable reason Determined to be independent of the whims and fancies of publishers and their readers, he brought the novel out at his own expense This step was of course fully justified for the public were always eager to buy his books whoever published them, and it sold in hundreds of thousands and repaid its undaunted author.

The trouble is partly in the dull, lifeless appearance of books when in manuscript compared with their appearance when printed and bound, and partly also, we must assume, the fallibility of publishers to pick the winners 'But on every hand there is evidence that it doesn t do to be disheartened by any rejections of one's work If many an established author had been we should not be reading his work today

SHORT FOR THOUGHT

Those who advocate a time limit for speeches at Westminster would do well to ponder over a comment by Gladstone when asked how long he took over preparation of his addresses If,' he said "I am allowed only 15 minutes I need a week s preparation, if for half an hour, three days will be necessary, but if I am to speak at unlimited length I am ready to begin here and now"

—*Scotsman*

OUTLINES followed it and the masterly terseness and precision with which it covered nearly the same field as Dr Radhakrishnan's two sumptuous volumes won for it high and deserved praise Of Dr Das Gupta's great HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, four volumes have already come out but it is still incomplete And Dr Das Gupta's scheme is on lines very different from that of both Professors Radhakrishnan and Hiriyanna Readers of Prof Hiriyanna's OUTLINES felt deeply grateful indeed, when it appeared, but there were quite a large number of them, and a far vaster body among the general public, who felt the need for a rather shorter and more 'popular' account of the subject, Prof Hiriyanna's latest volume, is designed to meet this need

And most admirably does it meet this need Seldom has a book been so correctly entitled as Prof Hiriyanna's ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY It is a masterpiece of concision and precision and a model of clarity And it does more, within its limited scope, than his larger OUTLINES in that it gives also a short and critical account of the philosophy of Sri Madhwa A slight reduction in price might make it even 'a best-seller' in India

Prof Hiriyanna in the first two chapters on early Indian thought reviews the beginnings of Vedic Religion and Philosophy, tracing the gradual evolution of monotheism, monism therefrom, and the subsequent transition to "the systems"

The treatment of the topics which arise is far more concise than in his OUTLINES and involves, necessarily, considerable omissions but what one notes with pleasure is the stimulating freshness and unhackneyed quality of the approach achieved here The discussion of the Karma doctrine is in particular a marvel of compression and clarity and is one of the most impressive restatements of that much misrepresented doctrine Prof. Hiriyanna points out very clearly that the law of Karma is not a blind mechanical law but a law of ethical and moral responsibility Incidentally, it is instructive to note Prof Hiriyanna's definition of the scope of Indian philosophic speculation As conceived in India, Prof Hiriyanna says rightly on p 50, ' Philosophy is a criticism of values and its final aim is to determine what the *ultimate* value is" Further, Prof. Hiriyanna defends Indian philosophy against the charge frequently brought in, rather lightheartedly by some western critics of being other worldly and pessimistic He points out that Indian thinkers proceeded on the basis that ultimate values were not mere ideals not relevant to the world of fact but that to them 'ought' implied 'can' and that they believed in the ultimate goodness and rationality of the world though they sought ever higher levels of realization The section on the Bhagavad Gita here, as in the OUTLINES, is one of the very best discussions of its teaching We venture to suggest that Prof Hiriyanna should bring out, for the benefit of those to whom his discussion of the Gita and in particular of the meaning of disinterested activity in his two books has been so stimulating, a volume of studies in the Gita elaborating many of the ideas expressed so concisely herein Prof Hiriyanna's reconciliation of the absolutistic and theistic interpretation of the teaching of the Gita, in essence sound and convincing would, in our opinion gain by a fuller statement of the theistic position The accounts which follow of the Non-Vedic schools, of Nyaya Vaisesika, Sankhya-Yoga, Purva Mimamsa in Chapters III, IV, V and VI of the present volume are extremely skilful condensations of the relative chapters in the OUTLINES, except that the language herein is somewhat simpler and less technical

The two chapters on Vedanta, one dealing with the Absolutistic school and the other with the theistic are perhaps the best in the book. Alike in their comprehensiveness and in their clarity and brevity, they are unsurpassable In particular Prof Hiriyanna's terse clarification of Sankara's position is valuable. Sankara was too conscientious a scholar to twist texts or to ignore or invent them to suit the needs of his argument Sankara clearly recognizes two strands in the Upanishads but thinks the recognition of

degradation wrought by a century and a half of foreign rule I would say that the main cause of our cultural debacle to-day is the *trahison des clercs* of the Brahmanas of to day Theirs was the wisdom theirs the task of leadership If they had played their part aright neither the disintegrating force of armed Islam nor the far more heavily armed and aggressive forces which the incursion of the West into India brought with it would have availed to bring about that dynamic ignorance and indifference and worse still that apathetic ignorant contempt of the so called educated Hindu of to day towards the richest part of his incalculably precious heritage

It has sometimes been a matter of wonder to me that people to day even among the highest educated classes fail to remember that the victory of the protogonists of Western education over the Orientalists over a century ago was an accident and not perhaps altogether a beneficent accident What the political consequences would have been if the Orientalists had won it is difficult to say but at least it would have prevented the century old cultural denationalization which Ramakrishna Vivekananda Gandhiji have striven so hard to arrest and correct in recent times And perhaps it is well to remember also however hurtful it may be to our pride that Max Muller Paul Deussen and Schopenhauer had first to assure us of to day that our ancients were by no means such nit wits as the more anglicised among the educated classes thought for a long time It is only comparatively recently that Indian scholars (and they had to write in English the real *lingua franca* of the educated classes of Hindu India)—like Ganganath Jha Radhakrishnan Sri Aravinda and Hiriyanna have entered the field of first hand study and exposition of ancient Indian thought And it is a melancholy fact that even to-day in many Indian universities and higher centres of learning there is either no provision at all or only very inadequate provision for the advanced study of Indian Philosophy And whenever financial stringency necessitates retrenchment the axe seems usually to fall first on whatever slender provision exists for the study of Indian Philosophy There is besides in South India a curious uninstructed hostility to the study of Indian Philosophy among certain large sections of the Hindu public or at any rate among those who claim to be their spokesmen. The provision for Indian Philosophical studies in some of these universities in the South is more meagre than that in universities of the West And if the scheme for the proposed reorganization of Presidency College Madras as a centre of advanced study is any guide there does not seem to be any chance of improvement in the near future in this regard And yet it is the plainest truth as Dr Radhakrishnan said once that the study of our ancient heritage is the food we should feed on if we would live!

It is therefore a matter for gratitude that utterly undismayed by current apathy Professor Hiriyanna one of the very greatest of our modern Acharyas in the field of Indian Philosophical studies and possibly the *doyen* of that very small but distinguished band of scholars who are masters of ancient Indian thought as of European thought has written this book *

This book is the second book on Indian Philosophy from his pen His first book, modestly entitled OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY is one of the classics of Indian philosophical literature It was conceived as a text book for university students of Indian Philosophy but it has proved to be more than a text book Indeed on the field it covers it is absolutely the best book altogether Dr Radhakrishnan's INDIAN PHILOSOPHY in two volumes was conceived for a wider audience and was more elaborately as well as very differently designed It was among Dr Radhakrishnan's objects to assert on behalf of Indian philosophy a claim to absolute equality with the Philosophies of the West Dr Radhakrishnan succeeded admirably as we all know in his object Prof Hiriyanna's

* THE ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY By Prof M Hiriyanna Allen & Unwin & Co Ltd London 12s 6d

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duality therein merely a concession to empirical thought He doesn t teach a bare unity He only denies the many He doesn t affirm the One Instructive also is Prof Hiriyanna s refutation of the current description of Sankara as a mere illusionist and his reaffirmation of Sankara s essential role in Indian life as a great moral reformer as well as being the originator of a new movement in philosophy

Dealing with other schools of Vedanta Prof Hiriyanna does justice to Ramanuja and Madhwa giving succinct accounts of their points of view Although he is an Advaitin of the school of Sankara there is an objectivity an intellectual honesty in the statement of their positions and a conscientiousness in criticism which we wish were more widely evident in current expositions of these views by followers of Sri Ramanuja and Sri Madhwa Incidentally Prof Hiriyanna points out that it is quite mistaken to regard Sri Ramanuja s point of view as qualified monism when it is not strictly speaking monism at all but more nearly a qualified dualism

As is only proper the section on Buddhism takes account of the more recent views of the actual teaching of the Buddha and in particular the view presented by Mrs Rhys Davids in her advanced MANUAL OF BUDDHISM Prof Hiriyanna accepts the current view that Buddhism represents a new expansion not against but within Brahmanism involving less esotericism But is Prof Hiriyanna entirely right to imply that Brahmanism lays less stress than Buddhism does on self realization and in knowing the truth? It is very temerarious on the part of any one to call in question any view on any field of Indian Philosophical studies held by Prof Hiriyanna But as Prof Hiriyanna himself says elsewhere the stress is always in all ancient Indian thought not on mere intellectual knowledge but on spiritual realization



The photo shows the living room of a typical farm house in the United States As a result of the rural electrification program farmers and their families enjoy electric lights radios cooking stoves refrigerators and other conveniences as an accepted part of their home life

18th Century Indian Diplomatic Missions

II—TIPPU SULTAN'S EMBASSIES TO THE FRENCH

BY "LIBRA."

TIPPU Sultan sent two embassies to France and in each case, Mysorean envoys sailed to France The first was sent from India in 1788 It consisted of five Mysore officials, Muhamad Dervish Khan, Aga Khan Akbar Ali Khan, Muhamad Usman Khan and Ghulam Sahib Forty of Tippu's picked soldiers consisted the escort of the mission

Muhamad Dervish Khan, as leader of the envoys, carried Tippu Sultan's letter to Louis XVI, "the Rajah of the French' The letter, after requesting French help went on to say

'I acknowledge the sublimity of your constitution and as a proof of my sincerity I propose a treaty of alliance and fraternity which shall be for ever indissoluble and shall be founded on the principles of sincerity and good faith, to the end that you and your nation with myself and my people may become one family; that your enemies may be mine and those of my people and that my enemies may be considered as yours Happy moment! The time has come when I can deposit in the bosom of my friends the hatred which I bear against those oppressors of the human race If you will assist me in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India You have the power and the means of effecting it by your free Negroes With these citizens much dreaded by the English, joined by your troops of the line, we will purge India of these villains Now you are appraised of my designs, delay not to inform me of yours, but make no promises which you cannot perform"

The letter was written in French with the help of a Frenchman who was in Seringapatam at that time

After many months in the high seas, the envoys of Tippu reached Toulon safely in a French vessel Louis had ordered his foreign secretary to receive them with all due pomp and ceremony befitting a king of France

It was indeed a royal welcome that these Mysoreans got at the port of their arrival French troops were drawn at the quay for their escort into the town and amidst the booming of guns and the cheerings of the crowd, they were led to their residences On that and the following evenings excellent entertainment was provided for them in the shape of fireworks, balls, ballets folk dances, operas and sham fights

From Toulon the ambassadors of Tippu were taken in state to Paris Dervish Khan the chief was reclining on the cushioned seat of a coach of six, resplendant with his gorgeous silken robes and diamond set jewels The four others were in a coach drawn by four horses while the whole Mysore retinue followed on horseback

On August 3, 1788, the King of France gave them an audience Tippu's envoys sent to the King's secretary the Sultan's gifts The gifts did not make much impression on Louis as the following account will reveal. It is from a French book 'Memoires De Betrand de Molleville".

"King Louis' portion (of Tippu Sultan's presents) consisted of some gold gauze, some crimson silk stuff flowered with gold, some Persian linen, partly plain and partly printed, an aigrette of bad diamonds, flat yellow and ill-set, with a clasp of the same kind The queen's (Marie Antoinette's) consisted of only three bottles, partially filled with essence a box of perfumed powder-balls some scented matches and nothing more!

When Bertrand de Molleville (French Minister of State) presented these shabby eastern offerings, King Louis said to him laughing,

"What can I do with all this trumpery? It seems fit only to dress dolls! But you have little girls who may be pleased with such, give it all to them

'But the diamonds sire?' urged Bertrand

'Oh, they are mighty fine!' replied Louis in a tone of mockery 'Perhaps you would like them placed among the jewels of the crown? But you may take them too and wear them in your hat, if you like

Eventually the queen would accept from the baffled minister of state only a bottle of otto of roses and some of the fine linen which had been sent for King Louis

The King of France, though not pleased with Tippu s cheap gifts gave the Mysore envoys a patient hearing He however could not give them any help because he himself was in trouble He promised to do something later on but only a few years afterwards the French Revolution came

The envoys returned to Mysore after an year in France According to "The History of the Mysore Empire' a French Book, they were assasinated by the Sultan s servants on their return because they began to compare Seringapatam with the splendours of Paris

The second mission of Tippu Sultan to France was no premeditated affair It was the outcome of an accident to a French privateer The privateer got damaged in a storm and put to Mangalore for repairs It was under the command of a Frenchman named Ripaud who hailed from the French island of Mauritius

Ripaud when conversing with Mir Ghulam Ali (the legless ambassador to Turkey) boasted that he was an influential officer at Mauritius and that he had voyaged to Mangalore to learn the wishes of Tippu and arrange for the transport of French soldiers who were ready to sail and help the Sultan in driving out their common enemy from India

Ghulam Ali introduced Ripaud to Tippu and the latter had a talk with him Though the Sultan at once knew that this Frenchman of rude manners was no officer of rank but an imposter, he thought of obtaining some sort of service from him Accordingly he arranged to purchase the ship and sending it with merchandise and some of this envoys to the Isle of France (Mauritius) to ascertain the truth of Ripaud s statements

Ripaud was retained at Tippu's court as a French Ambassador" and his ship was bought from him for Rs 17,000 It was put in charge of a French captain named Pernaud and was ordered to sail for Mauritius with Indian merchandise and five of Tippu s envoys disguised as merchants Two of these were to return to Mysore with the land and sea forces that Ripaud had spoken of, while the others were directed to proceed to Paris and convey the Sultan's greetings to the Executive Directory

The five envoys and Pernaud, the captain of the ship started from Seringapatam and reached Mangalore—but on the night before the ship was to sail, Pernaud ran away from Mangalore and was never heard of again The reason was the Rs 17 000 which the Sultan had given for the ship was still in Pernaud s hands for that night

Tippu Sultan, when he heard of this absconding, ordered Ripaud to take the place of Pernaud and proceed with the envoys to Mauritius.

The Sultan's ship sailed in October 1797. The moment it left the shores of Mangalore, Ripaud, backed by all the members of the crew, surprised the Mysoreans and at the point of the pistol demanded from them Tippu's letter to the authorities at Mauritius. When these letters were surrendered, Ripaud opened them and seeing that there was no complaint against him, safely returned them to the envoys and though he had treated them with the utmost barbarity, he landed them safely on January 19, 1798 at Port Louis. General Malarite, the Governor of that island, on learning that these were envoys to him from the court of the great Sultan of Mysore, received them with all republican courtesy and had them conveyed to his house under a salute of 150 guns.

The despatches of Tippu Sultan revealed the terms of a treaty to be concluded between the government of Mysore and the administration of Mauritius. Tippu, on hearing Ripaud's story, had assumed though with a great deal of doubt, that Mauritius contained an army of 30,000 Africans and 10,000 Europeans who were ready to sail to India. This army of 40,000 soldiers was to be joined with Tippu's 60,000 and the combined armies were "to take Goa from the Portuguese, Bombay from the British, to raze Madras to the ground, and to conquer Bengal, the Mahrattas and the Deccan." But the envoys were bitterly disappointed to learn that no force of Africans and Europeans was ready to sail to India and fight the British.

General Malarite, on seeing the Sultan's envoys so sorely disappointed, agreed to do his best for them. Accordingly, he decided to send two frigates to Paris to convey the Sultan's envoys to that place. Meanwhile he issued a proclamation for enlisting volunteers for the Sultan's service.

The envoys of Tippu personally assisted in recruiting volunteers for Tippu, but not with any success. On the day previous to the sailing of their ship to India, only 99 persons enrolled themselves and with them the two envoys returned to Mangalore.

The three other envoys of the Sultan, accompanied by Dubec, a sea-captain, proceeded from Mauritius to Paris where they were received well by the Executive Directory, who forwarded their plan for a French alliance with Tippu to Napolean. Napolean, in reply to the embassy's proposals, sent this letter to Tippu:

> "Liberty! Equality!—Bonaparte, Member of the National Convention, General-in-Chief, to the most magnificent Sultan, our greatest friend, Tippo Sahib. Head-quarters at Cairo, 7th Pluviose, 7th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.
>
> You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an invincible army, full of the desire of relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.
>
> I would even wish that you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I might confer.
>
> May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies.
>
> Bonaparte.'

But this letter did nothing at all and brought to Tippu no French assistance. Napoleon was forced to go back to France after the total annihilation of his fleet by Nelson in the Battle of the Nile.

QUESTION TIME IN THE COMMONS

BY MR WILSON HARRIS, M P

Editor of "The Spectator" (London)

THERE is, I believe, nothing in any Parliament of the world comparable to Question Time in the British House of Commons In several national Chambers formal interpellations on some question of immediate importance can be addressed to the Head of the Government or to a particular Minister But these are comparatively rare and stand outside the normal order of business Something closely resembling this happens in the British House of Lords

But in the House of Commons questions are an essential feature, and a highly important feature, of each sitting on four out of five Parliamentary days a week (There is only a short sitting on Fridays and questions are not included) On every other day a full hour—or to be precise some 55 minutes, because the first five minutes are occupied by prayers—is devoted to questions to Ministers, questions on subjects important and unimportant local and national or for that matter international, which any Member, whatever his party, has the right to put

The questions vary in character Sometimes the questioner is genuinely seeking information Sometimes he is trying to make party capital, sometimes to draw attention to a real or imagined grievance Sometimes it is an opportunity for importing a touch of humour into normally dull or serious proceedings The institution as a whole is regarded by everyone, even by the Ministers who sometimes suffer under it, as being of immense value It enables Members to inform themselves on the reasons for executive action. It is an effective safeguard against any arbitrary proceedings by Ministers It has, in fact, been described by a foremost British historian as a fifth freedom to be added to the four popularized by President Roosevelt.

GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT

Like most British institutions, Question Time developed gradually Till about a hundred and fifteen years ago questions in the House of Commons were as infrequent as interpellations in various European Parliaments

It was in 1835 that notice of a question was first printed, and in 1849 that questions were first given a regular place on what is called the Order Paper—the daily programme of business in the House But questions at that time were not numerous For a while they only averaged about one a day In 1880, the average was 13 a day, in 1900 the number had risen to 41 Now they are nearly three times as many

How, it may naturally be asked can over a hundred questions be dealt with in less than an hour, particularly as a principal question is almost always followed by "supplementaries," about which a word more in a moment? The answer is that of course they cannot. On the particular day on which I am writing this the last question reached out of a total of 109 on the paper was No 52 The remainder are all answered in writing, and the replies circulated with the printed report of the day's proceedings The author of a question which will clearly not be reached can, if he chooses, hold it over in the hope that it will appear higher on the list

another day and be answered orally, but as a rule he is content with a written reply

RULES

There have, of course, to be rules governing Question Time In order to ensure that the appropriate Ministers will be in thier places to give answers, questions to particular Departments are allotted to particular days On Wednesdays, for example, questions may be addressed to the Foreign Secretary, the Colonial Secretary, the Minister of Defence the Minister of Food, the representative of the Admiralty (the First Lord of the Admiralty is in the House of Lords) or the Postmaster General, on Thursdays to the Minister of Education, the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations the President of the Board of Trade the Home Secretary the Minister of Agriculture, the Chancellor of the Exchequer the Minister of Health and the Minister of National Insurance, and so on

Questions to the Prime Minister, on the general policy of the Government as distinct from purely departmental activities, appear (if there are any) every day, and the Prime Minister is expected to be there to answer them In recent years questions have become so numerous that they are rationed, no one may have more than three questions on the paper on any particular day, but there is nothing to prevent a Member from putting three on each day of a whole Parliament

Every question must be handed in to the appropriate official at least two days before an answer is expected It is of course, necessary that the Minister concerned should have sufficient time to prepare his reply, which often involves a great deal of enquiry' and research Actually the answer is prepared not by the Minister himself, but by some of the chief officials of his department, for it is essential that the answer shall be complete and accurate, though some times it is so drafted as to conceal facts which for one reason or another the department does not want to disclose

SUPPLEMENTARIES

That is where the Supplementary Question comes in When the question printed on the paper has been answered not only the original questioner but any other Member in the House can rise in his place and put a supplementary question on the same subject That constitutes a severe test for the Minister His original answer has been carefully prepared for him, but he must deal at once and immediately with supplementary questions, of which by the nature of things no notice is given

Take an actual question put in the week in which I am writing, to the Colonial Secretary about the number of students at Makerere College, in Uganda, who are studying agriculture The answer given was that there are 16 The questioner then asked whether that number was not unsatisfactorily small, in view of the importance of agriculture in Africa The Colonial Secretary explained what steps were being taken to increase the number Another Member asked whether the incentives offered were proving effective The Colonial Secretary said it was too early to say A third wanted to know whether more active steps could not be taken In answer to that appropriate assurances were given

That is a comparatively simple set of supplementaries The same day a question

regarding the retention or abolition of National Service (Conscription) gave rise to a regular interrogatory argument in which the original questioner asked one supplementary and three other Members joined If this goes on too long the Speaker can always end it and often does by calling the next question The Speaker himself never disallows questions once they have been printed on the Order Paper but many never get printed at all and therefore are not put because they have been disallowed in advance on some technical ground by the Clerks of the House to whom they have to be submitted

A question for example must not simply ask for information which is already available in some official document It must not be so framed as to constitute an argument It must not cover the same ground as some other question which has been answered recently It must not concern the conduct of a Judge or other magistrate A good many questions are stopped on these or similar grounds But experienced Members show considerable ingenuity in so framing their questions as to evade the restrictions

NO ABUSE

Without fairly strict supervision by the Speaker and his officials Question Time might easily be abused. As things are, it rarely is If a Labour Member in the present Parliament asks the Minister of Labour what was the number of unemployed in 1948 as compared with 1938 (when the Conservatives were in power) everyone knows quite well that he is not genuinely seeking information but trying to score a party , but the question is perfectly in order

Similarly if a Conservative Member asks the Minister of Food why he bought Algerian wine, why he sold it again, whom he sold it to and whether he made a profit on the transaction he is not really interested in Algerian wine at all, but in exposing what he considers an error of judgment, on the Minister of Food's part In the same way questions by one of the few pacifist Members on the cost of the British Army manoeuvres in Germany, or of the reinforcements sent to Hong Kong, are well understood to be put for merely propaganda purposes But no one challenges such use of Question Time

Very rarely Ministers refuse answers to questions If troop or fleet movements are concerned the answer may well be (though not often in peace-time). "It would not be in the public interest to give the information asked for '

SALUTARY EFFECT

Question Time may be regarded as a searchlight turned on the activities of Ministers On Ministers themselves it has a most salutary effect in compelling them so to conduct themselves as to be able to meet successfully criticism that may be directed at them any day from any quarter in the form of a Parliamentary Question To Members of the House, particularly those who do not often take an active part in actual debates, it gives an opportunity of raising questions of public importance, especially questions of concern to their own constituents and incidentally of getting their names into the Office Report

Temperance lecturer "Here is an argument drawn from nature If I led donkey up to a pail of water and a pail beer, which will he drink ?

Listener 'Of course water'

Lecturer "Right ! Why ?'

Listener: ' Because he s ass"

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

YARROW UNVISITED

Wordsworth wrote a number of poems the scene of which is laid upon the banks of Yarrow. The poet in him was thrilled as much by the thought of Yarrow as by the sight of his "Winsome Marrow." Many a time he had gone very near the scene but would not 'turn into the dale of Yarrow." Why? Not because "there were thousand such elsewhere as worthy of your wonder." But because he had a vision of his own. "Ah! Why should we undo it?" Such was the delicacy of his feeling for Yarrow.

The swan on still St. Mary's lake
Float double, swan and shadow!
We will not see them; will not go.
To-day, nor yet to-morrow;
Enough if in our hearts we know
There such a place as Yarrow.

Be Yarrow stream unseen, unknown!
It must, or we shall rue it;
We have a vision of our own;
Ah, why should we undo it?
The treasured dreams of time's long past,
We'll keep them, winsome Marrow!
For when we're there altho' 'tis fair,
T'will be another Yarrow!

If care with fleeting years should come
And wandering seem but folly,—
Should we be loth to stir from home,
And yet be melancholy;
'E'will sooth us in our sorrow
That earth has something yet to show,
The bonny Holms of Yarrow.

YARROW VISITED

At last in Sept. 1814 he did visit the stream. And what a sight! His vision of Yarrow was more than justified. He saw the blue sky bending over the Yarrow vale and rich groves of lofty stature "with Yarrow winding thraugh the pomp of cultivated nature"; and he was thrilled to find that what appeared so fair to his imagination.

Dost rival in the light of day
Her delicate creation.

Such was the poet's rapture when he found himself on the bonny banks of Yarrow. It is difficult to choose between "Yarrow Unvisted" and "Yarrow Visited."

And is this—Yarrow—? *this* the stream
Of which my fancy cherished,
So faithfully, a waking dream?
An image that has perished?
O that some minstrel's harp were near,
To utter notes of gladness,
And chase this silence from the air,
That fills my heart with sadness!

Yet why?—a silvery current flows
With uncontrolled meanderings;
Nor have these eyes by greener hills
Been soothed, in all my wanderings.
And thro' her depths, St Mary's lake
Is visibly delighted;
For not a feature of those hills
Is in the mirror slighted.

* * * *

But thou that didst appear so fair
To fond imagination,
Dost rival in the light of day
Her delicate creation!

* * * *

YARROW REVISITED

Again during a tour in Scotland and on the English border in the autumn of 1831 he revisited his loved stream in company with Samuel Rogers and the great Minstrel of the Border—Walter Scott. In the memorial verses written to celebrate the occasion the poet said:

We made a day of happy hours,
Our happy days recalling.

A CHILD

A child, more than all other gifts.
That earth can offer to declining man,
Brings hope with it, and forward-looking thoughts.

—*Wordsworth*: Michael.

THE GREAT LOVER

What do poets sing about? Sunsets and roses and moonlit glades and little children and partings and death are all subjects of poetry All that is beautiful in life and nature and the coming of young love and romance in the shade are fit themes for verse But beauty and loveliness are not in the objects alone and modern poetry seeks beauty in the mud worm as in the Milky Way Rupert Brooke sang of saucers and cups and his muse gave thrilling significance to such commonplace things as breadcrust and blankets Listen to this poem of praise—the way he glorifes all the things he loved

I have been so great a lover
Shall I not crown them with immortal praise
Whom I have loved who have given me
dared with me
High Secrets
So for their sakes I loved ere I go hence
And to keep loyalties young I'll write
those names
Golden for Ever
These I have loved
White plates and cups clean gleaming
Ringed with blue lines and feathery
faery dust
Wet roofs beneath the lamplight the
strong crust
Of friendly bread and many tasting food.
Then the cool kindliness of sheets that soon
Smooth away trouble, and the rough
male kiss
Of blankets the keen
Unpassioned beauty of a great machine,
The lemon of hot water furs to touch,
The good smell of old clothes and
other such
Dear Names
And thousand other throngs to me!

—*Through Literature to Life Cassell*

THIS IS WAR

May I tell you in a simple parable what I think this war is doing for us? I know a valley in the north of Wales between the Mountains and the Sea—a beautiful Valley snug comfortable sheltered from the mountains from all the bitter blasts It was very enervating and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hill above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which came from the hill tops and by the great spectacle of that Valley We have been living in a sheltered Valley for generations we have been too comfortable too indulgent many perhaps too selfish and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation when we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation—the great peaks of honour we have forgotten—Duty Patriotism and—clad in glittering white—the great pinnacle of Sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to heaven We shall descend into the Valleys again but as long as the men and women of this generation lest they will carry in their hearts the image of their great mountain peaks whose foundations are not shaken through Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war

Lloyd George
Aug 6 1914

EPITAPH

ON AN ARMY OF MERCENARIES

These on a day when Heaven was falling
In an hour when Earth's foundations fled
Pursued their mercenary calling
And took their wages and are dead

Their shoulders held the sky suspended
They stayed and earth's foundations stay
What God abandoned these defended
And saved the scheme of things for pay

—*Housesman*

CHURCHILL—A MAN OF DESTINY*

BY MR. V. KRISHNA RAO

THE British Parliamentary Election Propaganda is in full swing and the 23rd of February will decide the issue. All the three major parties—the Socialists, Conservatives and the Liberals have entered the contest with the maximum number of candidates. It might be remembered that as recently reconstituted the total parliamentary strength is 625 and each party is practically contesting every seat, even the Liberals having put forth 450 candidates.



Mr. Winston Churchill

The election manifestoes offer very interesting psychological studies. Labour offers full employment, social security for every one, completion of full-nationalisation, consolidation of industries already nationalised, extension of industrial democracy, completion of steel nationalisation and cement, Sugar refining, cold storage industries. The conservatives are no less emphatic. Their programme is: no more nationalisation, denationalisation where possible, maximum relaxation of present control, reduced taxation by curbing Government spending, abolition of directed labour, more private building, strengthening of commonwealth links and Imperial priorities in trade. The evidence of conflict in the programme is evident and there will be much undoing, if the Conservatives succeed. The Conservatives under Churchill hold that Labour has gone far on the wrong road and if the further step is not resisted, the future is one of disaster. And Churchill has begun a raging campaign. His latest stunt is a peace-poser. If he is called to power again, he says, he will meet Stalin for a peace-talk. The Britisher, as much of the rest of the world, is war-weary, and the bait is tempting. But is not the sentiment strange on the part of one who took the Labour Government to task for not having taken up the atom bomb and considered the failure as one of its extraordinary lapses?

Churchill is not a wizard like Lloyd George but is none the less, a man of infinite resources and his eloquence is still captivating and may achieve much. He has proved to be a man of destiny and his life has been full of adventures.

Winston Churchill is a scion of the house of Marlborough. His father Randolph, was the third son of the 7th Duke of Marlborough. He married an American beauty, Miss Jennie Jerome of New York in April 1874 and Winston was born on 30th November 1874. (Note the hurry with which he came into the world!)

In his father's eyes, the youth was not promising and was therefore meant for the army. At seven, he was sent to a school at Ascot, where he was remembered as a naughty child. H. G. Wells recording his impressions of Churchill's youth notes, "There are times when the evil spirit comes upon him and then I can only think of him an intractable little boy, a mischievous dangerous little boy,

*This article was received on February 20, three days before the General Elections in England. Whether the Tories win or lose the historic position of Churchill as war time leader is secure in the story of nations—ED. *I R.*

a knee worthy little boy At school he is said to have extracted sugar from the pantry for which he was chastised He is also alleged to have kicked his Headmaster s straw hat to ribbons

He was taken seriously ill when he was 8 years of age and was sent to a private school at Brighton where he stayed for 3 years Even then he indulged in juvenile journalism criticism and mock fights He was irrepressive and clamoured for a holiday on the occasion of the Queen s Jubilee urging that a jubilee comes only once in a school boy s life He went to Harrow in 1888 where also his mischievous tendency was in evidence He is alleged te have ducked L S Amery into the bath because of his diminitive size As a boy he had a remarkable memory and could repeat 1200 lines of Macaulay s Lays He was good at essay and history His self consciousness and memory have been marked My father is the Chancellor of the Exchequer and I mean to be the same one day I shall be a soldier of course when there is any fighting to be done After that I shall have a shot at politics

He left Harrow towards the end of 1892 and entered Sandhurst in June 1893 While he was thus securing a career for himself his father Randolph died at Cairo in 1894 Churchill joined a regiment at Aldershot in 1895 and desired active service At that time there was a revolt at Cuba and he sought to participate in the suppression At the same time he also secured a commission from a Newspaper office as a correspondent at £5 a letter

He returned to England in 1896 when the 4th Hussars wherein he was appointed a subaltern was ordered to the East Churchill accompanied it to India and spent a good time of it at Bangalore and Ooty where the salubrious climate inspired him into literary activity and he began a novel Savrola which was completed when he returned home on leave

At about this time Lord Kitchner led an expeditionary force to the Nile and Churchill sought a commission therein. He had an added capacity as a representative of the *Morning Post* His experiences at Cairo and his romances among the dervishes and his part in the famous battle of Omdurman in 1898 are separately recorded in a book of his He returned home and attempted to enter politics in the House of Commons His services on the different theatres of war and his reports of the incidents as a war correspondent had drawn sufficient publicity about him The *Daily Mail* of the day had a notice of him At the rate Churchill is going there will hardly be room for him in Parliament at thirty or in England at forty

Churchill came again to India played polo won the cup and hit a literary success in the publication of his Sudan Campaign named The River War where Lord Kitchener was subjected to some harsh criticism—a way to publicity The book was dedicated to Lord Salisbury under whose wise direction the Conservative party have long enjoyed power and the nation prosperity —a way of seeking patronage for entry into politics

In 1899 he contested a Conservative bye election at Oldham where you have evidence of his vituperative eloquence in his reference to the Radical party as composed of fools prudes and faddists He got defeated but before he could mourn it war broke out in South Africa A new enthusiasm got into him His

established reputation as a war correspondent easily got him also a commission from the *Morning Post* and he set out to the scene along with the commander of the South African Field force.

Churchill had the most savoury experience of his life in South Africa. The armoured car which he accompanied dashed down a gradient against a rock. The ambushed Boers rained shells and bullets. A shell burst near Churchill but it hit the driver and spared Churchill—destiny ? Churchill's splendid heroism helped the escape of the soldiers but he was taken prisoner and led to Pretoria. After 3 weeks of stay when he diverted himself with Carlyle's FREDERICK THE GREAT, and Mill on LIBERTY, he escaped from the prison under the hat of a Dutch clergyman fellow prisoner. He evaded the sentry, dashed to the wall of the prison, slipped into a garden, skulked to a railway station, climbed into a civilian train and hid himself under the sacks. What hair breath escapes and how many men under such circumstances have been snuffed out of existence by a fatal accident ! To what do Caesar and Alexander owe the infinite greatness of their renown, if not to Fortune. asked Montaigne. "In the course of the many and extreme dangers to which he was exposed I do not remember that Caesar was ever wounded. A thousand have fallen in lesser dangers than the least of those he passed through."

The story of his escape read like a romance and he was acclaimed a hero in England. The Oldham working men who defeated him at the polls, sought him now as their candidate, offered him their votes and chose him their representative at the next election. Churchill was hardly 26 and he took his seat in Parliament.

Before Parliament began its sittings Churchill sailed for New York on a short lecture tour. There he was sponsored by that great American humorist—Mark Twain. Here is his characteristic introduction of Churchill to an audience. "The lecturer tonight is Mr. Winston Churchill. By his father he is an Englishman. By his mother he is an American. Behold a perfect gentleman."

Churchill was back in London in time to take his seat in Parliament on the 23rd January 1901. His maiden speech was made in the course of the debate on the South African war and was appreciated by Chamberlain and Asquith.

Differences rose between him and his party in the matter of free trade and Churchill turned towards Liberalism. Personal ambitions over-ride party principles. Was it not Palmerston who said of Englishmen that they had no eternal principles but only eternal interests !

The general election of 1906 witnessed large land-slides and the Tory Party finally got defeated. The newly turned Liberal, Churchill got into Parliament representing Manchester. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1907.

The then Premier Campbell-Bannerman 'who governed Ireland with Scottish jokes' died and was succeeded by Mr. Asquith who made Churchill, President of the Board of Trade and Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Miners Eight-hour Bill, the Small Holdings Bill, Old Age Persons Bill, the Licensing Bill, and the Education Bill, were some of the legislative enactments which were effectively sponsored by Churchill. He had by now secured for himself an abiding place in the governance of the country. He wr

now 34 years of age September 1908 witnessed the marriage of Churchill with Miss Clementine Horier daughter of Col H M Horier K C B They met in a friend s house and fell in love at first sight They were married at St Margarets Church Westminster

Churchill s change of party led to a continued and increasing association with Lloyd George Each of them was dynamic and each could call out thunder by himself They now combined for sensational issues and carried out a series of Budget successes by a well conceived attack on the unreformed House of Lords

Churchill was offered the Viceroyalty of India in succession to Lord Minto but he declined the office He declined it again 11 years later when Lloyd George renewed the offer He felt the office too small for him

Mr Asquith made him the Home Secretary It was during this period that the German menace began to take shape Germany was building her fleet It was a challenge to the British supremacy of the seas The pacifists did not suspect German designs and were perhaps for a friendship with her But the uncanny instinct of Churchill detected danger ahead and began to sound his warnings The nation must be awakened The enemy also should be scared The British Navy he proclaimed ' is to us a necessity and from some points of view the Gernan Navy is to them more in the nature of a luxury But naval power involves British existence It is existence to us it is expansion to them This speech must have raised fury in Germany He made meticulous calculations on the relative strength of Germany and France and their possible movements and chances of success or failure every day and every week, in the event of a clash and drew up a detailed programme which eventually proved prophetic Asquith was very much struck by it and invited Churchill to leave the Home Office and take over the Admiralty and organise the war staff Churchill accepted the offer and brought tremendous enthusiasm to the task The inefficients were eliminated the experienced were recalled to duty the seamen s pay was increased naval aviations encouraged and speeded up The fleet was shifted from coal to oil fuel and to provide for all contigencies a controlling share of the Anglo Persian Oil Company was purchased Long range 15 inch guns were manufactured and fast division battle ships created—a regular armament race In the years between 1911 and 1913 the vigilance and foresight of Churchill completely organised the Admiralty to meet the Challenge of 1914 Competent critics are of opinion that but for Churchill the British navy might well have had a Pearl Harbour of its own in 1914 The war came Churchill s expeditions to Antwerp and Dardanells were ill fated and miscarried There was a reshuffling of the Cabinet and Churchill was thrown out Churchill on that account did not with hold his services to the nation He accepted an appointment as a major of the Grenadier Guards and served in the trenches of France When Lloyd George became the Prime Minister he was recalled to London as Minister of Munitions One day while in the trenches his General sent for Churchill he answered the call but the General was not found While Churchill returned in great chagrin he found his dug out completely demolished

by a German shell Was it chance or destiny that saved him?

The interregnum between the two wars is a long spell and a period of wilderness for Churchill How he occupied the period is summed up by a writer During the 1930's he wrote trifles for newpapers and magazines, gambled furiously at Monte Carlo, played the stock-market The paintings he made at this time are the record of an aimless wandering—Landscapes of the Riviera Dutch canals Norwegian fjords He completed the four volume 'Life of Marborough," his ancestor No other writer in England except Shaw surpassed his earnings of 100,000 dollars a year

The injustices of the Treaty of Versailles worked out a reaction Hitler rose to power and was consolidating his nation for a final trial of strength with the victors of the 1st war England was war-weary Her statesmen were short-sighted The Oxford graduates resolved not to fight for king or country The Official trend was one of appeasement True to his instinct, Churchill scented danger and gave his warnings "All these bands of sturdy Tuetonic youth, marching through the streets and roads of Germany with the light of desire in their eyes, are not looking for status They are looking for weapons' War came when England was napping Chamberlain could only wave his umbrella of peace True to pattern, Germany ran through Belgium and Holland France was collapsing The Chamberlain sands ran out Churchill came to the rescue at the head of a Coalition How he whipped up the nation into hectic activity, sustained their enthusiasm by his inspired harangues and secured his allies, are matters of recent history The co-operation offered by his critics and political opponents throughout the period, is a tribute to his capacity and genius If riding the whirlwind and directing the storm was true of any one man, it was true of Churchill America was none too enthusiastic for participation in the war at the earlier stages Perhaps Pearl Harbour gave her the decision The first German assault gave Russia a faint Russia must be assisted if she is to hold on France had to be kept under good humour to prevent her further betrayal Japan had to be restrained in the East India was resentful and had to be guarded The creation of a third front was imperative to divert German concentration in Russia Roosevelt, though sympathetic, was calculating Any other statesman, less colossal, would have quailed before the situation Churchill was God s gift to Britain He won the war for her and saved her face But the sequel has been disconcerting He had triumphantly declared 'The day will come when the joy bells will ring again throughout Europe, and when victorious nations will plan and build in justice and freedom a house of many mansions where there will be room for all" His plan has miscarried and cold war has set in There is fear in the heart of every nation and devastation everywhere Erst-while allies are staring at each other as furies All the pious resolves from Yalta to Teheran have dissolved into thin air Churchill s brave attempts at a balance of power in Europe have proved futile The United Nations Organization does not seem to be quite clear in its mind and it will have to grow more disinterested if it is to play an effective roll in organising the peace of the world Meanwhile the nations are strangely disturbed Both the East and West are in ferment But there seems to be hope and courage in the heart of Churchill Where will he lead his nation?

INDO-PAKISTAN TRADE DEADLOCK

THE JUTE, COTTON AND THE COAL TANGLE

By Mr KAMAL KUMAR GHOSH, M A, F R ECON S, (LOND)

WITH the Standstill Agreement of 1947, allowing free movement of goods across the border both the Governments of India and Pakistan began hopefully soon after the Partition. But since the very beginning the Indo-Pakistani trade relations have been attended with anxiety Even during the brief period of the Agreement ending on February 29, 1948, the Sind Government imposed restrictions on the movement of a large number of commodities and the protests of the Government of India to the Government of Pakistan did not result in their repeal.

Not finding satisfaction in India's reply to demand for a share of the revenue earned from the export duty on raw jute at the port of Calcutta, Pakistan imposed an export duty on raw jute India, on the other hand pressed for a comprehensive and reasonable long-term settlement in respect of matters relating to the freedom of trade and commerce

Despite these efforts licensing and tariff restrictions on trade between the two countries came into force on March 1,1948

Then came in succession, Calcutta Agreement of April 1948 and the Karachi Agreement of May, 1948, which were reviewed in another inter-Dominion Conference in Delhi during December the same year

These short-term agreements were welcomed by the Government of India which continued its efforts to secure a long-term understanding covering trade tariffs in general, and raw jute and raw cotton and their products in particular These efforts appeared to be bearing fruit in the middle of 1949 when following a meeting of the Finance Ministers of the two Dominions, an agreement was reached in favour of lowering export duty on important consumer goods

When however, agreement reached in these formal discussions were attempted to be embodied in formal agreements between the two Governments, for reasons best known to itself, the Pakistan Government found itself unable to agree to retain a clause relating to the long-term and comprehensive agreement in regard to production, manufacture and sale of jute and cotton

In an Inter-Dominion conference in June 1949 India sought to correct her adverse balance of trade which had developed Under the new agreement Pakistan agreed to give India 4 m bales of raw jute and 450,000 bales of raw cotton India, on her part demanded a large provision of cotton textiles for export to Pakistan which ageed to take 150,000 bales

But in the purchase of raw jute, India has had to face too many difficulties. Not only has the fresh purchase of raw jute been made impossible, but the 500,000 bales purchased before devaluation have been withheld by Pakistan Moreover, Assam jute in transit through Pakistan to India has also not been received * This hold-up is part of a deliberate policy to make the position of Indian jute mills difficult and to compel them to buy jute at the rates fixed by the Jute Board

In addition to Pakistan's falling below the agreed quota as per Inter-Dominion Conference of June 1949, the matter

* Piecemeal and partial release of these goods has since been reported after prolonged and persistent complaint at Government level —Ed *I R*

came to a head on November, 12, 1949, when India was put on the list of countries from which no import of cotton textiles was to be obtained by Pakistan. Further, the Indo-Pakistani trade statistics for November, the third month since devaluation, showed unusually heavy imports of essential goods such as coal, asbestos, cement sheets and sea salt from India by Pakistan under the Exchange of Commodities Agreement between the countries. This is an indication of Pakistan's intention, at the time when jute deliveries to India were held up, of obtaining as much essential commodities from India as possible. During this period, Pakistan did not lift cloth, yarn, oils, fats and so on which are also covered by the agreement.

The increased imports of coal and other similar essential goods by Pakistan, however, turned the trade balance in favour of India to the extent of Rs. 125.41 lakhs for the month at the old rate of parity between the two currencies. The total value of exports to and imports from Pakistan was Rs. 158.91 lakhs and Rs. 33.50 lakhs respectively.

Detailed figures indicate that in November, Pakistan lifted from India 222,000 tons of coal, 52,000 tons more than the monthly average; 431,317 maunds of sea salt against the monthly quota of 264,651 maunds; 1,040 tons of asbestos cement sheets, five times the monthly average; and Rs. 37,497 worth of fire bricks compared to the monthly quota of Rs. 8,333.

Exports of Pakistani jute, cotton and hides and skins to India, however, showed a sharp decline. Exports of raw jute recorded a drop of about 325,000 bales from the monthly quota and of raw cotton was short of the monthly average by 34,519 bales.

Even so, the Indo-Pakistan Commodities Exchange Agreement first suffered a set back at the end of September, when Pakistan decided not to devalue her currency, resulting in a disparity between the two rupees. It however broke down completely in the last week of December 1949, when India suspended coal supplies to Pakistan in protest against the latter's detention of Indian goods in transit through its territory, and of Pakistani jute paid for by Indian parties before devaluation.

But even in the first week of February the congenial talks which Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Pakistan's Finance Minister is reported to have had with Pandit Nehru in New Delhi are stated to have disposed of the initial difficulty in arranging a meeting between the representatives of the two Governments. A report by a Special Representative of a Calcutta daily from New Delhi made on February 2, 1950 said that an Indo-Pakistani Conference to discuss the restoration of trade between the two countries was likely sometime this month. The difference between the two Governments over the agenda, which had so far acted as a delaying factor, was stated to have been resolved. Both Governments, it was learnt, had agreed that the proposed conference should concern itself only with the revival of the Commodities Exchange Agreement reached in July last year. This suggested that the question of the exchange ratio between the Indian and Pakistani rupees, arising out of Pakistan's decision not to devalue her currency, would remain in abeyance for the present.

Agreement to defer consideration to a later date tended to indicate a desire on the part of both Governments to restore whatever restricted trade was possible between the two countries in the absence of a settlement of the dispute about the exchange rate

But all hopes have since been shattered A White Paper issued by the Government of India on February 7 1950 related the sad story of Indo Pakistani trade relations Relations have been stated to have ended in a deadlock which bars even the exchange of ordinary articles of Consumption needed by the common man in both countries

As a matter of fact the Government of India does not accept the view that Pakistan's recent trade restrictions were entirely occasioned by the impasse on the exchange ratio because Pakistan continued to import a number of commodities including coal while banning the import of cotton textiles and the export of jute except on the basis of the new ratio The ban is therefore described as selective and details have been already discussed

Thus the net effect of these measures as has been pointed out by the White Paper was to prevent all trade between the two countries except for the supply of coal from India to Pakistan for which Pakistan continued to make payment from the State Bank Balances held in India

This story of the present Indo Pakistan trade deadlock if we may echo an editorial is a sordid record of broken pledges It is a record which is quite inconsistent with Pakistan's declared policy of settling her differences with India through friendly negotiations The so called Standstill Agreement at the time of partition provided that during the period from August 15 1947 to February 29 1948 there would be no restrictions on the free flow of goods between India and Pakistan and no trade or customs barriers would be set up But within two months of the conclusion of the Standstill Agreement the Sind Government violated it by imposing certain restrictions on the movement of a large number of commodities

In violation of the agreement Pakistan also made a decision to treat India as foreign territory so far as the movement of raw jute from Pakistan to India was concerned Naturally being in an upsetting condition the new agreement at Karachi in May 1948 provided two special features and India agreed to limit the volume of her export of Indian grown jute which competed with Pakistan's exports to other countries and she also agreed to supply steel to Pakistan But the efforts also failed as Pakistan detained soon after Indian goods in transit from Calcutta to Assam and Tripura across East Bengal Then followed another new agreement on June 24 1949 Pakistan agreed to take 1 50 000 bales of textiles against a much larger provision in the previous year But even after the conclusion of the Agreement all sorts of restrictions on her trade in textiles with India were put by Pakistan which formally banned the import of cotton textiles from India

Has this to do anything with the exchange ratio difficulties? Certainly not as Pakistan continued to buy coal jute tobacco etc It was a selective ban as has rightly been said in the White paper—a trade war The currency was regulated in such a fashion that all trade was cut off except for the supply of Indian coal thus increasing the movement of coal and at the same time blockading Indian jute in Pakistan

Thus it is a war as a contemporary points out which hits the common man on both sides of the artificial frontier

NEW PROBLEMS OF ADULT EDUCATION

BY DR K N KINI, M A, (HONS) A M, Ph D

Director of Public Instruction, Jodhpur

IN a country like India where over eighty five per cent of the people are illiterate, it is natural that Adult Education should in the first instance be mostly confined to the task of enabling the vast illiterate masses to read and write, including of course the imparting of an elementary knowledge of hygiene and sanitation, local geography and history and the very rudiments of arithmetic Add to this the adults once rendered literate should be enabled to retain their literacy by reading simple books on topics of interest to them and also journals dealing with our daily political and social and economic problems

VOCATIONALIZE ADULT EDUCATION

But our country has to progress industrially and in agriculture and in producing first rate materials required for defence purposes We should be as far as possible, a self-sufficient nation To produce these requirements our workers should be more skilled evince greater intelligence and possess an elementary knowledge of science and practical mathematics and machine drawing For example an ordinary labourer can hardly perform efficiently the tasks involved in the manufacture of electrical machinery and radio equipment, battle ships, destroyers and so on Therefore after the ordinary literacy of the adult is achieved, we should organize courses for them in elements of science and mathematics, geometrical and machine drawing and relate these to the vocations they are following with the object of enhancing their vocational competency. An analysis of each of the jobs in which the adults of the locality are engaged should be done and the particular aspects of the above named subjects that are applicable therein should be taught to them If the adults find that what is taught to them has relation to their vocations and will enhance their efficiency and therefore their earning power, they will surely be interested in the instruction imparted In short we should vocationalise adult education even from the lowest level Specially qualified persons should be employed to do the job analysis and to produce suitable books for the use of the adults Adult Education Teachers should also be specially trained to perform their tasks with zeal and efficiency and knowledge They should keep themselves in intimate touch with industry and know their requirements

In order to increase production in our country, which is the most important question of the day, we should organize as part of adult education programme "*trade preparatory courses*" for those already engaged in industry An adult has chosen, say, metal-turning as his occupation He finds that there is no future for it in the locality and that he would take to a new vocation, say plumbing Opportunities should be provided for such new trade preparatory courses at the artisan and journeyman level in the evening or night classes

Courses of "*trade-extension*' type should also be organized An adult may not be very proficient say in "electric welding" and he wishes to up-grade himself in the same vocation so as to enable him to earn more or occupy higher

positions in the industrial employment ladder Courses should be devised for him to reach the highest proficiency He should be taught the science the mathematics the drawing and the commerce connected with the trade which knowledge will add to his cultural equipment also Cultur should aid could also be sought through the vocation.

UP GRADING IN GENERAL EDUCATION

Another type of adult education greatly merits our consideration A number of persons who have passed their examinations at various levels wish to enhance their qualifications For example an adult who has passed the sixth class examination wishes to study the subjects of higher classes and obtain higher certificates to enable him to upgrade himself in his profession He is employed and cannot attend day school He and other people like him should be afforded facilities to progress Classes either in the morning or in the nights should be organized for such persons and their qualifications enhanced Indirectly, professions and vocations will get higer qualified persons

RURAL UNIVERSITIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

In all our programmes, especially of *higher adult* education we should not lose sight of the rural population Evening courses both literary and vocational are being gradually organized in the urban areas but not in rural parts This is partly so because we have not got higher institutions of learning in villages We talk of food production but do not impart suitable instruction to the village folk in the art of modern agriculture and allied occupations principally because there are no educational institutions there which can undertake the task It is quite likely that more and more middle and high schools will be established there But it is highly improbable that the nation will think of higher institutions at the college and university level in rural areas

I plead that we should establish new types of colleges and universities in rural parts to suit the social and economic life of the rural population Rural colleges and universities should be pre eminently institutions for teaching people to produce food, clothing and building materials required by the nation on modern scientific and technological lines Agriculture animal husbandry, textiles forestry pottery fishery rural electrification rural building trades, soil conservation small scale industries etc, should be the subjects of study *at college level in their natural setting* and the rural population should have opportunities of going up to the higher stages including research in these branches

Laboratories for study of forest products and of problems on fisheries agriculture and animal husbandry are being set up in cities where there is no proper environment for these occupations When an alien people, who were not earnest about these matters, were occupying the highest posts these laboratories were constructed in cities so that they may all reside in the urban areas and enjoy club life with their compeers in other departments They had nothing in common with our rural population They did not really mean to solve their problems either But when we Indians are at the helm of affairs, we should take correct view of the whole situation and

see that what is due to the rural people is vouchsafed to them I therefore strongly urge that colleges and universities be established in the rural areas and all rural subjects be studied in their natural environment much to the advantage and benefit of the rural population who have after all to produce the food that we need and who can produce many other articles for us provided we afford them suitable opportunities to do so If we do not effect this reform, the more intelligent rural people will flock to the towns to add to the numbers of the un employed or under-employed people and cause economic waste and dissatisfaction in the line

If rural colleges and universities are established with the above objectives, adequate and suitable arrangements can be made for up grading the cultural as well as vocational levels of the rural population in their own environment and at times suited to their hours of work During slack seasons, the farmers could have day courses and in the agricultural seasons, they could have night classes "Trade preparatory" and "Trade extension" courses can be easily organized in these institutions of higher learning at any desired level Of course, these institutions for rural folk should not be run on the cast-iron principles of urban colleges and universities with their interminable rules and regulations, ordinances and schedules which confuse even intelligent urban population In rural universities, examinations should be all internal, more or less on the type of the *old Gurukulas where the pupils were not allowed to leave until they attained cent per cent competency* The relations between the adults and the teachers would be more intimate and there will be no attempts by the candidates for examinations to steal question papers and for examiners to tamper with the marks. The performance of the pupils will be continued until they satisfy the teachers that they are adequately competent

NEED FOR A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

In order to resolve the poverty, illiteracy, and ignorance in the land, we should develop a new philosophy of life and propagate it in the classes for adults The old slogan "Simple living and High thinking" has led to poverty and ignorance We should adopt a new slogan "*High living and high thinking*" which are not incompatible with each other On the other hand high living goes well with high thinking in this materialistic world

Production should be speeded up and the co-operation of adults is most needed in this matter 'Slow and Steady" does not win the race Instead "Quick and Sure' wins the race of life and our people should adopt this principle in their occupations

The colossal illiteracy in the land cannot be removed by the older method of "hasten slowly" A big programme should be adopted and worked most briskly. "Hasten Hastily" alone will serve the nation in this matter At our present rate, it will take, decades, if not centuries, to make India fully literate

DEFENCE

Defence should be a great concern of our nation 'Home guards" should be organized on a tremendous scale in towns as well as in villages Adult Education movement and Home Guards movement should be co-ordinated Adults should be interested in the matter of protecting themselves and their goods. *Every adult should be a soldier.*

IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURE

By Mr JAGATJYOTI PAL

OF the four factors of Industry, (1) Land, (2) Labour (3) Money and (4) Organisation—the fourth is absent and the third is shy in agriculture—that is the reason why agriculture has come to such a pass No piecemeal reform, no palliative remedy will be able to raise it from its present degradation unless it is tackled at its root and source India's yield from agriculture has been notably poor This poor yield of Indian soil has been talked of for years together and so long we had been under foreign masters and it was not their business to raise the people from their degradation They had started Agricultural departments, Experimental farms, and appointed a commission presided over by a man who became the Viceroy afterwards—to improve agriculture—and the improvement that has been done is now being realized by the people in their very hearts To be plain our foreign masters were not rice eating people It was not their business to see whether India produced sufficient quantity of rice or not They were wheat eating people So they improved wheat production in the Punjab They paid greater attention to irrigation in the Punjab than in any other province Bengal and Madras are rice eating provinces, and rice being unlooked for, these two provinces have been in the grip of famine and are deficit provinces

I am aware of conditions of agriculture in Bengal I can say from my study of things here,—agriculture here is greatly dependant on weather conditions—drought or flood will play havoc, besides natural enemies such as flies and insects To my mind dearth of a system of canals has been an important cause of famine in Bengal If there be a planned system of irrigation, people will neither be frightened by drought nor by flood By a system of irrigation not only the soil can be improved but internal trade will be greatly facilitated and in rainy seasons, journeys will be greatly resorted to, by waterways River traffic is cheaper, consequently consumers will get water-borne goods at cheaper rates Not only this canal will breed fish which is also an important food

In India agriculture has been lagging behind so long, because the intelligentia has lagged behind so long, from this field of activity Indian agricultural products can compete in the world market as can be seen from its tea and coffee trade Tea not only competes but its production was so much that its production had to be artificially restricted to fetch its price Why tea flourishes and rice diminishes? The reason to my mind is—there is capital, there is organisation behind tea, whereas in rice—organisation is absent and capital is shy. Foreign capitalists brought their capital and brain in tea industry and have made it what it is now Tea plants are not immune from exigencies of natural agencies But there everything is not left to nature, all is done that is humanly possible Rice production has been left to impoverished uneducated peasants who have neither developed brain, nor money, nor sufficient health to cope with the task Our outlook on life has also been greatly responsible for the decline in agriculture So long, we being a subject nation, took a leaf from our foreign masters Had the foreign masters taken to rice production, the intelligentia

TOPICAL CARTOONS

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THE GIANT AND THE DWARF



A treaty of fr e dsh p has been s gned between Russ a and Commun st Ch na

IN ANTICIPATION OF CRUMBS



Pak tan hopes to ga n as a result of tl e removal of the embargo on trade with S Afr ca

Courtesy *The Leader*



TIMELY ADVICE

A Time and Tide Cartoon

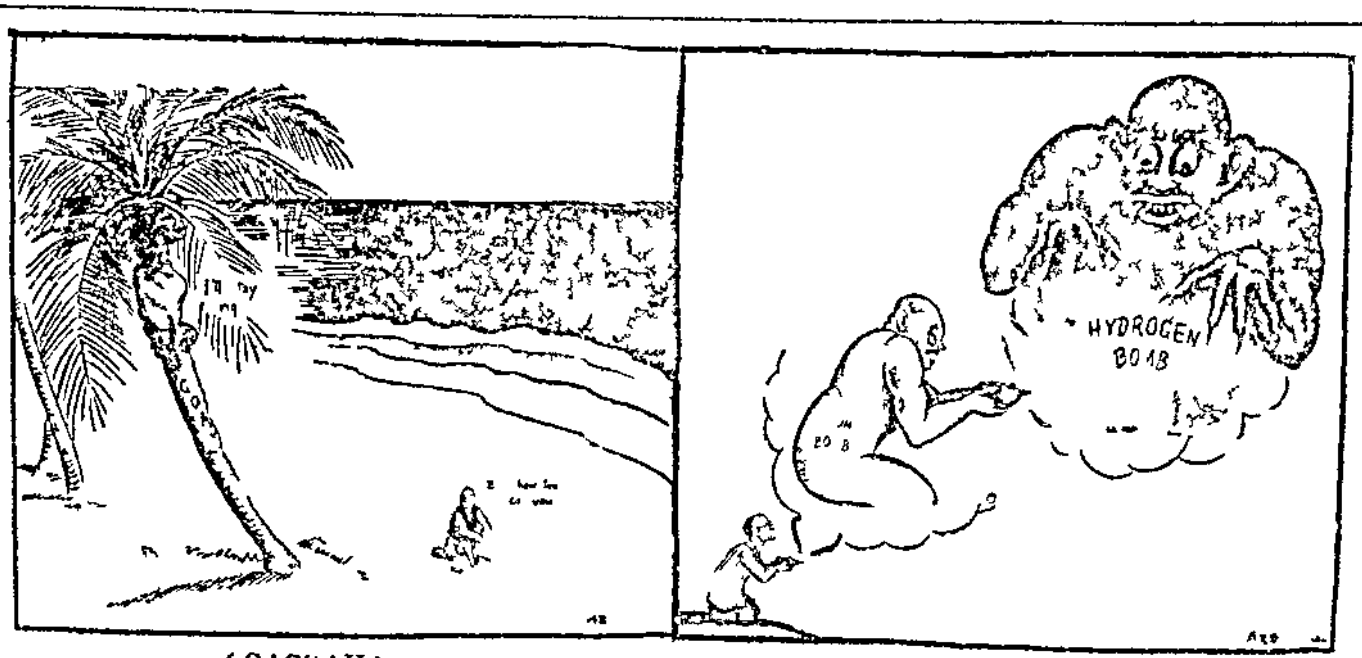
Courtesy *Free India*



Courtesy *The Leader*

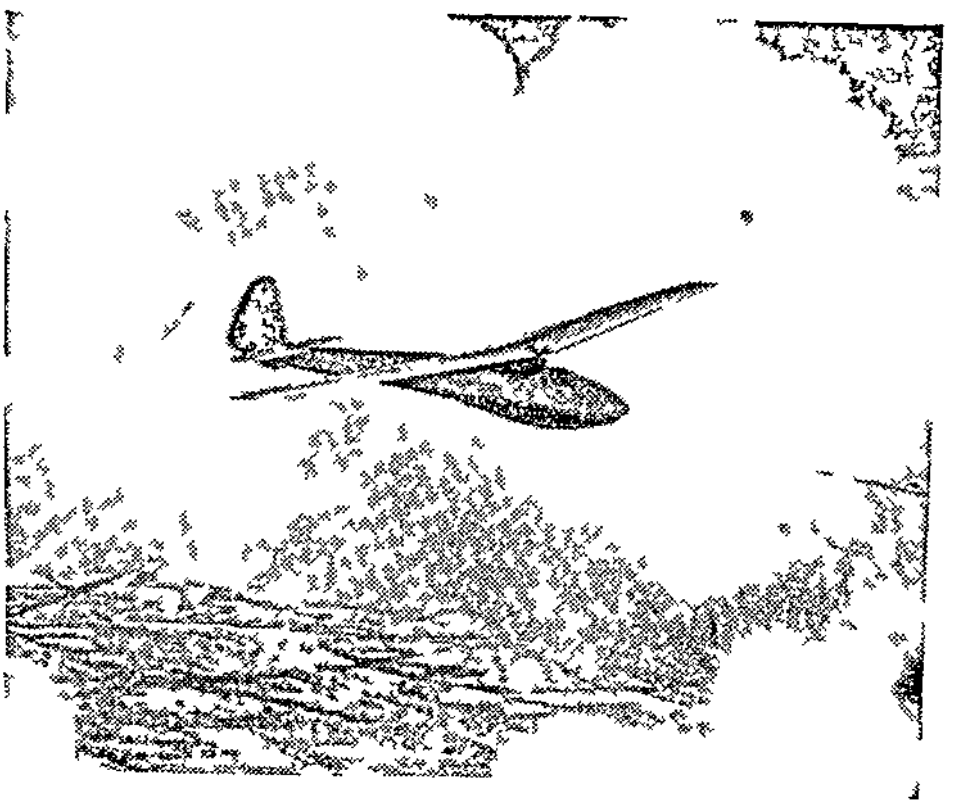
MALAN S MUSINGS

Courtesy *The Pioneer*



COACRAHA HYDRO GENIE

Courtesy *Bharat*



BRITISH GLIDERS FOR INDIA

Gl d ng the cheapest form of flying is becom ng increasingly popular in Ind a Early th s year the Ind an Glid ng Association sent its Chief Instructor to the Un ted Kingdom to study recent developments in gl d ng methods and on his recommend at on the Assoc at on placed an order with a Brit sh firm for s x sample gl ders wh ch have now arr ved in Ind a by sea One of the six the single seater Olympia EON

JANA GANA MANA:

THE NEW NATIONAL ANTHEM

BY PROF HARICHARAN MUKERJI *

(1) Glory be to thee the arbiter of India s destiny the Lord who sways the minds of people

The Punjab Sind Guzrat the province of the Mahrattas the Deccan Orissa Bengal the Vindhyas the Himalayas the Ganges and the Jumna and the restless waters of the sea awake from sleep hearing thy blessed name ask for thy blessings and sing thy praise Glory be to thee the arbiter etc

(2) Hearing thy oft repeated invitation Hindus Buddhists Sikhs Jains Moslems Parsees and Christians
Come from the East and the West stand beside thy throne and the bond of affection is forged binding them together Glory be to thee the arbiter etc
Thou bringest about unity amongst people

(3) The way, difficult and uneven leading nations to their rise and fall which has been trodden by the people through the ages resounds night and day with the sound of thy chariot wheels Even in the midst of the din and bustle of revolutions the reassuring sound of thy conch shell is heard Thou who protectest us from dangers and sorrows
Glory be to Thee the arbiter etc
Thou who leadest people on to the right path

(4) In the dark night of sorrow when the country ailing lay stunned and senseless
Thou kept vigil over it with thy benignant wide open eyes Thou like a loving mother took us up in thy lap and protected us from nightmares and fears Thou the preserver of people from sorrows

(5) The night is over the glorious sun is on the eastern horizon the birds are singing the blessed breeze is pouring forth new life India shakes off her sleep feeling the genial warmth of thy brightness and lays her head at thy feet thou arbiter of India's destiny Glory be to thee

* *This is a literal translation of our newly adopted National Anthem There is no other translation except one by the poet Rabindranath himself which is rather free than literal Here is the Poet s own version*

Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people
Thou dispenser of India s destiny
Thy name rouses the hearts of the Punjab Sind Gujerat and Maratha of Dravid Orissa and Bengal
It echoes in the hills of the Vindhyas and Himalayas mingles in the music of Jumna and Ganges and is chanted by the waves of the Indian Sea
They pray for thy blessing and sing thy praise
Thou dispenser of India s destiny, Victory, Victory, Victory to thee

The night dawns the sun rises in the East the birds sing the morning breeze brings a stir of new life

Touched by the golden rays of thy love
India wakes up and bends her head at thy feet

Thou King of all kings Thou Dispenser of India s destiny

Victory Victory, Victory to thee

THE FIVE TESTS

BY MR V R LAKSHMI RATAN

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FOR the second consecutive season, Indian cricket fans were served up with some glorious cricket The Commonwealth Cricket Team, as it came to be called, flew to India to play a series of matches including five games against the Indian Team at Delhi Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur and Madras

The first 'Test' match played on the Ferozeshah Cotlah Grounds ended in a victory for the tourists They were given a splendid start by Oldfield (151) and Livingston (123) and put up 226 runs for the 1st wicket The rest of the batting was even and the Commonwealth declared at 608 for 8 India's work in the field left much to be desired Merchant could not bat in India s innings as he was hurt in his hand and his brother Udhay also was on the injured list Phadkar played a gallant innings (110 runs) and he received fine support from Adhikari who made 74 but they could not prevent India being asked to follow on Following on they were given a fine start by Umrigar and Mantri who each made 55 and 54 respectively But again they lost four wickets quickly until Hazare and Adhikari coming together carried the score from 169 for 4 to 299 Once Adhikari was out, India suffered a collapse and were all out for 327 runs leaving the Commonwealth to make 12 runs for victory which they did for for the loss of Freer's wicket Tribe bowled brilliantly to bag 4 wickets for 65 runs and he was ably supported by Pepper who took three for 134 runs Pepper also was in fine form in India's second innings and he took 4 wickets for 67 runs

Second 'Test', at Bombay, December 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 This match ended in a draw Merchant, though not completely fit led the Indian Team to field after losing the toss Modi not a regular bowler, was called upon to bowl and he caused a sensation by taking the wickets of Place and Holt But Oldfield and Worrell defied the Indian attack and put their team in a comfortable position by some good batting Oldfield scored his second successive hundred in 'Tests'. Phadkar and Mankad looked like going through the rest of the team when the score stood at 242 for 7 But Pettiford and Freer in a fine retrieving stand added 166 runs Merchant and Modi gave India an excellent start by scoring 128 runs after losing the first wicket at 2 Phadkar and Hazare improved the position But Lambert, coming on with the second new ball struck a deadly spell and India were unable to save the follow-on Following on, the Home Team fared better Merchant cut and drove well for his 94 and after him Hazare, Modi and Adhikari and Umrigar played useful knocks The last two put on over a 100 runs for the 5th wicket and were largely responsible for preventing the Commonwealth from winning this 'Test' as well

Tribe, the Australian spin bowler, commanded most respect In the Commonwealth second innings, Alley, another Australian, made a bright 51

Third 'Test' at Calcutta, December 30, 31 of 1949 and January 1, 2 and 3 of 1950 India won this 'Test' by seven wickets In the absence of V M Merchant who stood down, Hazare took over the captaincy He did the first good thing for his side by winning the toss Mushtaq Ali who opened with Mankad made a quick 40 before he was out to a brilliant catch Mankad played solidly and was unlucky to miss his hundred However, it was the magnificent batting of Hazare that happened to be the highlight of India's innings When wickets were falling quickly, he showed great defensive skill and remained unbeaten with 175 which included 23 fours Kishenchand gave him valuable support Tribe bowled an impeccable length throughout and took 5 wickets for 144 runs The Commonwealth Team were all out for 190 runs largely due to the excellent bowling of Phadkar and Chowdhury Naturally they were made

to follow on Oldfield and Freer gave them a very good start of 121 runs and then the Commonwealth Captain Livingston helped Oldfield to add 132 runs for the second wicket But of a sudden the tide changed C S Nayudu dropping into a splendid length got amongst the wickets and the visitors were dismissed quickly Oldfield scored his third hundred in successive Tests after giving four chances Pettiford and Smith could not bat owing to injuries The required number of runs was scored by the Indian side for the loss of three wickets Mushtaq Ali again played a nice knock

Fourth Test' at Kanpur January 14 15 16 17 and 18 This match ended in a draw India could have repeated their performance at Calcutta but for some very bad fielding at crucial moments A magnificent double century by Worrell distinguished the first days play at the end of which Commonwealth who batted first, made 230 for 3 The start was sensational Oldfield and Place being out for 19 Then Livingston and Worrell were not separated until 151 runs had been added both the players batting in their best form Gaekwad and Ghulam Ahmed who bowled finely began taking quick wickets on the second morning but Worrell receiving valuable support from Tribe carried the total to 448 their eighth wicket stand yielding 106 runs The Indian side were denied of a good start by their opening batsmen but Mushtaq Ali and Phadkar retrieved the position Mushtaq played excellent cricket and finished up with 129 scoring mostly on the leg side Later Adhikari and Kishenchand batting resolutely carried India's total beyond the spectre of defeat Once again Tribe did the bulk of the bowling Livingston and Worrell again showed good form in their second knock On the final day the Indian side had to make 300 runs in about three hours for a victory The Home team suffered shocks when four wickets fell for 18 runs but Hazare and Adhikari batting dourly played out time and saved India

Fifth 'Test' at Chepauk Madras Feb 17th, 18 19, 20 and 21 With each side having chalked up a win in the series naturally everyone looked forward to this Test' which would decide 'The Rubber' Hazare who continued to lead the Indian side lost the toss The Commonwealth team after losing Livingston and Oldfield before the first day's end went up recovered magnificently thanks to Worrell He gave a display of superb batting that has ever been seen at Chepauk He remained unbeaten on the first day and went on to score 161 runs He received very good support from his compatriot Holt as also from Alley and Fitzmaurice Phadkar was again the main wicket taker for the Indian side and Choudhury also bowled some very good overs The Indian team in their turn after a very shaky start managed to finish up only 11 runs behind the Commonwealth score Hazare played a captain's innings Only Phadkar and Kishinchand lived up to their reputation as batsmen Fitzmaurice and Tribe bowled long spells and captured most of the wickets The visitors in their second knock were surprisingly enough dismissed for 247 runs Mankad and Nayudu bowled very well and none of the Commonwealth batsmen were comfortable while facing these two Spin bowlers Only Holt batting stubbornly remained unbeaten with 84 runs The Indian side needed 259 runs for a win and they had six hours to get it Mankad was out early and Mushtaq had to retire due to an injury But Hazare and Umrigar played the right type of game and slowly pushed the score along and were unseparated till lunch time on the final day After lunch both these batsmen were out Hazare repeated his first innings performance but Umrigar's innings was the better of the two This young player played all the strokes and never hesitated to hit the bad ones

In trying to force the pace India lost Phadkar, C S Nayudu and Kishenchand However Mushtaq who resumed his battting after the fall of the seventh wicket hit the required number of runs ten minutes before close of play and helped India to gain a creditable victory and the Rubber

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

British General Elections

INDIA is not directly concerned with the fortunes of the Parties in the General Elections in England. Time was when we looked to favours from this party and that—and on the whole, in view of their avowed policies and their general attitude to Indian demands—the Liberals and later Labour commanded in a great measure the sympathy and moral support of nationalist India. One or two Indians, in the hope of influencing British policy in however meagre a measure, sought membership of the House of Commons. But since August 15,1947 our fortunes are in our own hands and neither Tory nor Labour success in England count for anything in our internal affairs. Parliamentary majority in England cannot affect us in any way—and it is none of our business to be critical of the way the Britisher chooses his Government.

All the same we cannot pretend to be altogether indifferent to the results of the Elections which mean so much to Britain and the World. For in the first place, England still holds a key position in world affairs and it will not do to ignore her influence for good or evil in the counsels of the nations. Secondly, India has just parted company with England after two centuries of close association and our interests are also in a way linked with those of other members of the Commonwealth. And thirdly, Labour as a party and many leading intellectuals and statesmen with Labour leanings have supported our cause with sympathy and understanding, and the general belief in India that Labour as a whole stands for peace and progress and the brotherhood of the nations is too well rooted to be forgotten in this hour of her trial.

Finally, after all we got our independence only when Labour was in power and the feeling is irresistible that but for the vision and imagination of the leading statesmen in the last Labour Government we would still be fighting for our rights. We cannot forget that it was the Tory Churchill who boasted that he was not appointed King's Minister to liquidate the Empire —meaning that England must continue to hold India in bondage for ever. With such a background we cannot but sympathise with Labour in her efforts to retain her hold on the Government of England.

As we go to press only 2 results are outstanding and Labour has returned to power with 315 seats in a House of 625.

The position of the Parties at the time of writing is:

Labour	..	315
Conservatives	..	296
Liberals	..	9
Irish Nationalists	..	2
Independent Liberal	..	1

The main parties have received the following votes in the Elections including the latest results:

LABOUR:	13,248,957
CONSERVATIVE:	12,450,403
LIBERAL:	2,634,482

Labour's narrow victory, we are told, came after a gruelling daylong struggle, in which the Conservatives and Liberals combined four times drew level.

The Conservatives can justifiably claim, indeed all the Tory Press is claiming it most vociferously, that they have won a moral victory, by reducing the previous over-all majority of the Government of over 150 to something less than 20. They are also blaming the intervention of the Liberals for their narrow defeat at the polls.

The Labour Party, on the other hand, definitely feels disappointed, if not hurt, that the polls had not endorsed their social policy more convincingly.

The narrow majority on which the Government will be working will naturally mean that all the Members and Ministers will have to be on the alert, to avoid a snap defeat on any major issue. Perhaps Mr. Attlee's Government will have to face another election ere long.

One significant feature is the rout of the Liberals and the extreme left. The close result makes it imperative, says the *News Chronicle*, that the three Parties should get together and agree on what common action is necessary in the nation's interest.

Atrocities in East Bengal

Reports of riots and arson in different areas of Dacca Chittagong Noakhali Comilla Mymensingh and Barisal districts of East Pakistan resulting in deaths and damage to property belonging to the minority community have been pouring in at Delhi and Calcutta for weeks past The tragic happenings in East Pakistan surpass anything we have yet known As early as the first week of February the Chief Minister of West Bengal Dr B C Roy, stated that

over 13 000 people had crossed the border into India in the past three weeks following disturbances in Bagerhat Sub Division of the Khulna District and in Barisal East Bengal

A fresh batch of 300 to 500 refugees is pouring into West Bengal daily at Bungaon a border station near Khulna alone

On the 23rd the Prime Minister of India pulled down the iron curtain over East Bengal and told a stunned Parliament that between 600 to 1 000 innocents had been brutally butchered in Dacca city alone during the recent communal frenzy

Pandit Nehru stated that what had happened in Kashmir and what was happening in East Bengal were all interlinked and warned If the methods we have suggested are not agreed to it may be that we shall have to adopt other methods That is to say methods short of war which with us is out of the question

Muslims Urge Drastic Steps

Pak atrocities have moved Muslim citizens of India no less than the Hindus Fifty leading Muslims of Calcutta in a joint statement condemned the hideous and gruesome atrocities of a section of their co religionists in East Bengal and appealed to the Government of India to take immediately drastic and effective steps to make recurrence of such incidents impossible

The situation in East Bengal is grave The news that is pouring in here from different districts of East Bengal in spite of the iron screened censorship of Pakistan Government is sufficient to rouse extreme horror and indignation in the mind of any civilised person

The Government of East Pakistan had lamentably failed to give protection to minorities under its care In the name of humanity we appeal to the Government of India to take immediately such drastic and effective steps which will make recurrence of these revolting atrocities permanently impossible Mussalmans of India will support any such steps that our National Government may think fit to take in this matter

Meanwhile our Prime Minister's recent appeal for joint investigation has fallen on deaf ears across the border Pakistan evidently dreads an enquiry into its own misdeeds It is therefore trying to magnify the pitiful little repercussions on this side of the border into enormous crimes What is one to think of that wicked propaganda that latest and wildest of imaginary tales said to have been spread by the Pakistan radio about some ten thousand people having been killed and over 50 crores of rupees worth of Muslim property having been destroyed in Calcutta!

The Kashmir Issue

The Security Council of the U N at Lake Success has resumed discussion on the Kashmir issue It will be recalled that at the last sitting of the Council Sir B Narsing Rau Indian delegate rejected Gen McNaughton's proposals because they would eliminate or neutralise every one of the assurances relied upon by India and because they ignored the moral and legal aspects of the question

Beginning with her initially denied military intervention in Kashmir Pakistan had placed a series of obstacles in the path of a plebiscite Sir Narsing Rau asked the Council to study who created each succeeding obstacle and added And yet in this topsy turvy world it is India that is constantly accused of stalling or delaying the plebiscite

At the resumed session on Feb 24 a resolution terminating the U N Commission for India and Pakistan and appointing a U N representative to take over its powers and responsibilities in Kashmir was introduced The resolution was introduced by Dr Carlos Blanco Cuban President of the Council for February The other sponsoring countries were the United Kingdom and Norway

This does not take us anywhere and only leaves the situation worse than we found it The members have evidently decided to

shut their eyes to the legal and moral aspects of the question and deal with it on the basis of pure expediency The proceedings of the Security Council leave no room for doubt as to how far Pakistan s propaganda abroad and her Foreign Minister's stunt are succeeding There does not appear any doubt, observes Mr K Balaraman, special correspondent of the *Hindu* that " the dish which was served at the Council's meeting was cooked in the British Kitchen "

Consultations among various delegations had been going on all last week nd the joint resolution which is understood to] ive been given final shape to last morning was practically as the United Kingdom wanted it and pleasing Pakistan seems to have been the one strong spice in Sir Alexander Cadogan s recipe A legal observer who has studied the Kashmir question remarked that if the resolution was- bad the speeches which accompanied it were worse As for example he referred to the threat implied in Sir Alexander s s atement "If the Council is to function effec tively now and in the days to come, we must insist on its authority being respected and that its recommendations are not made to be gnored This meant a warning that India dare reject the resolution only at her own peril Again Sir Alexander not only shut h s eyes to Pakistan s proven aggression but declared that any attempt to fix initial responsibility for the impasse would involve an investigation into Pakistan s claim and though he hastened to add that he was not expressing any view on the claim it was obvious which way his fancy lay

According to present indications, the resolution is likely to get the seven votes necessary for acceptance but it is difficult to see what moral force it can have when adopted by the Council in its present position

Out of five permanent members the Soviet delegate was absent Both parties to the dispute do not recognise the Chinese member and the third, Britain, is herself in the position of an accused as a result of the disclosure of Gracy s complicity in the Kashmir invasion

There is yet another aspect for consideration India originally complained in the Council that Pakistan was helping the raiders Pakistan denied it

Now, it has been conclusively proved that Pakistan is guilty of aggression and therefore also guilty of perjury a term very familiar to Americans today The Security Council now seemed disposed to reward Pakistan for her double crime The special correspondent has put the case for India with force and trenchency and we make no apology for quoting him at some length

The Central Budget

Republican India's first Budget was presented to Parliament by the Finance Minister Dr John Matthai on the 28th February We cannot in this short note attempt a review of the Budget or an appreciation of the proposals in the light of the present economic trends in the country We must reserve it for a future occasion after careful study of the Finance Minister s statement and its reaction on the country Estimates for the next financial year with the revenue at Rs 347 5 crores and expenditure at Rs 337 68 crores revealed a surplus of Rs 9 62 crores which was reduced to a net surplus of Rs 1 31 crores by a series of proposals calculated to give reliefs mainly in direct taxation

Perhaps the outstanding features of the Budget are withdrawal of protection to the sugar industry the total absence of any proposal for fresh taxation and substantial relief to the business community with a view to increasing protection and stimulating investment Businessmen will also welcome the assurance that the Dividend Limitation Act will not be renewed after March 31 when it expires They will have no more reason to talk of capital being 'shy' because of Government attitude Government in fact, are doing their best, after repeated experiments and failures to encourage business investments in every way even at the risk of being charged with coqueting with capitalists and financiers to the prejudice of the middle and lower classes

'There is a definite turn for the better', declared the Finance Minister surveying the economic situation

With no fresh taxation the last vestige of the controversial 'Liaqat Ali Budget' in the form of Business Profit Tax abolished, with relief in Income-tax provided and the prospects of a surplus the consensus of opinion at the moment is to congratulate the Finance Minister and his colleagues

The Finance Minister also set a new precedent There was no prepared speech and he delivered it extempore

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

TO THE STUDENTS By M K Gandhi Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad Price Rs 3 8

Gandhiji's interest in education had begun very early in his life His constantly experimenting mind had turned itself effectively to educational questions as he went on with his own studies and he formed opinions and definite ideas by careful observation and thought Then came the difficult days of struggle and leadership in Africa He established his famous Tolstoy Farm in 1910 and his educational ideas immediately presented themselves in practical shapes There was never a period after that when Gandhiji did not get into contact with students and express forcefully his wise and helpful ideas

If the distinction of Gandhiji as an educationist is to be put in a brief form it may be said to be his combining the practical and altruistic ideas Some educationists emphasize the theoretical and idealistic aspects of education The defects of the existing forms of education may be said to proceed from this attitude The new ideas have gone too far to the practical and technical side Undoubtedly the right kind of education is what combines both these effectively Any careful study of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of basic education will show how wonderfully he had grasped the ways of combining the ideal and the practical

It is the wisdom that results from the blending of the spiritual and the practical in Gandhiji that gives very special value to his utterances on education He spoke and wrote often on students and education These valuable expressions full of advice and suggestions and inspiration are gathered together in this volume and even a cursory glance will show how very important this book must be to all students and to all who are interested in education

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN BENGAL 1757-1947- A Bibliography of Bengali Men and Women of Letters By Miss Indira Sarkar M A with a foreword by Dr N Law M A Central Book Agency, Calcutta Price Rs 4

Miss Indira Sarkar who has done research work in Social Science has made a Bibliographical Study of Authors and Writers in Bengali Literature and Culture and Social Philosophy from the time of the establishment of the British Power in Bengal down to the attainment of Indian Independence (1947) International Cultural Associations like the UNESCO should as noted by Dr N N Law in his Foreword encourage such bibliographical compilations This book sets in chronological order the titles of the chief works in the Social Thought of Bengal in the age of Classicism and Rationalism 1757 1857 and then in the epoch of Romanticism and Nationalism in the period 1858 1919 and finally in the period of Realism and Socialism 1920 1947 There is also given a sketch of the evolution of Bengali Thought to explain the bibliographical periods and sub periods The entire century 1757 1857 was dominated by prose and the mentality of the Bengali Intelligentsia is utilitarian and pragmatic Creative literature in poetry has not evolved Social philosophy and interpretation in the entire period have been marked by lack of political freedom and its consequence We see that Asianism has been a social force in Bengal since the days of Hem Banerjee and Swami Vivekananda We unhesitatingly stress the following words of the author It is this tradition of consciousness about Hindu superiority which enabled Bengalis as well as other Indians to combat and counteract to a certain extent the rising tide of Western chauvinism colonialism domination and imperialism in Asia and Africa

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE Vol XXIX 1948 Parts I-IV edited by R D Karmarkar and R N Dandekar Poona

This volume provides a rich fare of learned articles on linguistics and several aspects of ancient Indian culture Mr H A Shah writes on Rudra Kali, and Professor P S Sastri on the Imagery of the Rig Veda, while Dr A M Ghatage details traces of short E and O in Rig Veda Prof V B Athvale details the movements of the Pandavas and concludes among other things that Yudhisthira was declared yuvaraja when he was 21 years old and Krishna was two years younger Professor P K Gode traces the history of the use of almonds and of fried grains in the Indian diet Regional divisions of Ancient India and the gradual Aryanisation of the image of Narayana are among other interesting papers Dr Dandekar gives a very instructive note on the Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Orientalists at Paris held in July 1948 wherein the Indology section was presided over by Professor Jules Bloch

PAKISTAN, THE FATHERLAND OF THE PAK NATION PAKISTAN LITERATURE SERIES NO I BY Choudhary Rahmat Ali (3rd edition) The Pakistan National Liberation Movement (Cambridge) Rs 5

The preface to the third edition of this book was penned in November 1946 and prayed for the speedy liberation of the Millat's heritage in Pak-Asia from the British Bania alliance and for its recognition by the comity of nations Part I describing the features and resources of areas claimed for Pakistan would claim six enclaves for the Muslim minorities in the six regions of the Deccan Bundel Khand and Malwa Bihar the U P Rajastan and Malabar Urdu or Pak is held to be the national language of the Pak Millat, and the paramount consideration of the national laws should be not the state but the individual & his well being Chapter XIV gives the outline of the historical evolution of the Pak regions through the ages, and much of it is the expansion of the Muslim power in India The next chapter traces the effect of Pak ideology on the myth of Indian unity as created and canonised by the caste Hindus, and details the schemes put forward by Hazrat Mohani Iqbal and others as well as the basic aims of the Pakistan National Movement

Part IV Pakistan and the World embodies the authors message to the Muslim minorities in the Hindu majority regions of Dinia & Ceylon The final British Plan for India of 3rd June 1947 is naturally regarded as a grievous crisis for the Millat and a betrayal of it The entire tone is anti Indian & Hindu-phobian

BOOKS RECEIVED

1 LABOUR INSPECTION 2 AGRICULTURAL WAGES AND INCOMES OF PRIMARY PRODUCERS 3 REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL International Labour Office Indian Branch New Delhi

THE TWAIN SHALL MEET By K Sridhar Rao Arrow Enterprises 87 Laxmi Bldg Sir P M Road Fort Bombay

GANDHI GRANTH (HINDI) By Hari Prem Narain Mathur Published by Ram Narain Lal Katra Road Allahabad

INDIA BOUND AND FREE By P K Anantanarayan M A Published by S Visvanathan Central Art Press Madras

PRACTICE AND PHILOSOPHY OF CO OPERATION By V Veerasingham Manipay Hindu College Manipay

SELECTED LETTERS M K GANDHI Navjivan Publishing House Ahmedabad

FOR PACIFISTS By M K Gandhi Navjivan Publishing House Ahmedabad

GLEANINGS GATHERED AT BAPU'S FEET By Mira Navjivan Publishing House Ahmedabad

GITA THE GOSPEL OF HARMONY IN LIFE By S C S Chand & Co Fountain Delhi

THE ATOM BOMB AND OTHER POEMS By K S Rama Hindu College Guntur

FATE OF INDIA IN 1950 By Jupiter The Scientific Astrological Bureau Madras 1

DHARAMVIR BHOPATKAR By Indra Prakesh Hindu Mission Pustak Bhandar New Delhi

INSPIRING THOUGHTS OF EMERSON By S C Dass, 3206 Dassara Street Delhi

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Feb 1 Debate in Parliament on the President's Address

—U S Atomic experts predict manufacture of hydrogen super bomb inside the year

Feb 2 Sardar Patel defends Government's Labour Policy in Parliament

—Soviet demands trial of Emperor Hirohito as war criminal

Feb 3 King George dissolves Parliament

—Atomic secret leakage—British scientist on trial

Feb 4 Justice Bagge's Tribunal's award on Indo Pakistan border disputes announced

Feb 5 Russia's new type H bomb made known by Berlin physicist

Feb 6 Karachi lifts ban on trade with South Africa

—South African talks begin at Capetown

Feb 7 Soviet group walks out of U N Economic Council at Lake Success

Feb 8 Gen Cariappa, Commander in Chief, in Madras

—Bombay High Court orders release of 28 Communists in detention under Public Security Measures Act

Feb 9 Australia lifts petrol control Britain deeply concerned

—Dusk to dawn curfew in Calcutta

Feb 10 India Government protests against misuse of Hindu shrines in Pakistan

—Debate in U N Council on McNaughton proposals

Feb 11 Capetown talks conclude

—Sheik Abdullah inaugurates Tamil Nad Conference in Madras

Feb 12 Einstein warns the world of the perils of hydrogen bomb

—Kashmir debate in Security Council at Lake Success adjourned

Feb 13 U S envoys discuss with Asia Mission Chiefs at Bankok plans for economic help to S E Asia

Feb 14 Churchill in his election speech hints end of cold war with Russia, if his party is returned to power.

—Racial riot in Johannesburg

Feb 15 Pakistan becomes member of world Monetary Fund International Bank for Reconstruction

—Sir C Deshmukh to enquire into working of Damodar Valley Corporation

Feb 16 Soviet—Red China treaty signed in Moscow

Feb 17 Nepalese Prime Minister in Delhi

—It is revealed that World Bank is not financing bold schemes in India.

Feb 18 A I C C meets at Delhi to take steps to revitalise Congress

Feb 19 The three man Sub Committee of Congress consisting of Prasad Nehru and Patel recommends dropping of charges against Madras Ministers

—A I C C discusses position of minorities in E Bengal

Feb 20 Death of Sarat Chandra Bose at Calcutta

Feb 21 Mr Gopalaswami Iyengar presents Railway Budget in Parliament

Feb 22 India XI win the Fifth Test Match with the Commonwealth team on Chepauk ground, Madras

—Egypt offers to mediate on Kashmir dispute

Feb 23 Britain goes to the polls

—Nehru makes statement in Parliament on East Bengal situation

Feb 24 U N Council resumes discussion of Kashmir issue

Feb 25 Labour wins in the British Elections with a small majority

—Parliament passes Preventive Detention Bill

Feb 26 Death of Sir Albion Banerji, former Dewan of Mysore at Bangalore

Feb 27 Madras Budget presented

—Tense situation in East Pakistan

Feb 28 Dr Matthai, Finance Member presents Central Budget in Parliament

—Prof Saxena fasting at Rajghat is removed to Lucknow

READERS' DIGEST

PLACE OF MILITARY IN INDIAN NATIONAL LIFE

As the ideological conflict between Capitalism as manifested in the United States of America and Communism as practised in the Soviet Union grows more tense and serious, the psychological wave of militarism also grows stronger and stronger in every country, observes Principal S N Agarwal in the course of a press article India is also not immune from this psychological fever and fear and the demand for compulsory military training in schools and colleges is gathering momentum But we should be aware, he says, that many other countries have tried the experiment of militarism already and have reaped very undesirable results in regard to the evolution of their national life "The world, therefore, expects India, the great land of Mahatma Gandhi to give a new lead in the field of Military training and defence In this connection, the writer recently received a very instructive letter from Mr Richard Gregg of America, who was one of the delegates to the World Pacifist Conference Mr Gregg was an experienced engineer in the United States and came in very close contact with Gandhiji His books, entitled THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE and THE ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR, are quite well-known in India In the course of his letter, Mr Gregg writes:

"I think that there should be strong opposition to military training in schools and colleges This issue has been a hot one in America, and it is very important to keep the plastic mind of the youth free from the glamour and poison of militarism In America, we have seen the army and the navy grow into vast vested interests of overwhelming power It now compels and subjugates all college administrations in the country Please persuade India to reject this"

Mr Richard Gregg has also some very concrete suggestions to make regarding the place of the Military in national life during the period of transition He observes:

'If the army is going to be retained, it should not be allowed to be completely parasitic. For at least two months out of every year of every soldier s training, he should work at constructive service of society He should do sanitary work in the villages, drainage of marshy places, repair of tanks, antimalaria work such as spraying pools every ten days with kerosine oil, learning to make compost pits and heaps and demonstrating it to peasants and helping them to create stores of compost for the following year, road repairs, control of soil-erosion re afforestation irrigation canal work, building dams, building bridges for villages, building and repairing houses, refugee camp work, etc Marked emphasis should be placed on the Indian army doing this in Muslim villages and areas to show Pakistan that the Indian Army is not primarily a threat against the safety of Muslims

"There might well be provision that every two years, the proportion of constructive service of the Indian army training per year should be increased by one month That is, the first two years the soldier should spend two months of his time each year in constructive work, the second two years he should spend three months of his time each year in constructive work, the third two years, he should spend four months in constructive work Or you might propose some other rate of increase of the army's time on constructive work This would all reduce the cost of the army, make the soldiers better citizens after return to civilian life, turn professional soldiers increasingly from destruction and parasitism into constructive servants, enhance the moral prestige of the army and the government, reduce the suspicion and have enough courage and conviction to develop and rely upon Satyagraha, it should at least try to reduce as much as possible the poison of militarism"

This, says Principal Agarwal, is sound and timely advise worthy of our most serious consideration

YOUNG AMERICA

Young Shirley was racing around the porch with a neighbour's son close at her heels

"Why are you chasing her?" Shirley's dad asked

"She pinched me," replied the lad

He then turned to his daughter and demanded "Why did you pinch him?"

Blushing prettily, Shirley whispered to her father, "So he would chase me"

EINSTEIN'S NEW THEORY

Dr Einstein's latest achievement the Generalised Theory of Relativity runs to 20 type written pages at least a third of which are intricate mathematical equations The symbols are those of relativity and cannot be explained in terms of everyday mathematics At one point in the paper Dr Einstein states that his solution of the problem of tying the universe together in one hypothesis is faced with mathematical difficulties I have not yet found a practicable way to confront the results of the theory with experimental evidence he writes

Dr Einstein says *The Scientific American* in its last issue has set forth what some of his friends say is the long sought Unified Field theory The scientist himself has given no public hint of any such extraordinary development but he is said to have told close associates at the Institute for Advanced Study that he regards the new theory as his greatest achievement

DIET AND DISEASES

The popular common sense notion that well fed people are most likely to keep healthy is not necessarily true writes the American *Time* Recent research shows it adds that the common diseases of childhood are no more prevalent among poorly fed children than among children stuffed with fruit and fish-oil vitamins Research also shows that well fed adults suffer as much as any one else from the common cold and influenza

In a recent issue of the *Bacteriological Review* Dr Paul F Clark of the University of Wisconsin's Medical School and five fellow bacteriologists summarize all that is known to day mostly based on experiments with animals about the effect of diet on infectious diseases Their summation sometimes diet helps , sometimes not

The researches noted that certain infections (*e g* the minute protozoa which cause sleeping sickness) thrive in a wellfed patient but languish where some supposedly vital food factor is missing Rats whose diet was lacking in the vitamin B complex survived sleeping sickness better than better fed rodents Ill fed rats infested with an intestinal parasite were not helped by a pantothenic acid (vitamin) preparation in their diet , instead the parasites flourished on it So did the parasites in chickens infected with bird malaria

Among the viruses (which cause such familiar diseases as measles chickenpox colds influenza and mumps) are many which prove more damaging to a healthy body Sick chickens are more resistant to cancer than healthy ones Undernourished guinea pigs are better able to ward off foot and mouth disease

In humans the most baffling virus is that of poliomyelites It has been noted for years that the disease seems to attack better nourished children In mice experiments if the animals diet was deficient in thiamin (vitamin B) the incubation period was prolonged and the paralysis and mortality rates were cut down It was also found that if thiamin was added to the diet infected animals the polio often developed quickly into paralysis

But the picture was not all dark In many cases vitamins proved to be a shield against disease One dramatic example pigeons deprived of vitamin B got sleeping sickness—to which they are normally immune The doctors cautious as usual wanted to give the whole subject further study Meanwhile they were in favour of eating—and a well balanced diet at that

ENGLISH IN CEYLON

Discussing the place of English in the schools and in the lives of the common people of Ceylon Mr H A Passe observes in the *University of Ceylon Review* for July

"In Ceylon at present English is the medium of instruction in the post-primary classes of the English schools, in the Ceylon Technical College, the School of Agriculture, the Law College, the Government Training College, and the University of Ceylon It is, and seems likely to continue to be the *lingua franca* of educated people throughout the island

It is the language of society, of commerce, of the professions and of the government, it is the medium of pleasure and of business In our intercourse with the world outside Ceylon, English already performs the function of an International Auxiliary Language There is an almost universal desire to learn a language which so greatly enlarges one's opportunities"

The opposition to English comes from a certain class of nationalists and from those who fear that in insisting on 'English more English, and better English," Ceylon may continue to neglect her own native languages

"It is ironical that the greatest hostility to 'English education' comes from those who enjoy its benefits, it may be that those who have neglected the 'great heritage' of their native languages now have a guilty conscience about it

But when the heat and dust of controversy have subsided, it will be realised that more than a hundred years of English education have left their ineradicable impress on our ways of thinking and feeling In Ceylon learning to speak and write English has implications which go far beyond the conception of English as a common language or means of intercommunication locally and with the world outside The English language has kept Ceylon in contact not merely with England, but with modern civilization"

THE EFFECT OF SMOKING

Magazine Digest which is always crammed with useful hints and suggestions culled from authoritative sources gives impressive figures to prove the deleterious effects of smoking—a habit which has become well nigh universal The most impressive figures about the effect of smoking, it says, are those of Raymond Pearl

He found, in studying 6,813 men, that "the smoking of tobacco was statistically associated with an impairment of life duration, and the amount or degree of this impairment increased as the habitual amount of smoking increased"

Consider the following:

Classification	*Average Age at Death*
Non-smokers	67 7 years
Moderate smokers	65 5 years
Heavy smokers	57 7 years

Notice in the table that while moderate smokers paid with "only" 2 2 years of life, heavy smokers had *ten years less* of life than non-smokers

Some computations also show

The moderate smoker pays with 12 7 minutes of life for each cigarette he smokes *The heavy smoker pays with 34 6 minutes of life for each cigarette he smokes*

The pack a day smoker pays with 11½ hours of life for each pack of cigarettes he smokes.

CHILD'S APTITUDE TO LEARN LANGUAGES

Writing about children's aptitude to learn languages, Sri A S Venkataraman says in *Adventure of Education*:

We, in South India, are aware how easily, how quickly Tamil, Canarese, Marathi and Telugu children take to other Indian laguages as ducks to water.

Modern psychology has established that in a child there is an auditory apparatus which is sensitive and susceptible only to human sounds and not to other sounds and noises And here again, the mechanism is adapted mainly for the mother-tongue and that is why the adult cannot hear all the sounds of a foreign tongue so easily as the child During the first year even before a child physically develops and moves or runs, his mind is active He listens selectively to human sounds because of the peculiar equipment—or otherwise he should be braying like a donkey or whistling like an engine, not to speak of copying a thousand other sounds or noises that come his way!

Before the second year or its end, the child acquires a vocabulary capacity of about two hundred words, and, in the course of his experience till the sixth year, his vocabulary runs into thousands From this point of view, it is strange that we attempt to teach the alphabet at that stage when the child is already in possession of a rich stock The child at that stage can burst into full fledged linguistic expression or even explosion some times!

It is worthwhile to note that during this period, particularly before the end of the second or the third year, most children acquire a marvellous capacity for linguistic development.

In this development, comprehension precedes expression, *i e*, the passive command before the active That is why there is a differentiation between passive and active vocabularies

Any interference with the child's desire for freedom of expression as for freedom of movement would lead to a permanent set back, the consequences of which cannot be easily obliterated Violence in speech or action mother's "don'ts" nurses 'mustn'ts —are restraints or restrictions usually inspired by ignorance or superstition imposed on the rapid growth of children They may do incalculable harm to children and impair their capacity for self-expression and initiative

All unwillingly such nurses and parents or others may become enemies of their children in the best period of their freedom and their mental and moral growth This is yet another illustration of the truth contained in the old adage, "Save me from my friends"—well-meaning, no doubt, but without adequate psychological insight!

H-BOMB 'A PHYSICAL MONSTROSITY'

Some radio-active substances from the Hydrogen bomb will last "hundreds or thousands of years' making bombed cities uninhabitable, Mr William I Laurence, '*New York Times*' Science Writer, said in a lecture at Baltimore

He said the bomb, "a physical monstrosity," was several million times more powerful than an atom bomb

The U S A and Russia could annihilate each other in H-bomb warfare, he warned his audience

"The sun is actually an enormous Hydrogen bomb in space," he said, "and we will create on earth a miniature replica of the sun"

FACTS ABOUT JAPAN

General Mac Arthur's Public Information Office has issued the following "facts" on Occupied Japan

Japan has 180 universities—92 private, 69 national and 19 professional or municipal universities

The overall volume of trade for Occupied Japan has risen from over 100 million dollars during 1948 to 460 million dollars during the fiscal year 1949

Of the 91 million acres making up Japan, 17 million or only 19 per cent is agricultural land.

Prior to the Occupation, 70 per cent of Japanese farmers rented all or part of the land they cultivated

Only two of 460 seats were won by Communists in the recent land commission voting in Japan

From January to July 1949 total employment in Occupied Japan rose from 25 million to 28 million

Efforts are being made to increase the trade volume of Occupied Japan to 890 million dollars during fiscal year 1950 Consumer goods in short supply are made available to farmers as an incentive to stimulate crop deliveries

In July 1949 the industrial production attained was 75 9 of 1932-36

The death rate was 12 per 1,000 of population in 1948, the lowest ever recorded

Approximately 205,000 Japanese have been purged from public life since the beginning of the Occupation

About 4 200 Japanese have been convicted of war crimes since the Japanese surrender

PLEA FOR PEACE IN BENGAL

In a signed article headed "Appeal to India and Pakistan," written a few minutes before his death and published in his paper *Nation* the late Mr Sarat Chandra Bose proposed that the only solution in the interests of the future well-being of the two communities living in the two Bengals was the creation of "East Bengal as a distinct and separate State" under the aegis of the Indian Union

In an appeal to brother-Bengalis in East and West Bengal for peace and honour, Mr Bose asked the people of both Bengals "not to look either the Delhi-way or Karachi I ask them to be guided by the light that is within them"

Mr Bose dismissed the suggestion of mass-exchange of population as no solution

The solution that I offer for the acceptance of the people of India and Pakistan is that Bengal as a distinct and separate State should join the India Union and that the people of India and Pakistan should bring pressure to bear upon their respective Governments to bring this about as soon as possible I have been saying repeatedly during the last three years that to my mind division of Provinces on a religious basis was and is no solution to the communal problem, that, even if Provinces were so divided, Hindus and Muslims would still have to live side by side and that communal segregation or religious quarantine was neither desirable nor feasible That being my political opinion I have never made any distinction at any time of my life between Hindu and Muslim in undivided Bengal or in divided Bengal The population in both Bengals remains as composite in character as before I do not wish to disturb the partition of Bengal which has already taken place

"I am well aware that there was in the recent past a sense of frustration among the people of East Bengal which was one of the reasons which gave rise to the demand for partition The solution which I am offering will mean the least possible interference in the present state of things Let East Bengal live and flourish as a distinct and separate State but in the interests of future well being of the two communities living in the two Bengals which, as I have said before, are integral, the East Bengal live and flourish under the fostering care of the Indian Union

PAKISTAN AND BHARAT

Despite the best efforts of our Government to foster friendship and co operation with Pakistan we are in the thick of an all-out total economic war with that country writes *Organiser* the organ of the R S S It has been the inevitable culmination of Pakistan s evidently incurable hatred of Bharat, it says

Its financial wizard Mr Ghulam Muhammed recently visited Delhi and held talks with the Government While hoping for the best we must prepare for the worst and refuse to yield to black mail Till Pakistan sees reason and settles outstanding disputes concerning Kashmir Evacuee Property and Canal Water we must fight the politico economic war launched by Pakistan to the finish till victory is ours There is no scope for compromise with aggression, injury and libel

Pakistan's furious ill-will towards Bharat, we are told is rooted in its very being The birthday of Pakistan heard the vociferous cries We laughed our way to Pakistan, we ll fight our way to Hindustan" As Pandit Nehru recently said at Patiala, the Pakistan cry today is "First to Srinagar then to Patiala, and thence onward to Delhi ' Such is the basic and dominant attitude of Pakistan towards Bharat Small wonder it has lost no opportunity and created many, to embarrass, insult and injure our people, our country and our Government,—indeed everything that is Bharatiya

After invading Kas mir and annexing one third of it by organised violence and mass killing it denied its presence in Kashmir only to turn round to accuse us of 'fraud and dishonesty' And now it is busy convincing the world that a Re gn of Terror' under the aegis of a 'Gestapo' prevails in the State Recently the 'Dawn' published 'news' of Kashmir collapsing economically, and falsely suggested that the State administration was bearing the cost of the national army defending Kashmir Predicting Kashmir's political collapse it invented the story that the State territory was packed with concentration camps" that the Muslims had been "crippled ' and that they were "leading a life of cries and sighs' because of the "barbarous dog s rule' Only this quasi official organ of the Pakistan Goverment could have concentrated so many falsehoods in so few worlds

Recently its quisling in occupied territory, Sardar Ibrahim, remarked that UNO would not succeed in resolving the Kashmir dispute to Pakistan's satisfaction

In the light of their threats of war, their active preparations for war and their disinclination to sign a 'no war' declaration with Bharat, their overt and overt acts against us cannot be condoned or connived at as unfortunate but pardonable indiscretions

ATOM CROPS

Atomic scientists in the United States are trying to speed up nature's way of producing new types of plants according to U S I S They are baking seeds of familiar plants in the atomic ovens at Oak Ridge Tennesee, in the same way, and even in the same trays in which metals are made radio-active

In this way the scientists hope to increase the number of mutations In nature, a mutation occurs when the offspring of a plant has characteristics different from its parents The offspring transmits the new qualities to succeeding generations

David E Lilienthal, Chairman of the U S Atomic Energy Commission, says that if the experiment is successful, mankind may have a whole variety of bigger and better crops, and plants that are disease-resistant and adaptable to many soils and climates

A Young man who had received his degree from a university had been looking around successively for a position, for employment, and for a job Entering an office he asked to see the manager, and while waiting he said to the office boy

"Do you suppose there is any opening here for a college graduate?"

"Well, there will be" was the reply, "if the boss don't raise my salary to thirty rupees a month tomorrow,"

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

CAPE TOWN TALKS

The Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa are in agreement as to the existence of an "Indian question in South Africa", South African Minister of the Interior, Mr Donges told the Union House of Assembly on February 20

Dr Donges led the Union's delegation at the recent preliminary conference in Capetown between the three countries

The official joint communique of the preliminary conference said the three nations had agreed to call a Round Table Conference "to explore all possible ways and means of settling the Indian question in South Africa' The communique added:

It was agreed that neither the discussions under this formula, nor the holding of the Round Table Conference itself, would involve any departure from, or prejudice to, the standpoints of the respective Governments on the question of domestic jurisdiction'.

Dr Donges told Parliament that at the very outset it was made clear to the preliminary conference that as far as South Africa was concerned the talks had their genesis in informal talks between the Prime Ministers of South Africa and India in London last April

It was necessary to clarify South Africa's approach to the talks in view of the attitude which the Union had consistently taken up at the United Nations in regard to the interpretation and over-riding effect of Article two (seven) of the United Nations Charter—the "domestic jurisdiction clause".

South Africa had further to safeguard herself from any implication that by agreeing to the talks, she was admitting or countenancing interference in what was clearly and purely a domestic matter

The house will appreciate how necessary it was to be insistent and persistent, on this point in view of South Africa's experience in the past at the United Nations

In regard to the holding of a round table conference, between the three countries, to which the South African Government and the other two Governments have now agreed it will be observed that the three Governments are in agreement as to the existence of an "Indian question in South Africa"

In the exploration of ways and means for settling this question, the Government has invited the co operation of the other two Governments subject to the safeguards already mentioned

The formula eventually adopted is wide enough to enable South Africa to canvass co operation for what she considers the only full and permanent solution of the problem consistent with the maintenance of western civilisation and our way of life and the European way of life

On the other hand, the formula is also wide enough to cover discussion of other solutions put forward by South Africa or by the other members of the Round Table Conference

Assessing what had been achieved at the preliminary conference and what the further prospects were, Dr Donges said: "We have succeeded in finding a basis, even though admittedly wide, for further discussions"

I consider it a distinct achievement in agreeing to hold a preliminary conference and now having agreed also to a further conference we have succeeded to some extent in bridging the widening gulf between the three countries

KUNZRU S ADVICE TO INDIANS

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, leader of the Indian delegation to the tripartite talks just concluded at Capetown, speaking at a reception accorded to the delegation at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Transvaal Indian Congress observed:

"The world is moving fast and South Africa will have to adjust itself to changing conditions Although your problems are difficult ones, you will in course of time feel that forces in operation now will compel all the races to draw closer together so as to pull their weight for the peace and progress of humanity."

Pakistan

INCIDENTS IN EAST BENGAL

While no report on the situation in East Bengal is available from Press correspondents in Pakistan, stories of alleged attrocities on minorities are pouring into Calcutta with the arrival daily of refugees from Chittagong, Noakhali, Brahmanbaria and other places in Eastern Pakistan.

The airport at Dum Dum and the railway station at Sealdah are being mobbed by anxious people as planes or trains arrive at Calcutta from East Bengal. While the planes carry the full load of passengers, trains are arriving almost empty. The West Bengal Government were intimated by the Government of East Bengal that there was no official ban on anybody leaving Pakistan The refugees, however, attribute the cause of the trains coming empty to alleged atrocities by miscreants on India-bound passengers at various wayside stations in East Bengal during the past few days.

DETENTION OF INDIAN GOODS

Incoming and outgoing consignments of goods worth about Rs. 50,00,000 belonging to tea concerns and trading firms are reported to have been withheld by Pakistan while in transit through that territory since the Indo-Pakistan transport deadlock.

The detained consignments include various categories of tea garden stores, coal, machineries and parts, food stuffs tea, jute, kerosene oil, petrol, etc. It is further learnt that one entire special goods train of the Indian Tea Planters' Association which had started from Calcutta towards Siliguri immediately before the deadlock was detained in Pakistan This goods special was also carrying new oil engines imported by some tea companies for urgent replacement of their worn out power plants.

PRESSMEN IN EAST PAKISTAN

A number of correspondents of the Press Trust of India in districts and sub-divisional headquarters of East Pakistan have been served with notice by the authorities of their respective areas directing them not to function as Press representatives until they have been duly authorised by the Pakistan Government to do so.

The authorities were not satisfied with the existing accreditation of the correspondents concerned who have been connected with the Associated Press of India for many years past and since February last, been representing the Press Trust of India which took over the business of the Associated Press of India Their authorisation from the Press Trust of India was not considered sufficient by the district and sub divisional authorities in Pakistan who are now demanding their formal accreditation with the Government of Pakistan

Immediately after the Press Trust of India started functioning, intimations were sent to the authorities of certain areas in East Pakistan supplying them with the names of correspondents of the news agency and requesting all facilities to be given to them to act as Press correspondents But the Pakistan authorities have not, so far, replied to such communications of the Press Trust of India.

Burma

DEMANDS OF INDIANS IN BURMA

The All-Burma Indian Congress concluded its third annual session last month after passing several resolutions, one of which urged the Indian Government to establish six Consular offices in important Burmese towns where Indians were in large numbers.

Another resolution urged the Burmese Government to extend the time for acquisition of Burmese citizenship by at least three months in Rangoon and six months in districts and to reduce the fee charged for citizenship certificates.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

JUSTICE BAGGE'S AWARD ON BOUNDARY DISPUTES

The award of Mr. Justice Algot Bagge, former member of the Supreme Court of Sweden, Chairman of the Indo-Pakistan Boundary Tribunal, was announced on February 4, with regard to four boundary disputes between India and Pakistan, two concerning East and West Bengal, and the others relating to East Bengal and Assam borders.

The Chairman upheld the views of the Indian Judge, Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, in respect of two disputes, endorsed the unanimous conclusions of both Indian and Pakistan members of the Tribunal in the third, and disagreed with both of them, and gave his own in respect of the last.

Of the two disputes concerning Bengal, the Tribunal upheld the opinion of the Indian Judge in respect of the Murshidabad—Rajshahi Sector, and conceded Pakistan's claim that the line should be flexible along with the course of the Mathabhanga rivulet for about 10 miles.

The Tribunal ruled that the *status quo* should be maintained in regard to the East Bengal-Assam border, thus rejecting a territorial claim of Pakistan of the town of Karimganj and surrounding areas.

Set up in pursuance of the Delhi Inter-Dominion Agreement of Dec. 14, 1948, the Tribunal includes besides the Chairman, Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhra Ayyar, India, and Mr. Justice Shahabuddin, Pakistan who have also given independent judgments covering over 100 pages.

According to the terms of the agreement, the findings of the Chairman are final and binding in the event of disagreement between the two Judges. Apart from the unanimous conclusion in regard to Patharia Hills reserve forest, where oil-bearing tracts on the Indian side are being prospected by the Burma Oil Company, Indian and Pakistan Judges disagreed on the other three disputes.

MINORITIES IN EAST BENGAL

The situation arising out of communal disturbances in East Pakistan was discussed for about two hours by the All-India Congress Committee at its secret session in Delhi on Feb. 19.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in a forty-five-minute survey of the situation, appealed to the delegates and through the delegates to the people in general "to keep the peace" inside the country. If they maintained peace in India, the hands of the Government of India would be strengthened in taking "suitable" action to protect the minorities in Pakistan.

During a two and half hour session, three members from West Bengal placed before the delegates a "grim" picture of the conditions of the minorities in East Bengal. They apprised the A. I. C. C. with details of the murders, arson and and loot in East Bengal and are understood to have urged the Government to take "immediate and drastic steps" to avert a major crisis. Bengal members including Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President, B.P.C.C., Dr. Pratap Guha Roy and Mr. Lal Mohan Sen, plainly said it was impossible for Hindus to continue to live in East Pakistan.

Mr. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury dwelt at length on the situation created by the influx of Muslims from East Bengal into Assam, and asked for immediate action to expel the undesirable immigrants from the province so as to frustrate the political designs of the Muslim League which had encouraged the migration of Muslims to Assam.

Pandit Nehru opposed any retaliation by individuals in India. He said it was wrong to think that the Government were "sleeping" over the East Bengal situation. Government were seized of the problem and he asked the people to leave things to the Government because such things could be decided only by the Government

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

THE PRESIDENT'S ADVICE TO JOURNALISTS

The President Rajendra Prasad was entertained to lunch by the Press Association and Foreign Correspondents Association in the Capital on Feb 18 He said that the new constitution gave adult franchise at one jump to millions of men and women in the country and it was for the Press to tell the 160 million voters, who would participate in the elections which would be coming in another year or so what their duties were and how to discharge them.

"In this audience,' the President went on, 'there are three classes of journalists those who are conducting journals in English in this country those who are conducting journals in the Indian languages and those who represent the foreign Press I think each class has certain distinct functions to perform Those who conduct journals in the English language have to cater not only to the needs of the people of this country but to a certain extent, they also represent this country before other countries Those who conduct journals in the Indian languages have the biggest audience that any newspaper can have among the masses of this vast land Their duties and responsibilities are even greater than the responsibilities of those who conduct journals in the English language because their audience consists of people who have not had the same amount of instruction in public affairs as those who read the English journals Their duties, therefore, are all the more onerous.

"The other class of journalists are those who represent the foreign journals They have to interpret us to their own constituents in the way they think best My appeal to these three classes of journalists is that whatever their views may be—I think it is foolish to expect that all journals will think alike—so far as news is concerned they should be perfectly honest and careful and not mitigate or exaggerate but say the truth and nothing but the truth (Cheers) We cannot expect more than that and we do not want them to do anything more than that (More Cheers) So far as our country is concerned I feel certain that if all the journals do that part of their work, whether they serve in India or serve readers elsewhere, they will have done the best that you can expect of them

"The responsibility of those who represent foreign journals in that respect is even greater, because they have to send news to distant places where, if any wrong thing is said, there is nobody to contradict them or correct them Therefore they owe it all the more to themselves to their clientele and to us to be as careful as possible in collecting their news, in verifying it and in putting it in words which are most suitable from their point of view I hope you will respond to my appeal."

PANDIT NEHRU ON PAKISTAN'S CAMPAIGN OF CALUMNY

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at a recent Press Conference in Delhi condemned as 'monstrous and scandalous in the extreme" propaganda in Pakistan about Kashmir "My patience is getting a bit exhausted with this campaign of calumny, often supported by the foreign Press", he added Pandit Nehru declared in a voice quivering with emotion

I am convinced after two years of thought that every step I have taken in regard to Kashmir was dead right and I stake my reputation on it, all that I have lived for and all my ideals

There is far too much propaganda going on in the foreign Press and elsewhere of the most blatant lying kind, Pandit Nehru said, "and attempts have been made to bring pressure upon us more especially in regard to Kashmir I have never seen anything like it It was as if a kind of pressure is being sought to be brought on this country That pressure has the effect of making it perfectly clear that these questions are not being considered on their merits but because of entirely different reasons We shall consider every question, national or international, on merits

This method of international politics, of bringing pressure to bear for other reasons, is something which the Government of India has not learnt to understand yet The people who run the Government of India have a record in the past of standing for what they consider to be right, regardless of the consequences for that last 30 years and they propose to do in regard to Kashmir or any other matter

JUSTICE KANIA ON LANGUAGE PROVINCES

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr Harilal J Kania, inaugurating the second All India Penological Conference at Lucknow on February 18 referred to what he described as two conflicting ideals since August, 1947 namely, creation of an all India language and linguistic provinces He said

If India has to be one unit it is necessary that there should be one common medium of communication between its residents This, however, cannot be achieved at once But to claim that a province should be a separate unit, because it has a particular language, is directly in conflict with the ideal of having one language throughout India The creation of small provinces necessarily lowers the standard of administration and is bound to be coupled with inefficiency, because every small unit requires its one Governor, Ministers, top ranking executive, judicial and legislative officers

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

CHARGES AGAINST MADRAS MINISTRY

The three man sub committee, appointed by the Congress Working Committee to go into the charges against some Madras Ministers, has recommended that "the matter should be dropped and the complaints filed'

The sub committee consisting of Dr Rajendra Prasad Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had been asked by the Working Committee to go into the note prepared by the Madras Premier after investigating the charges levelled against some of the Ministers by Mr T Prakasam and also the counter charges, and give its opinion on it

Dr Rajendra Prasad, recommending the dropping of the matter, has stated in his report

All the charges have been carefully looked into The statements of the Premier, Shri Prakasam the Ministers concerned and the final report of the Premier have been considered in detail The impression left on one's mind after considering all the charges is this They appear to be serious and formidable charges in the form in which they are made A close scrutiny of the facts and circumstances relating to them does not make out a case for further investigation In some cases there is no *prima facie* evidence in support of any charge and a mere statement of suspicion cannot be considered sufficient for holding a formal enquiry

There is however, one thing which should be noted The action of Ministers should not only be in strict accordance with rules and procedure laid down for dealing with particular matters which come up before them but they should do nothing which might leave room for any reasonable person to entertain any reasonable suspicion The matter should be dropped and the complaints filed

Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel agreeing with Dr Rajendra Prasad's report and endorsing the conclusions have drawn 'particular attention' to the above paragraph and add

Some of the instances mentioned in the report relate to loans being made or permits given to relatives of Ministers Dr Rajendra Prasad has shown that the normal procedure was followed It is also clear that we cannot rule out completely relatives of Ministers from applying for permits etc All such cases deserve special scrutiny and the Ministers concerned would have been better advised to refrain from dealing with these cases themselves They should have referred the papers for the orders of the Premier or the Cabinet as the case may be at as early a stage as possible We trust that this convention will be adhered to in future'

THE LATE SARAT BOSE

To the regret of all Bengal and the whole country Sarat Chandra Bose has followed his more famous brother Subhas to the other world It was just like him to have passed away while finishing an article for his paper '*The Nation*' appealing to the people of East and West Bengal for peace and amity The Bose brothers were valiant fighters for the cause of the nation but their temperament was such that they could not work in a team The United Socialist Organisation of which Sarat Bose was President founder is the poorer for the loss Our deep sympathies go to the bereaved family

Second son of the late Janakinath Bose, renowned advocate of Cuttack Mr Sarat Chandra Bose was born on Sept 7 1889 He had his education in Cuttack Calcutta and England where he qualified for the Bar and on return to India joined the Calcutta High Court in 1913

Mr Bose started his political career under the leadership of the late Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das and was one of his chief lieutenants during the Swaraj movement

He was placed under detention under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 twice —once during the civil disobedience movement and again during the last world war He was for some time President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and member of the Congress Working Committee He was leader of the Opposition in the Bengal Assembly from 1937 to 1945

Mr Bose was elected to the Central Assembly in 1946 and became leader of the Congress Party there He was later appointed a member of the Interim National Government of India from September to November 1946 when he resigned both from the Government and the Congress Working Committee and formed his own party

IMMIGRANTS BILL

On Feb 18 Parliament passed the immigrants (expulsion from Assam) Bill with the aid of which India hopes to expel undesirable immigrants who have illegally entered Assam from East Bengal The number of Muslim immigrants is estimated at five lakhs The Bill replaces the recent Ordinance

EDUCATIONAL

PLAN TO AID ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDENTS

With the object of fostering cultural relations and cordiality with Asian and African countries and for providing such educational facilities as are available in India to students in whose countries such facilities are not so developed the Government of India despite the commanding need for economy have decided to grant in 1950 another 70 scholarships at an annual recurring cost of Rs 3 lakhs

It may be recalled that last year the Government of India inaugurated the scheme of scholarships for the benefit of Indian and indigenous students from certain Asian and African countries for studies in India Seventy scholarships were sanctioned last year

The scheme has been welcomed not only by the countries to which it extends but also by others interested in international cultural understanding The Government of India regret that much as they would like it has not been possible owing to financial reasons to increase the number of scholarships and to extend the scheme to all the countries which have shown interest in it or to which the Government of India would themselves like it to be extended However by adjustments in the existing number, two more countries Nigeria and Surinam (Dutch Guiana) have been brought into the scheme

BIHAR GOVT TO SPEND 20 P C ON EDUCATION

The Bihar Government propose to spend 20 p c of its estimated revenue that is Rs 4 crores on education in 1950 51 Last year the Government spent only 9 p c of its total revenue on education

A Press Note made this announcement recently in reply to a statement made by the President of the Secondary Teachers Association in which it had been alleged that the provincial Government was spending only one fiftieth of its total revenue that is only 2 p c on education

The Provincial Government s decision to spend 20 p c of its estimated revenue on education means that they have accepted the recommendations of the Sargeant Committee s report in this regard

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

The Government of India had so far received no complaint from students or from their guardians regarding the infringement of Article 28 of the Constitution banning religious education in schools

Disclosing this in Parliament Mr. Khurshed Lal Deputy Minister (replying on behalf of the Education Minister) said the Government would however bring this Article specifically to the notice of all State and State aided schools in the Centrally Administered areas

Mr Khurshed Lal said that the Government was considering the question of recognition of the qualifications obtained from the Vidyapiths like Kashi Vidyapith, Banares for the purpose of Government employment

The University Commission however, recommended that the Visva Bharati Santiniketan and the Jamia Millia at Delhi would be given provisional charters as Universities and be given suitable capital and recurring grants

ADMISSION TO COLLEGES IN WEST BENGAL

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Indian University Commission, Principals of West Bengal colleges at a meeting held at the Secretariat last month decided to restrict the number of admission of students to their respective institutions

The meeting discussed a suggestion that only exceptionally brilliant students from district schools and colleges should be admitted to Calcutta colleges

EARN WHILE YOU LEARN

The Rajasthan Government have decided to launch an "earn while you learn" scheme to enable poor students to carry on their studies The Divisional and District Officers have been asked to provide part time jobs to college students in their areas in either establishments connected with adult education or in some small industries

LEGAL

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Mr Harilal Kania holds that the two important factors which give rise to criminal tendencies are poverty and want of education

Mr Kania, who was inaugurating the Second All India Penological Conference at Lucknow on February 18 said that if the poverty stricken and the uneducated were aided in a substantial degree freedom and the ownership of property could be more easily safeguarded

Referring to the rules governing the treatment of prisoners in jail after conviction, Mr. Kania said "It appears quite necessary that the rules should be thoroughly overhauled" The Chief Justice observed "While discipline has to be maintained in prisons I see no justification for humiliating a prisoner in his own estimate because he has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment"

On punishment for crime Mr Kania remarked "A misdeed done cannot be undone by punishing the offender" The object of punishment, he said, should be to prevent the offender from repeating his offence Mr Kania observed that Indian methods of criminal detection and investigation were "very slow" as compared to those employed in western countries It was high time, he said, to develop this important aspect of police work without having recourse to measures that would cause inconvenience to citizens

The object of the Penological Conference being to prevent crime to ameliorate the condition of the prisoner and to turn discharged prisoners into useful citizens Mr Kania hoped, that the Governments of the Republic and the States would give serious consideration to the Conference's recommendations

FORMAL ENDING OF INDIAN APPEALS

Indian judicial appeals to the Privy Council in London formally ended on February 7 with a brief ceremony at the House of Lords attended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, the Minister for Commonwealth Relations Philip Noel Baker, and the Indian High Commissioner, Mr V. K Krishna Menon

RELEASE OF DETENUS

A Full Bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of the Chief Justice Mr M C Chagla Mr Justice Gajendragadkar and Mr Justice Dixit, ordered on February 8 the release of 28 persons alleged to be Communists who were in detention under the Public Security Measures Act

These persons were arrested and detained on May 8 last when they attempted to take out an unlawful procession at Delisle Road, Bombay After investigation, the police filed a charge sheet against them in November last Subsequently, *habeas corpus* applications were made on behalf of the 28 persons challenging the detention order on the plea that since they were being prosecuted on the same grounds on which the detention orders were based, their detention was illegal

In setting aside the order of the Commissioner of Police, Their Lordships observed that the Commissioner must have had a collateral purpose in passing the order of detention and that was to deprive the detenus of the rights which they had as persons arrested under the Criminal Procedure Code

After reviewing the history of the case Their Lordships said

In our opinion, it is not permissible for the authorities, under the cloak and disguise of the Public Security Measures Act, to override the ordinary law and to deprive the subject of the safeguards provided under the law If this was permissible, indeed a very serious situation will arise in this Province because it would mean that it would be open to the police to investigate every cognisable case without the safeguards provided by the law, merely detaining the accused and then carrying on investigations secretly without providing the accused the protection which the law gives

Every safeguard provided by the Criminal Procedure Code to arrest a person was violated in the case of the detenus The detenus were never put up before a magistrate nor were they given an opportunity to defend themselves It was not left to the police to delay the framing of the charge sheet and to detain a person as long as they liked

Referring to the detention order Their Lordships said it could not be made with an ulterior motive and the only consideration which should be borne in mind in this issue was whether the public peace and safety would be disturbed in its absence

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A I C C DECISION

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The decision to suspend the right of effective members was accepted by the House as a compromise between outright abolition as suggested in the original resolution and a demand by Mr T Prakasam and Mr Purshottamdas Tandon and others that the matter should be left to be decided by the plenary session of the Congress

The need for the change in the Congress constitution was explained by the mover Mr Shankerrao Deo who said that the provision authorising effective members to vote had given rise to rivalries and a struggle for power within the Congress

EFFECTS OF HYDROGEN BOMB

Some radio active substances from the hydrogen bomb will last hundreds or thousands of years making bombed cities uninhabitable Mr William Laurence *New York Times* science writer said in a lecture at Baltimore

He said the bomb a physical monstrosity was several million times more powerful than the atom bomb The United States and Russia could annihilate each other in h bomb warfare he warned his audience

The sun is actually an enormous hydrogen bomb in space he added and we will create on earth a miniature replica of the sun

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TRADE AND FINANCE

INDO PAKISTAN TRADE PACTS

The Government of India have published a White Paper on Indo Pakistan trade relations giving the history of various agreements between the two Dominions since August 15 1947 and breaches of those agreements by Pakistan culminating in the present stalemate

The White Paper gives a detailed account of the attempts made by the Government of India through a series of conferences to arrive at long term and comprehensive arrangements to facilitate trade and movement between the two countries Apart from not agreeing to arrive at any long term understanding the White Paper says the Pakistan Government actually took measures to restrict the trade By increasing the import duty on Indian piecegoods and later putting India on the list of countries from which imports of cotton textiles were not to be licensed Pakistan in effect banned the import of cotton textiles from India in spite of the trade agreement Devaluation and Pakistan s decision to maintain parity with the dollar • and subsequent measures taken by the Government of Pakistan had the net effect of preventing all trade between the two countries except for the supply of coal from India to Pakistan Then came the hold up of Indian jute by Pakistan as part of a deliberate policy to make the position of the Indian jute mills difficult and to compel them to buy jute at the rates fixed by the Pakistan Jute Board This says the White Paper ultimately led to stoppage of coal by India

PAKISTAN AND S AFRICA TRADE

Trade restrictions between Pakistan and South Africa were lifted by the Pakistan Government from February 6

Pakistan s decision to withdraw the trade ban against South Africa and India s intention not to remove it as long as the disabilities of Indians in South Africa remained were also disclosed in the correspondence released early last month between the Governments of India and Pakistan

The trade ba i against South Africa was imposed abo it fo ir years ago by undivided India s pr itest against the discrimination and d sabilities suffered by Indians in South Africa

ALLOCATION OF INCOME TAX

Sir Chintaman Deshmukh who was asked by the Central Government last December to inquire into and determine the allocation of the Provincial share of income tax and of the export duty on jute, has completed his task and the Government will implement his award as from the 1st April The Provincial share of income tax has been allocated as follows —

	per cent
Madras	17 5
Bombay	21
West Bengal	13 5
Uttar Pradesh	18
B har	12 5
Madhya Pradesh	6
Punjab	5 5
Assam	3
Orissa	3

Sir Chintaman is also reported to have decided tl at the grants payable under Article 273 of the Constitution to the Provinces now sharing the jute export duty in lieu of their shares should be —

	((In lakhs of Rs)
West Bengal	105
Assam	40
Bihar	35
Orissa	5

The allocation of income tax does not take into account the former Indian States merged in the former Provinces The problem of financial adjustments between the Centre and the Provinces in which these States have been merged is under separate examination by the Government of India

NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

The Finance Minister Dr John Matthai told Parliament in answer to Mr Rohini kumar Chaudhri that the system of authorised agents for National Savings Cert ficates would be resumed

The resumption of this system, abolished 18 months ago was part of the additional steps proposed to be taken by the Govern ment to make the movement more successful

The Centre was also trying to get the State Governments to take a more direct and active interest in the matter So far the proceeds had come almost entirely from urban areas Government wanted to extend the movement to the rural areas

WOMEN'S PAGE

RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN BRITAIN

Addressing a meeting of the 'Study Circle' of the Madras Branch of the All India Women's Conference, Miss Vera Brittain referred to the women's struggle for their rights in Britain and the various stages at which their rights, were recognised

Miss Vera Brittain traced the rise of women's movement in Britain from the time of the French Revolution and referred to the book 'Vindication of the rights of women" In 1839, she said, the parental rights of women were upheld by law Educational facilities for women were fought for and obtained in gradual stages During the first World War women proved their capacity and were given franchise on certain conditions In 1928 they got votes on the same terms as men The women interested themselves in the spheres of social welfare work and also pressed for security for them both at home and in the professions They contributed a lot to Labour's success in 1933 elections In the present Labour Party, there were many socialists It was a matter for gratification, she said that the Labour Government gave effect to the Beveridge Plan In conclusion, Miss Vera Brittain said that the position of women in labour, industry, education, etc., were now far more hopeful than it ever had been

PROTECTION OF WOMEN

To protect guardianless and up rooted women from social vice and to help them with adequate means of sustenance a society to be called "association for protection of women," has been formed with Mrs Rameshwari Nehru and Mrs Humayun Kabir as its president and secretary respectively.

As an immediate measure to rescue and rehabilitate such women the society decided to open a "women's home"

At a recent meeting of leading Delhi citizens when the society was formed, great concern was expressed at the "growing scourge of social vice, rampant in Delhi in the form of immoral traffic in helpless minor girls and women"

NEED FOR MORE NURSES

Dr M D D Gilder, Bombay's Health Minister, inaugurating the 38th Annual Conference of the Trained Nurses' Association of India at the G S Medical College in Bombay said that India needed 7 40 000 nurses in twenty years for the various hospitals in the country

He stated that although the number of beds in the hospitals were increasing, the number of nurses attending to patients was not sufficient enough It was not possible to increase the nursing staff because of the difficulties of housing accommodation Another problem that faced the nursing profession was that of language which presented complications of great magnitude

Women in India could not understand English which was the language in which the training was given and they had to be taught in their own languages But as no arrangements had been made for teaching them in their own languages, there was a dearth of nurses in the country, he said

Dr Gilder said that there was a great demand for nurses in rural areas but there was no heartening response from the nurses as they were unwilling to leave the cities More women should be recruited and sent to work among villagers after a course of training in nursing, he stated

DR IDA SCUDDER S WORK

Dr Ida Scudder began her work at Vellore in the Madras Province on January 1st 1900 Out of her work has grown the Christain Medical College at Vellore of which she is now Principal Emeritus She is also the founder of the large Hospital at Vellore to which the College is attached The college prepares men and women students for the M B B S and B Sc nursing courses ' besides training other hospital workers The students also do social service carrying on medical relief work in the surrounding villages

It was but fitting that the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Doctor's work should have evoked warm and enthusiasti support from all quarters in recognitio of her long and meritorious work am the people

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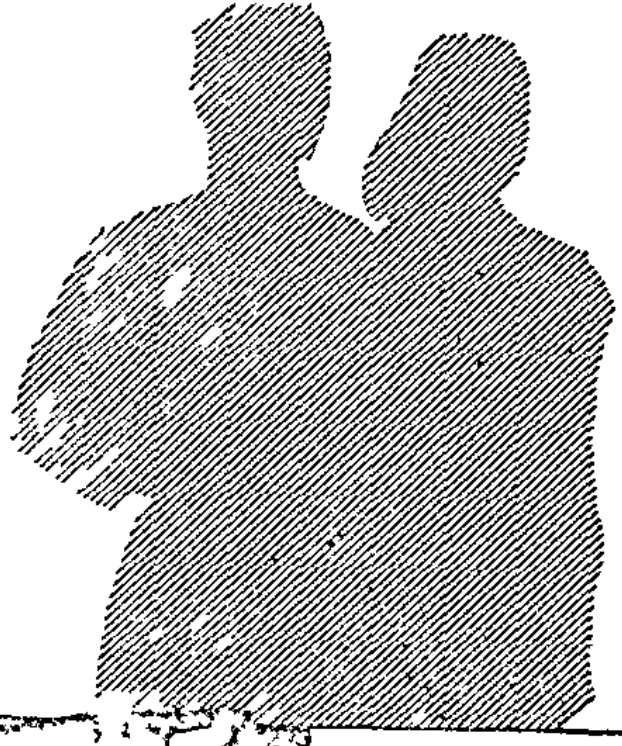
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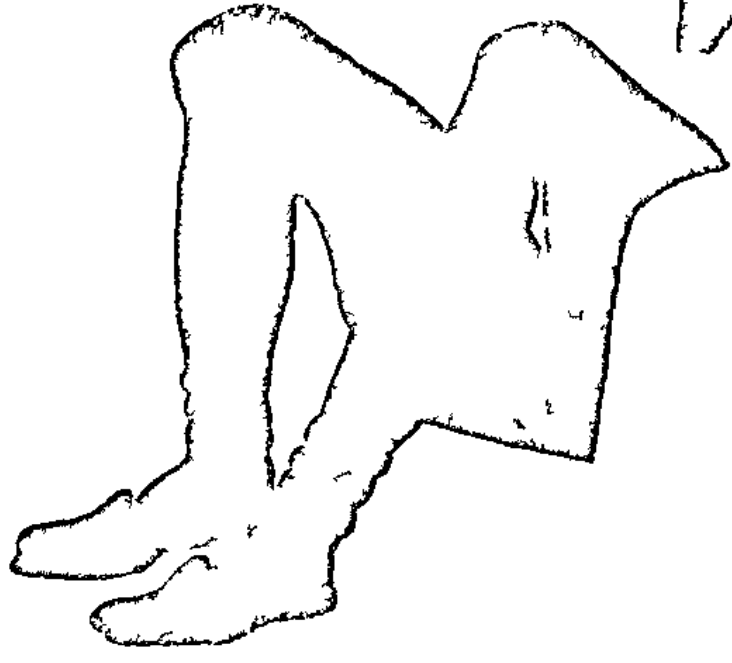
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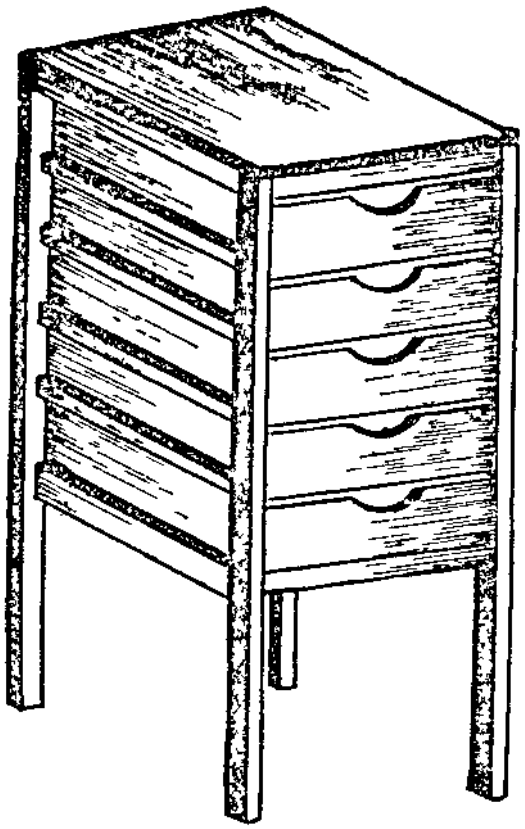
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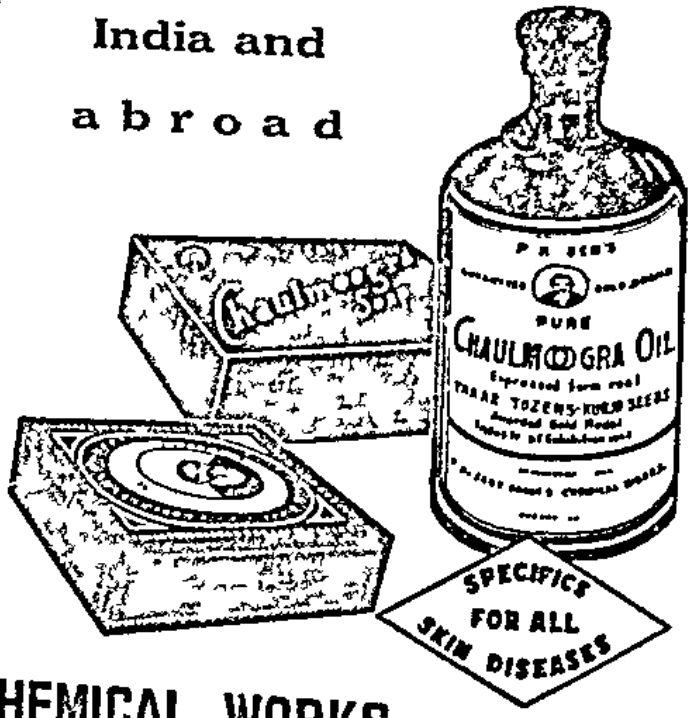
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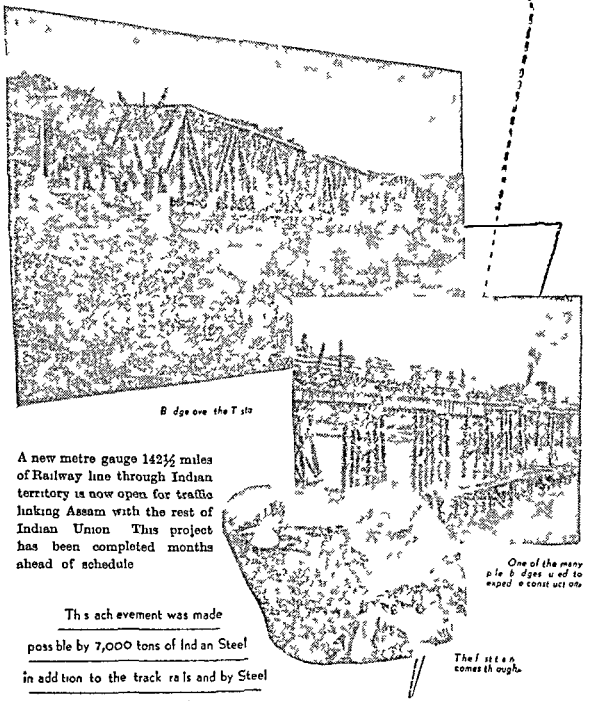
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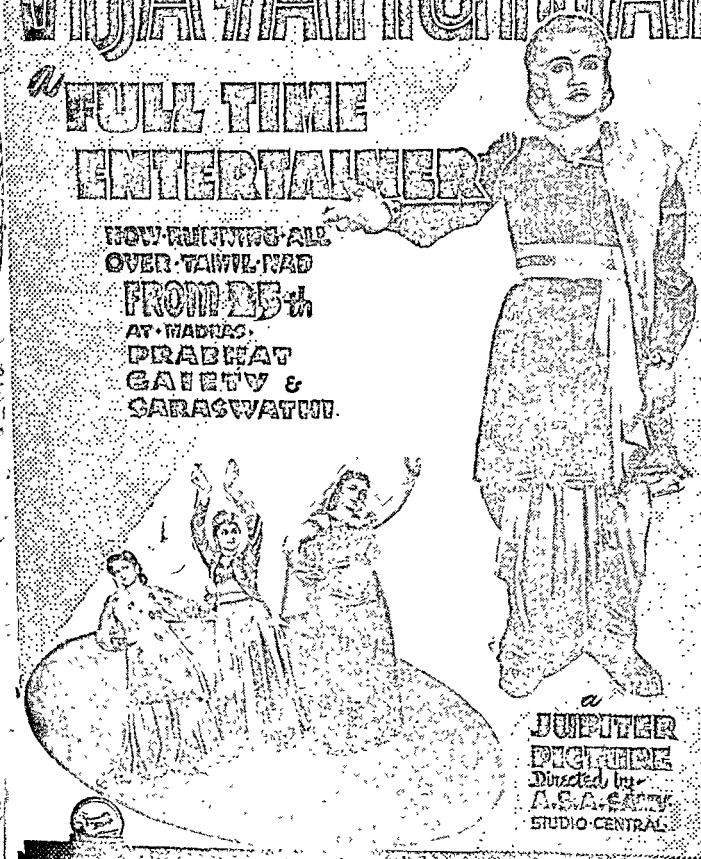
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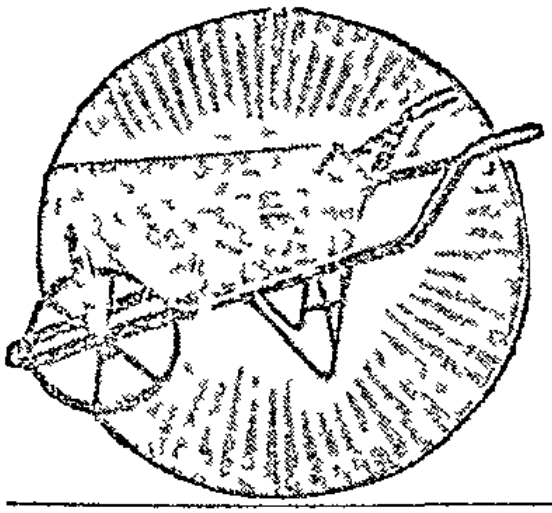
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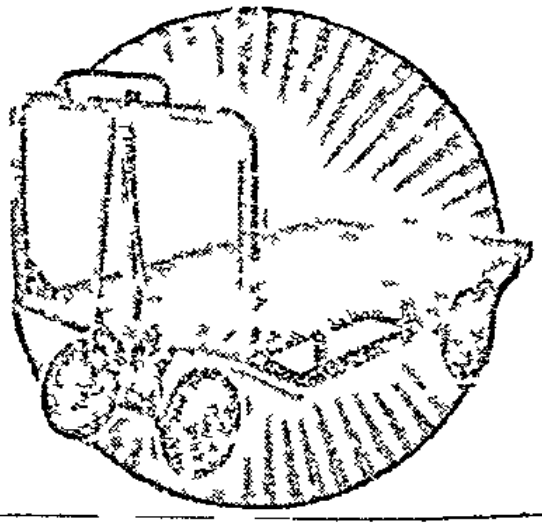
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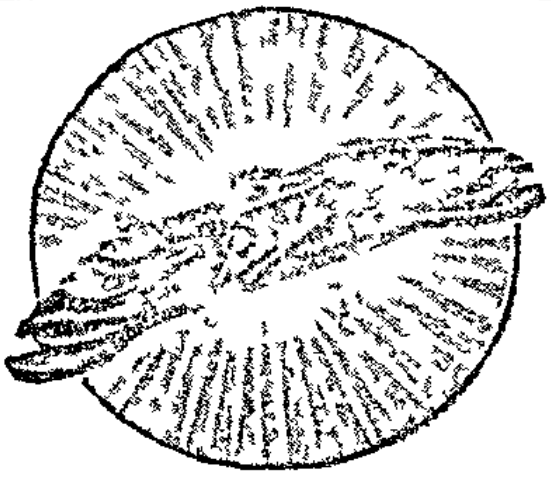
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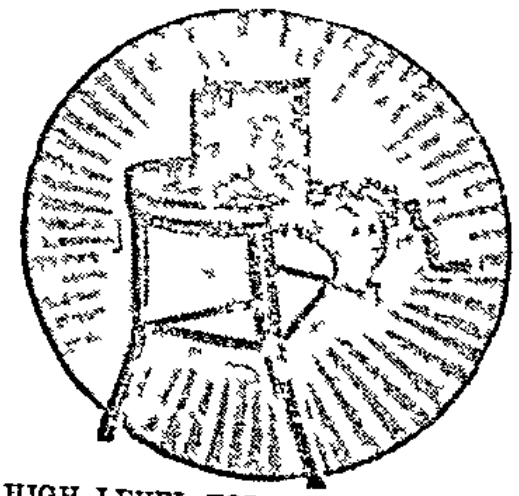
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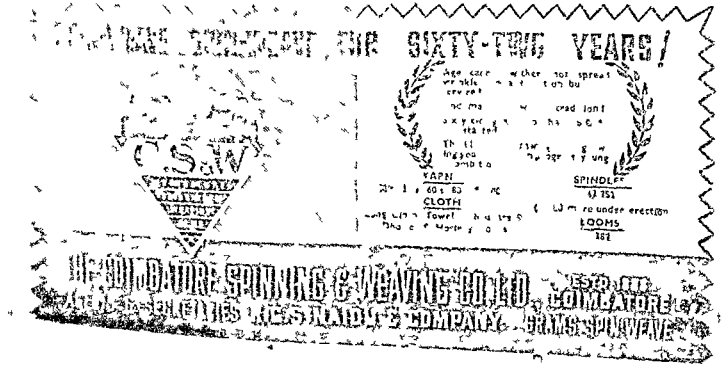
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The First Budget of Republican India

i. BY PROF. P. C. JAIN, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.) LONDON

University of Allahabad

THE Central Government's Budget for 1950-51 has many remarkable features. With total revenue and expenditure at Rs. 339·19 crores and Rs. 337·88 crores respectively the budget is expected to leave a surplus of Rs. 1·31 crores. It is remarkable that this surplus in the revenue budget has been secured without any increase in direct or indirect taxation and in spite of a reduction of nearly Rs. 15 crores in direct taxation. A surplus budget is anti-inflationary. In a period of super-inflation and economic deterioration through which India is at present passing, a deficit budget would have been highly undesirable, as it would have added to the purchasing power competing for a restricted supply of goods in the market, thus still further pushing up the price level. According to orthodox theory a surplus should be created by increasing the level of taxation. If this is done the money available to people for purposes of consumption is reduced thus reducing the pressure of purchasing power in the market. This method was tried in the previous budgets. But in the peculiar conditions of India it completely failed to check the inflationary forces. On the contrary the high level of direct taxation tended to increase the price level. This unexpected result was brought about by the high level of taxation discouraging production and thereby reducing the supply of goods in the market. It reduced the amount of purchasing power in the hands of the people but it also reduced the supply of goods in the market thus defeating its own purpose. Moreover, it reduced people's capacity to save thereby reducing the amount of national savings available for capital formation. This has done tremendous harm to the industrial progress of the country. The Finance Minister has recognised the peculiar working of the Indian economic system and has reduced the level of direct taxation. In last year's budget the income tax on slabs of income below Rs. 10,000 was reduced. This process has been extended further. The rate of income tax on the slab of income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 per annum has been reduced by half-an-anna in the rupee to three annas while the maximum rate of income tax applicable to incomes exceeding Rs. 15,000 has been reduced from 5 annas to 4 annas in the rupee. The obnoxious distinction between earned and unearned incomes, so far as super-tax is

concerned has been removed The maximum rate of super tax has been reduced from 10 annas in the rupee in the case of unearned incomes and 9 annas for earned incomes exceeding Rs 3 lakhs to a uniform rate of 8 annas in the rupee for all incomes exceeding Rs 1½ lakhs per annum In this way the combined rate of income tax and super tax on incomes exceeding Rs 1 lakhs will be only 12 annas in the rupee as against 15½ annas in the rupee in the much hated Liaqat Ali Khan Budget for 1947 48 This gives a substantial relief to all categories of income tax payers This will increase the saving capacity of people will give some relief in the face of a rising spiral of prices and would lead to an increase in the rate of capital formation which has seriously declined partly because savings are not available for investment and partly because those who could borrow what ever savings are available are not willing to do so because of the high rate of taxation The 1950 51 budget will not be anti inflationary because it would reduce the money in the hands of the consumers but because it would increase the output of goods and would lead to an expansion of India s industrial enterprise thus increasing the supply of goods in the market and bringing down the price level For some time it has been clearly realised that inflation in India is not monetary in nature and cannot be controlled by monetary or fiscal measures The only effective way of fighting inflation is to increase the production of goods The 1950 51 Budget is calculated to have this effect

The Budget gives a substantial relief industry The Business Profits Tax which was levied by the Liaqat Ali Khan Budget to replace the Excess Profits Tax although the excess profits had ceased to be earned has now been withdrawn This was acting as a tax on capital and was very harmful to business enterprise The limitation on dividend will be allowed to expire at the end of March 1950 The rate of income tax on companies has been reduced from 5 to 4 annas in the rupee while the rate of super tax on companies called the corporation tax has been increased from 2 annas to 2½ annas in the rupee The effect would be to reduce the combined rate of income and super tax on company incomes from annas 7 in the Liaqat Ali Khan Budget to 6½ annas in th rupee The obnoxious effects of the Liaqat Ali Khan budget have to a very large extent been removed Some mischief still remains but that can only be removed in due course of time because we have to ensure that the Government revenues do not decline below a reasonable limit in the process of giving relief to income tax payers and companies The Government has created favourable conditions for industry and it is now for the entrepreneurs to do their part If they fail to benefit by this opportunity they will be to blame

The changes in the tax structure in the 1950 51 budget is note worthy In 1944 45 the proportion of taxes on income to total tax revenue had risen to a high figure of 68 1 per cent This was too high for Indian conditions It was brought down to 44 7 per cent in 1949 50 Now it has been reduced below 40 per cent The Indian income tax system has become much less progressive than during the war period The share

of customs and union excise duties in the total tax revenue has increased and since these taxes fall on consumers the result is regressive taxation. Under ordinary conditions this might have been a highly undesirable development. But in the peculiar conditions of India a reduction in the progressiveness of taxation will be in the best interests of the country because of its stimulating effects on production which is still very low. The problem of distribution would be solved best when production has increased. In the pre-war period the central excise duties yielded Rs. 8¼ crores as against customs duties which yielded Rs. 40½ crores out of a total revenue of Rs. 84½ crores. The importance of central excise duties as a source of indirect taxation has very considerably increased and in 1950-51, union excise duties would contribute Rs 71¼ crores as against customs duties which would contribute Rs. 106¼ crores. The importance of customs and excise duties in the central budget has increased throughout the past 10 years. The contribution of commercial services, such as the railways, posts and telegraphs and currency, had increased to a high level of Rs. 60 crores in 1945-46 but since then there has been a decline and in 1950-51 these services would contribute only Rs. 19·93 crores Due to the increase in the wages bill, costs of operation and other reasons these services are not likely to assume their war-time importance for Government finances for quite a long time in the future.

While the revenue budget of the central Government shows a surplus of Rs. 1 1 5 crores the capital budget shows a deficit of Rs. 25·93 crores but this does not make the budget inflationary. Some of the items in the capital budget are mere entries and show a picture of Government transactions without giving any idea of the net effect this would have on the price situation. Part of the expenditure both on account of the central Government and out of the loans and grants given to the provinces would be spent on schemes which would produce immediate result. The expenditure will increase the purchasing power while at the same time the supply of goods will also be increased as these short period schemes mature This will have not an inflationary but a deflationary effect. While the revenue expenditure on development schemes has increased by Rs. 2½ crores from Rs 12·83 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 15·33 crores in 1950-51 the capital expenditure outside revenue on development has been reduced by Rs. 45¾ crores from nearly Rs. 101 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 55¼ crores. This will have an anti-inflationary effect. The ramarkable fact is that the budget reverses the obnoxious policy of giving the provincial Governments development grants which was started in 1946. This led to much waste of money and inflation In the 1950-51 budget, provision has been made for a grant of only Rs. 9¼ crores as against Rs. 26¼ crores last year and this money is for the grow-more-food campaigns. The Central Government has also reduced its own capital expenditure on development and in this industrial development has suffered a loss of Rs. 4¼ crores irrigation projects of over Rs. 1 crores and civil aviation of less than Rs. 1½ crores. Some items of expenditure, such as on civil works and communications, have been increased in spite of the

general reduction in this budget This clearly shows that the Government is fully alive to the need of securing economic and industrial development of the country in spite of the need for economy in expenditure

The two chief weaknesses of the Budget are (1) the shabby treatment which has been meted out to the provinces so far as the distribution of income tax is concerned and (2) Government's failure to reduce expenditure in spite of repeated promises in the past

Under the Otto Niemeyer formula the provinces were getting a 70 per cent share in the net proceeds of income tax with certain reservations The relative shares of the different provinces were fixed arbitrarily on the recommendation of Sir Otto Niemeyer The provinces were not given a due share in the income tax proceeds and were starved of finances although most of the nation building departments were a provincial responsibility The Sarkar Committee which enquired into the question recommended that the provinces should get 60 per cent share in the divisible income tax pool as against 50 per cent so far Not only the yield of income tax but also that of the income tax on federal emoluments and the corporation tax should be credited to this pool The provincial share should be distributed to the extent of 20 per cent on the basis of population 35 per cent on the basis of collection and 5 per cent as an adjusting factor This would have improved matters The Constitution did not incorporate these recommendations and the matter has been left to be decided on the recommendations of a Finance Commission. In the transitory period a new arrangement has been put into operation on the basis of an award given by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh His award has not improved matters It has rather made them worse Without going into the merits of the question purely on the basis of expediency he has increased the share of West Bengal by one per cent and that of Punjab by ¼ per cent while reducing the share of Uttar Pradesh by 1 per cent of Madras by ½ per cent and that of Bihar by ¼ per cent The shares of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh Assam and Orissa have been left unchanged The resulting shares are highly unfavourable to Uttar Pradesh Madras and Bihar which have the largest total population The share in income tax should take into account the needs of the different provinces and population is a very satisfactory index of such need The provinces of Assam and Orissa have not received an adequate share which is justified by their backwardness The status quo will remain till the Finance Commission goes into the matter in detail In the meanwhile it is for the Government of India to remove the hardship of some of the provinces by making special grants which are allowed under the Constitution Without this the injured provinces might find themselves in great difficulty

The civil expenditure of the Central Government has increased by Rs 3 83 crores as compared to the revised figures of 1949 50 and by Rs 4 87 crores as compared to the budget estimates for 1949 50 This has happened in spite of the fact that the provision for foodgrain subsidies rehabilitation of displaced persons and pre partition liabilities, has been reduced from Rs 29 67 crores, Rs 13 70 crores and Rs 6 6 crores

respectively to the corresponding figures of Rs 21 crores Rs 6 crores and Rs 2 crores The increase in grants in aid to the provinces is mostly due to the fact that instead of getting a share in the jute duty the provinces now get a central grant in lieu of it The chief increase in expenditure is in civil administration by Rs 9 17 crores from Rs 40 89 crores to Rs 50 06 crores This expenditure should rather have been reduced The Economy Committee recommended a reduction in this expenditure The Central Secretariat is top heavy and thus has more persons than it needs It was expected that the Government will reduce this item of expenditure and a failure to do so is a great weakness of the budget proposals The integration of Indian States with the Union Centre has led to some increase in the Central Government s expenditure but this does not either explain or justify the Central Government s inability to reduce expenditure

The defence expenditure has also increased by Rs 10 64 crores from Rs 157 37 crores in the 1949 50 (budget) to Rs 168 01 crores in 1950 51 There is no doubt that the defence of the country is a vital and prime duty of the Government and in view of the turbulent attitude of Pakistan it is not possible to make a drastic reduction in the defence budget Moreover it is noteworthy that the expenditure [on the navy has increased by Rs 90 lakhs and on the Air Force by Rs 1¼ crores There is still much scope for development of the navy and the air force and a larger sum will have to be provided for this purpose in the future There is however some scope of reduction in the expenditure on stores and supplies of the Army without in any way reducing its striking power or efficiency The Central Government should ensure that as great an economy as possible is made both in civil and defence expenditure otherwise the purpose of a surplus budget would be defeated The Government is living much beyond its means and much beyond the means of the country as is clearly indicated by the deteriorating position of Government's cash balances which are expected to decline from Rs 273 9 crores in the beginning of 1948 49 to only Rs 78 37 crores at the close of 1950 51 This is not a happy feature The Government should make all possible economy in expenditure to save the country from ruin



Walter Reuther of Detroit Michigan president of the United Automobile Workers a leading United States labor union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations

By DR KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M A., Ph D
Head of the Commerce Dept, Meerut College, Meerut

A country s budget is an index of its economic and financial conditions India s first republican budget indicates that efforts are being made to improve the economic conditions in the country and that India s financial position is sound The harm done by the Liaqat Ali budget cannot be easily made up The country needs improved production and balanced distribution the former more than the latter Efforts are being made from 1947 onwards to arrest the inflationary forces by increasing production and by reducing surplus purchasing power The objectives are to stimulate enterprise and to revive confidence as also to observe the principle that the tax burden should be equitably apportioned between the various classes of people in the country

The revised estimates for 1949 50 show a deficit of Rs 3 74 crores on revenue account The total revenue and the total expenditure come to Rs 332 26 crores and Rs 336 10 crores respectively According to the budget estimates for 1950 51 the total revenue and the total expenditure are put at Rs 339 19 crores and Rs 337 88 respectively Thus there is a surplus of Rs 1 31 crores on revenue account Taking the total of revenue and capital both the figures for 1949 50 budget and revised estimates come to Rs 417 52 crores and Rs 411 1 crores respectively, while the corresponding figure for 1950 51 comes to Rs 399 88 crores Thus the revised estimates for 1949 50 show a saving of Rs 6 crores as against the budg t figures of 1949 50 This is inspite of a cut of Rs 20 crores in capital expenditure This is due to a rise in defence expenditure of over Rs 12 crores and a rise of Rs 13 crores in civil expenditure The defence expenditure stands at about Rs 170 crores in the revised estimates for 1949 50 as against about Rs 157 crores in the budget estimates for the year This rise is due to the Kashmir tangle and the strained relations between India and Pakistan

In fact the country is solidly behind the Government in strengthening the defences and no sacrifices will be considered too great to maintain the defences of the country in a sound condition The expenditure on civil services comes to about Rs 166 crores and economy in this sphere could be excercised only in a limited field involving an expenditure of about Rs 37 crores Even in the limited field the Finance Minister was not averse to economy cuts He promised to watch the course of public expenditure in the coming year with the closest possible care

The main features of the budget in other respects are —

No proposals for fresh taxation, abolition of business profits tax reduction in company tax relief for the middle class tax payers with an annual income exceeding Rs 10 000 abolition of distinction in earned and unearned income for super tax concession for Hindu undivided families reduction in telegraphic charges and a cut in trunk call charges

The country has been suffering from a lack of capital formation and if this assumption is correct concessions to industry and business and tax relief on incomes above Rs 10 000 per year should encourage capital formation in India In fact the business community should get self-confidence and the present acquisition

spirit of profit must yield place to the spirit of service. Without this change in the outlook of the producers, expansion of production is not possible to any great extent.

Referring to the field of production, the Finance Minister pointed out that the results achieved last year gave grounds for satisfaction. According to him industrial production has, on the whole, showed a definite upward trend, substantial increases over the previous year being recorded by the steel, cement, coal, aluminium, electrical, bicycle, chemical and paper industries. He pointed out that cotton textiles and jute registered a decline. But it may be said that production has fallen not only in jute and cotton mill industries but also in sugar. These three industries form the most important of our industries and there is little prospect of improvement in them. Hence the results of industrial production cannot be called promising.

In respect 'of price, the Finance Minister referred to the fact that, unlike in other countries, a large part of our expenditure during the war was met by issuing fiduciary currency backed by foreign assets instead of by loans. This placed us in a specially difficult position; but when dealing with the trends of prices, the Finance Member referred to a few "redeeming features in the situation." But as yet the features regarding prices cannot be called redeeming, for as the Finance Minister himself admitted, there has been an upward tendency in prices since the end of January 1950. He, however, pointed out that this was due to the rise in industrial raw materials, which is a symptom of world movement, to control which is not entirely in our hands. But it must be admitted that this will mean higher prices to our foreign buyers also, which may reduce our exports and make our foreign exchange position difficult.

There are one or two more features of the budget to which reference may be made. One is the proportion of low expenditure on education and health. It is true that these items are primarily the responsibility of the States; but it is the duty of the centre to encourage the expansion of these services. The expenditure on education and health is about one per cent of the total expenditure. This means indirectly an increase in the burden on the poor. Apparently it appears that the budget has been balanced without any fresh taxation; but cutting down expenditure on education and health implies an indirect increase in indirect taxation. The Bhore committee referred to. the deplorable conditions in respect of health services in our country, while urgent educational reforms are being withheld for want of funds. The report of the University Education Commission has not yet been considered by the Government. The setting up of rural universities will require vast funds for which the budget makes no provision.

The budget makes provision for expenditure on subsidies on foodgrains at Rs. 21 crores for 1950-51 as against a provision of about Rs. 30 crores in the revised estimates for 1949-50. Food Production in India is estimated at 43 million tons in 1949 as against 41 million tons in 1948, and production in 1950 is expected to show an increase of 2 8 million tons over that of 1949. The Government have been spending a huge

sum of money on food subsidies The deficiency in foodgrains is not as great as it appears to be at first sight and statistics regarding production of food grains in the country are faulty According to the estimates given by the Finance Minister the production is likely to increase from 41 million tons in 1948 to about 46 million tons in 1950 which means an increase of over 12½ per cent between 1948 and 1950 The Government have never estimated the deficiency at more than 10 per cent In the light of these facts one wonders about the justification for the continuance of controls on foodgrains and other things like cement where the production is expected to increase from 1 5 million tons in 1948 to 2 million tons in 1949 It is due to controls that artificial scarcity is being felt to a greater extent than is the case actually

The observations of the Finance Minister relating to money and investment markets are very realistic His reassurances to foreign capital should go a long way towards causing a permanent recovery in the national market His view that foreign capital should come as equity capital and not in the shape of fixed interest bearing loans and that too on the basis of joint participation on strict business considerations without any political strings attached to it is sound in theory but is fraught with disappointment

The Finance Member's analysis of the balance of payments dollar position and of the effects of devaluation is realistic and convincing As a result of devaluation exports increased to Rs 50 crores per month in November and December 1949 raising the level to Rs 241 crores in the July December period of 1949, but he has taken care to add that there is reason to hope that the increase in demand for many of these export commodities may be more than a passing phase

The above are some of the main features of the budget It is an index of India's financial and economic position The common man wants an improvement in his economic condition and the country needs a sound financial and economic position The Finance Member has made efforts to secure a surplus budget without fresh taxation From the common man's point of view the position could have been improved in many directions but from the point of view of capital formation the Finance Member's efforts are commendable The common man with an annual income of less than Rs 10 000 has got no relief in taxation while the reduction in expenditure on education health and social services is an increase in indirect taxation on the poor Necessary changes should be made in these directions and controls should be lifted over a very large field of production The Government should appoint a committee of top planning people including economists to scrutinise expenditure to see if further economies are possible

FLOORED !

It is my wish that all the party should hang together said the orator

Hear hear came a voice from the back of the hall derisively

The speaker glared at the owner of the voice I don't mean in the sense in which that idle scoffer would have you understand went on the speaker with dignity But that they may hang together in concord and accord

iii. By Mr. V. G. Ramakrishnan, M.A.,

Annamalai University

THE object of this article is to present the salient features of the Union Government's finances as reflected by the 1st budget of Republican India. It is necessary to point out in the first instance that the figures for 1950-51 are not strictly comparable with the figures of the previous year 1949-50, for the figures for 1950-51 include not only the finances of the old Provinces but also federal revenues and expenditures of the integrated States. The partition of 1947 had already caused a break in the continuity of statistics so that the period from 1947-50 is a period of transition from the point of view of economic and financial statistics of India.

INTEGRATION OF STATES

Since the integration of States' finances makes a material alteration in the budget estimates for 1950-51, it is necessary to note the changes in the pattern of fiscal and financial relationship between the centre and the former Indian States. Since the achievement of independence, the process of reducing the number of Indian States and merging them in the neighbouring provinces or forming them into sizable units has been going on steadily. The problem of reorienting the financial relations of these States with the Centre has risen in consequence under the scheme of integration, these states are to be given for a transitional period the difference between the federal revenue and expenditure taken over by the centre but states which realise a surplus in this process will retain the surplus. The States are entitled to the same share of the devisible revenue as the Indian Provinces though this will be set off against the grants made to them to cover the revenue gap. It is estimated that 4 States, *viz.*, Mysore, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad will have to be paid grants in aid and provision has been made in the next year's budget for these aids. A similar pattern of financial adjustment has been agreed upon in respect of Provinces in which Indian States have been merged. The financial integration is bound to have a beneficial effect on the country as a whole, whatever the present difficulties which are transitional.

BUDGET ESTIMATES 1950-51

At the existing level of taxation, the total revenue for 1950-51 is estimated at Rs. 347 5 crores and the expenditure charged to revenue at Rs. 337·88 crores leaving a surplus of Rs. 9·62 crores as against the estimated deficit of Rs. 3·74 crores for 1949-50. Receipts from customs are estimated at Rs. 106 54 crores. Union excises are estimated at Rs. 71 55 crores while Income-tax receipts are to bring Rs. 182·62 crores of which Rs. 10.36 crores relate to collections in the former Indian States. The divisible pool of incometax is estimated at Rs. 108·78 crores and the Provincial share at Rs. 54·39 crores. The surplus from Posts and Telegraphs is estimated at Rs. 4·48 crores. Under the new convention, the Railways will be paying a dividend of Rs. 31 85 crores of which Rs. 6.37 crores will be taken as a contribution to general revenues and the balance of Rs. 25·48 crores adjusted in reduction of expenditure. Miscellaneous revenue is expected to show an increase of Rs. 2 crores mainly due to the new chief Commissioner's States.

EXPENDITURE

Of the total expenditure of Rs. 337.88 crores for 1950-51, nearly 50 per cent. or Rs. 168.01 crores will be on defence and the

balance that is Rs 169 87 crores on civil administration The estimates of defence expenditure include a provision of Rs 8 crores for the Indian States Forces to be taken over on Federal financial integration The estimates of Civil expenditure include Rs 3 42 crores on the administration of the new Chief Commissioner's States and Rs 6 69 crores on the administration of Central subjects in the Indian States and Unions The privy purses of former Indian rulers are expected to cost Rs 4 51 crores and grants to Provinces and States to cover the loss caused by Federal financial integration Rs 11 56 crores

TAXATION

In view of the anticipated surplus of Rs 9 62 crores the Finance Minister did not propose any fresh taxation but has actually given substantial relief in the sphere of direct taxation The first proposal is to abolish the Business Profits Tax which has been the most important single factor affecting capital formation and the development of existing industries Its abolition will cost Rs 8 crores of which Rs 3 68 crores will come back by an increase in the yield from supertax and incometax leaving a net loss of Rs 4 37 crores The 2nd proposal is a reduction in the income tax paid by companies with a concurrent adjustment in the rate of supertax It is proposed to reduce the rate of incometax payable by companies from 5 as to 4 as but raise the company supertax to half an anna The reduction in incometax is estimated to cost Rs 10 56 crores but this will be set off to the extent of Rs 5 28 crores by the increase in supertax the net loss remaining at Rs. 5 28 crores This reduction will help companies to plough back more of their profits into their business and is intended to assist in the development of industries The third proposal is to reduce the tax payable on slabs of income between Rs 10 000 & Rs 15 000 by half an anna from 3½ annas to 3 annas This will give some relief to the middle classes and may encourage them to save a little more and invest in Government loans or in industry The cost of this concession will be Rs 1 01 lakhs With a view to stimulate investment and saving it is also proposed to reduce the tax on the slab of income in excess of Rs 15 000 from 5 annas to 4 annas and this concession is estimated to cost Rs 6 5 crores Certain changes are also proposed in the field of personal super tax —the abolition of the distinction between earned and unearned income and it is a logical and consistent step with the taxation practice of other countries. Another change is the reduction of the maximum rate of super tax from 9 annas for earned income and 10 annas for unearned income to 8½ annas It is also proposed to give a concession in respect of the income of Hindu undivided families The exemption limit will be raised from Rs 5 000 to Rs 6 000 and the cost of this concession is estimated at Rs 12 lakhs

In the case of indirect taxes there is no change excepting slight changes in postal rates telegrams and trunk telephone calls The net loss from reduction of taxation in income-tax to the Central Exchequer will come to Rs 7 87 crores The postal concessions will cost Rs 44 lakhs raising the total loss of revenue to Rs 8 31 crores This will reduce the surplus from Rs 9 62 crores to Rs 1 31 crores The final position may be stated thus

(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

Revenue	339 19
Expenditure	337 88
Surplus	+1 31

A few striking features that emerge from a study of the Explanatory memorandum is that the respective position of direct taxes and indirect taxes in the total tax revenue is nearly reversed between the revised estimates of 1949 50 and the Budget estimates of 1950 51 Corporation tax among the former and Union excise duties among the latter maintain a more or less neutral position in their yield figures while taxes on income other than Corporation tax are estimated to mount from Rs 108 4 crores to Rs 129 5 crores Customs on the other hand are expected to decline from Rs 120 4 crores to Rs 106 5 crores and artificial silk fabrics yarn and thread and other yarn and textile fabrics are largely responsible for this diminution

CAPITAL BUDGET

The Capital expenditure budget includes Rs 19 49 crores for Railways Rs 5 64 crores for Posts and Telegraphs Rs 19 crores for river valley schemes and Rs 9 63 crores for industrial development and defence capital outlay is estimated at Rs 8 15 crores capital budget for the coming year shows a considerable reduction over that of the previous year and economy in the capital budget as expected is mainly on developmental grants and advances to State Governments The former is cut as much as 60 per cent over the revised estimates for 1949 50 and the latter by about 30 per cent but most of the grants for 1950 51 instead of being for general development purposes as in 1949 50 are largely for grow-more-food. Nearly 50 per cent is earmarked as irrigation loans The total capital disbursements come to Rs 111 47 crores The new money to be taken from the market on account of the capital budget is Rs 33¼ crores, the disbursements from the capital budget are Rs 111 47 crores Finally as a result of the transactions under 1950 51 capital budget the unproductive debt of India will be reduced as shown in the Explanatory Memorandum from Rs 818 55 crores on March 31st 1950 to Rs 765 56 crores on March 31st 1951 The public debt position of India is exceptionally healthy The total outstanding debt is expected to stand at Rs 2748 crores by the end of next year India s annual national income is estimated at Rs 5000 crores Thus India s total debt is only 55 per cent of her annual national income and one can say confidently whatever be the political conditions, so far as financial conditions are concerned India's credit worthiness can be rated higher than most countries of the world

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest and in particular on subjects bearing on the political commercial industrial and economic condition of India Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 600 words

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, *The Indian Review* G T Madras

EINSTEIN WARNS THE WORLD

President Truman's announcement to go ahead with the manufacture of the Hydrogen Bomb has naturally had a mixed reception even in the U S A Not many Churchmen and scientists favour the President's way of meeting the Russian challenge The first major dissident voice was Einstein's who in no uncertain terms condemned the idea and warned the world that the armament race would result only in the annihilation of the human race The text of his address on atomic energy and world peace is now available Dr Einstein was speaking on the premiere of Mrs Franklin Roosevelt's weekly television programme —ED *J R*]

I am grateful to you for the opportunity to express my conviction in this most important political question

The idea of achieving security through national armament is at the present state of military technique a disastrous illusion On the part of the United States this illusion has been particularly fostered by the fact that this country succeeded first in producing an atomic bomb The belief seemed to prevail that in the end it were possible to achieve decisive military superiority

In this way any potential opponent would be intimidated and security so ardently desired by all of us brought to us and all of humanity The maxim which we have been following during these last five years has been in short security through superior military power whatever the cost

This mechanistic technical military psychological attitude had inevitable consequences Every single act in foreign policy is governed exclusively by one viewpoint

How do we have to act in order to achieve utmost superiority over the opponent in case of war? Establishing military bases at all possible strategically important points on the globe Arming and economic strengthening of potential allies

Within the country—concentration of tremendous financial power in the hands of the military, militarization of the youth, close supervision of the loyalty of the citizens in particular of the civil servants by the police force growing more conspicuous every day Intimidation of people of independent political thinking Indoctrination of the public by radio press, school growing restriction of the range of public information under the pressure of military secrecy

A WARNING

The armament race between the U S A and U S S R originally supposed to be a preventive measure assumes hysterical character On both sides the means to mass destruction are perfected with feverish haste—behind the respective walls of secrecy The H bomb appears on the public horizon as a probably attainable goal Its accelerated development has been solemnly proclaimed by the President

If successful radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities. The ghost like character of this development lies in its apparently compulsory trend. Every step appears as the unavoidable consequence of the preceding one In the end there beckons more and more clearly general annihilation

Is there any way out of this impasse created by man himself? All of us and particularly those who are responsible for the attitude of the U S and the U S S R should realise that we may have vanquished

an external enemy, but have been incapable of getting rid of the mentality created by the war

It is impossible to achieve peace as long as every single action is taken with a possible future conflict in view The leading point of view of all political action should therefore be What can we do to bring about a peaceful co existence and even loyal co-operation of the nations ?

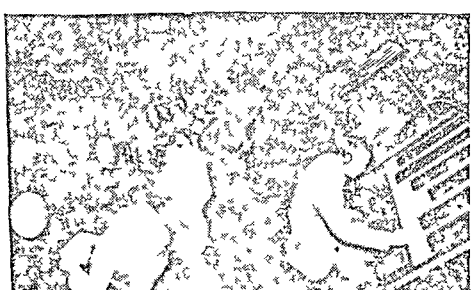
FEAR AND DISTRUST

The first problem is to do away with mutual fear and distrust Solemn renunciation of violence (not only with respect to means of mass destruction) is undoubtedly necessary

Such renunciation however can only be effective if at the same time a supranational judicial and executive body is set up empowered to decide questions of immediate concern to the security of the nations Even a declaration of the nations to collaborate loyally in the realisation of such a restricted world government ' would considerably reduce the imminent danger of war

In the last analysis every kind of peaceful co operation among men is primarily based on mutual trust and only secondly on institutions such as courts of justice and police This holds for nations as well as for individuals And the basis of trust is loyal give and take

What about international control ? Well it may be of secondary use as a police measure But it may be wise not to overestimate its importance The times of prohibition come to mind and give one pause



NEW LONG RANGE RADAR AT LONDON AIRPORT

The first long range radar air traffic control system in Britain to be accepted by civil airlines for routine operations opened at London Airport recently The new radar will have an effective range and altitude cover four times that of the existing ground controls approached ed A scene in the ' London Radar Control room at London Airport

A PLAN FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING

By Prof G P GUPTA M Com
Birla College Pilani

THE present century can be described as an era of Planned Economy and co ordinated effort Some nations have been busy in rebuild ing their economies devastated by two World Wars while others have sought to develop the imperfect economy of under developed areas Republican India has a twofold problem—reconstruction and reorganisation of the economy shattered by the second World War and the partition of the country and exploitation of undeveloped and underdevelop d resources The urgency of the problem is evident from the appointment of the National Planning Commission whose terms of reference were announced the other day The appointment of an official body with the Prime Minister as its leader to consider the position *de novo* and to draw out a compre hensive plan for the economic development of India augurs well for the future prosperity of the country Prior to this a series of economic plans and programmes were drawn by official and non official bodies the most popular being the Bombay Plan People's Plan Gandhian Plan and the Plan chalked out by the National Planning Committee Another important scheme of Post war development was prepared at the end of the last war but as the Finance Minister has admitted it could not be taken far owing to certain unavoidable and adverse circumstances Now that the Planning Commission has been set up it is imperative to search deeply into the fundamentals of planning for the urgent needs of the teeming millions

AIM OF PLANNING

Economic planning is essential not because of its topical interest but on account of the fundamental issues of private enterprise *versus* collective action and of individual freedom against social pressur Economic planning is a system of economic organisation when all individual plants enterprises and indust ries are treated as co ordinated units of a single whole with the definite purpose of utilizing the available resources to achieve the maximum satisfaction of the people within a specific period of time Planning should have a threefold objective efficiency in production equity in distribution and stability in economic life Stability does not mean stranding' because perfect adjustment is inconceivable not even desirable Similarly equity should not be taken to mean equal distribution of wealth neither is it possible So long as men differ in honesty efficiency and dexterity their earnings are bound to vary The plan should aim at providing equal opportunities to all Man should not exploit man man should exploit resources

FORM OF THE PLAN

The plan should be evolutionary it should mean neither explosion of the existing economic system nor adoption of revolutionary methods The plan should be apt to the conditions obtaining in the country and should be flexible to fit in the radically changed conditions of production and distribution Its essential feature should be – firstly

private enterprise should be accepted as the principal character of the economic system subject, of course, to the control and supervision of the Government But in certain spheres it may be replaced by partial or complete public ownership. Secondly, the plan should be put into operation democratically and be not coersed upon the people. Thirdly, the plan should be adaptable to the changing trends, tendencies and practices in economic field. It should develop and perfect the technique of changes'. Again, the plan should be international in outlook, otherwise as Prof. Selingmen observes all these plans will be fruitless unless they involve the acceptance of the international point of view. National planning without an international framework is not merely useless but dangerous, because trade, commerce and industry of one country have to depend upon another in matters like availability of raw materials, plants and technical know-how and also in the marketing of the products.

ALL INDIA PLAN

In view of the fact that India has assumed the shape of one single co-ordinated unit—geographically and politically—it becomes imperative to prepare one single co-ordinated plan for her economic development. Two allied considerations will, however, determine the character of an All-India plan *viz.* size of the population and the rate of its multiplication, and need for a balanced economy. The population problem of India is really acute and lies at the root of the whole problem of our future. Not only India but the world as a whole is suffering from this menace of population. "The population", as declared by Sir Boyyd Orr, formerly Director-general of United Nations F.A.O., "has increased in 1949 by 200,000,000 heads as compared to 1939 while the food production is at the same level as in 1939".

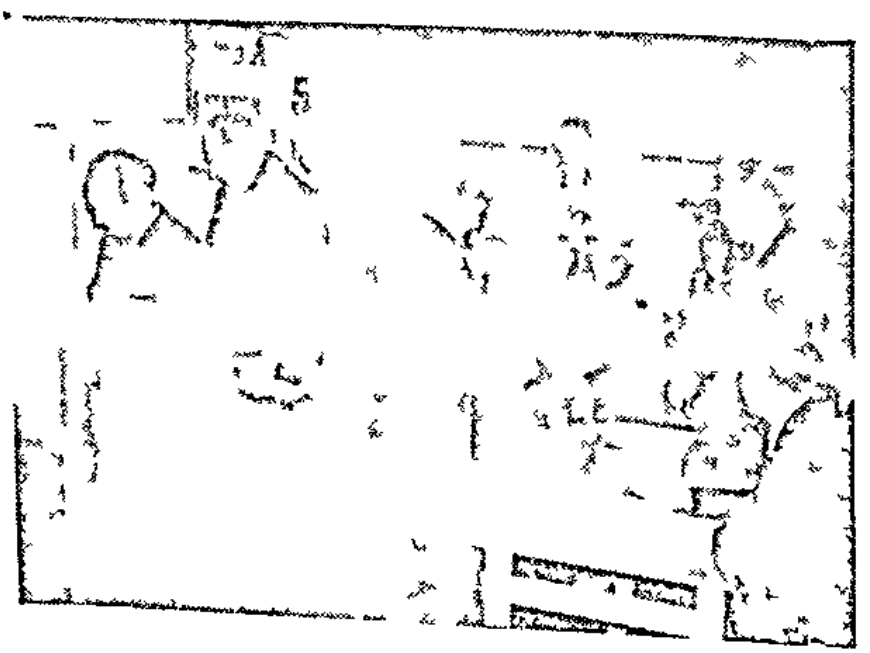
It will not be too much to say that if the present rate of increase is maintained, it will definitely frustrate all future hopes of obtaining a higher standard of life, and all the economic plans, howsoever exhaustive and co-ordinated they may be, will be shattered to pieces in the face of this menace of increasing population. I do not like here to enter into the discussion whether India is overpopulated and find weight to my arguments from the statistical fallacies. But there is no denying the fact that sincere efforts must be made to check the accelerating growth of population. The question of balanced economy should be another guiding principle of All India Plan. A vast majority of Indian population lives on its agriculture which offers ample scope for improvement. If these desired improvements are sought to be achieved as already declared by the National government, through mechanised application of improved seed and manure, introduction of fertilizers etc. it will mean that larger amount of foodstuff and raw materials can be produced by a smaller number of people, leaving an increasing number to be absorbed in other occupations. The obvious direction of other employments for these displaced persons released from agriculture would be Industry. Thus a balance between agriculture and industry would have to be maintained whereby land may be exploited to the maximum and people may find channels of employment in industries.

SUCCFSSFUL PLANNING

If the programme of economic planning in India whether on the national basis or on an international basis or on the regional basis as some hope should have chances of succe s it should possess not merely theoretical accuracy but should also obtain public support In these days of political awakening whether people live under democracy or dictatorship no plan or poli y has any chance of success unless it is supported by the general public In case of plann ng th s factor plays a more important role because planning covers and obscur s a wide variety of policies and exp dients but all of them are alike in this that they can be carried into effect only by conv nc ng the central opinion of the nation The World Economic Conference 1927 also recognised the significance of public opinion when it passed a resolution that —

Tl e Conference recogn ses that the reception and succesful appl cat on of tl e pr nc ples of *Economic Pla n ng* (*derl ned n ne*) depend not only upon the goodw ll of Government and Admin str ators but upon an informed and supporting publ c op n on tl roughout the world and for tl s purpose would welcome n tl e econo n c as in other f elds the development of c o er internat onal co operat on by sc ent c and educational nst tutions as well as the l elp of tl e press and other agencies of importance for the nformat on and enl ghtenment of the publ c

India has suffered a lot on this account There has been cri is of co operation' or rather crisis of confidence both the Government and the public have chosen opposite platforms to decry each other Now that the National Planning Commission has been s t up and persons of high cal bre enjoying public confidence have been charged with the responsibility of preparing the plan it is earnestly hoped that the objects principles and requisites will be well followed and foreseen in weaning the country from the economic malaise



GERMAN LEADERS STUDY BRITISH ELECTION METHODS

A party of e ght German pol t c ans wl o v s ted Br ta n recently to stu ly B t sl elect on methods are seen here at the Battersea Town Hall to w tness a d monstrat on of poll ng booth procedure — luring wh ch they tr ed it out for th emselves Tl ree of tl e pol t cians record the r vote wh le anotl er drops her vote into the ballot box

WOMEN AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION

BY MR V. R TALASIKAR, M A, L L B

Civil Judge, Newasa

IN the early years of this century social thinkers expected that with the very rapid strides which natural sciences were making towards new inventions, there would be a material addition to individual and social happiness To interpret every human action and event in purely materialistic terms was the fashion of the day Mechanistic dogmas had taken possession of even responsible thinkers Very few had the undaunted courage to go against the current of popular opinion and voluntarily covet social odium

This lamentable state of things continues even to day despite the frustration of modern science It is now well-known that the trends of modern physics point inevitably to metaphysical abstractions The Law of Causality which was at one time regarded as an infallible law in the domain of natural science is not now accepted as an axiomatic truth Eminent sociologists in the West have begun to realize that mere science is not enough for the attainment of individual and social happiness which depends to a very large extent on psychological factors and moral values Bertrand Russell in his famous book entitled ' Scientific Outlook " has emphasized the view that Science does not provide us with the ends of life The colossal destruction of natural wealth and the untold loss of human life in the last world war have begun to make people realize that it is disastrous to let ourselves go entirely in the hands of mechanistic science and that if the world wants real peace and mental happiness we must bring about a re-habilitation of moral values This is exactly what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave as his message to the West in his recent world broadcast

The strong inculcation of moral values is absolutely necessary in the socio-sphere of human activity The enforcement and observance of social laws, specially relating to marriage and divorce are better and more effectively secured with the firm imprint of moral values operating on the minds of the people, than by police force and courts of law how-so-ever diligent and quick they may be The first effect of the influence of moral values is the prevention of social disease or the growth of social pathology Men and women must start with the basic postulate that life is essentially a compromise and that as Will Durante puts it they must not look upon each other as belligerent parties, the night's embrace being but a passing armistice The spouses will have to put a premium on their strong likes and dislikes for preventing marital deadlocks

As a result of marital mal adjustment, there is appearing a growing apathy towards women in general in America This might appear as something startling in a country like America where the soldiers have a "universal reputation as being perhaps the most tireless skirt-chasers of all time and all people " Mr David L Cohn has written a very instructive and illuminating article on this topic in the August 1946 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* He says —

> In this country where marriage two times in five is a stylized detour to a divorce the relationship between millions of couples is not a man-woman relationship Shortly after Herbert and Azadia have married he comes to regard her not as a woman but as the Little Woman, while she looks upon him not as a man but as a Boy—

sweet, helpless and in need of mothering, the poor thing can never find his brief case and forgets his galoshes on rainy days

In such a feeble condition the American civilized husband finds himself although the marriage is the outcome of unbridled love The result is—to quote the words of Mr Cohn

the maternal love of Azadia for Herbert permits him to remain spiritually in a state of suspended animation A man woman relationship would consume more of his time and energy than he is willing to devote to it

From this colourful and disappointing picture of a typical American husband it can be fairly surmised that the civilized American family provides a very fertile ground for familiar disintegration and that there is something rotten in the State of Denmark The causes for the appalling rate of divorce and bankruptcy of marriage are inherent in the mental get up of the marital partners themselves They display a complete lack of harmony spirit of compromise and moral values

The Boys of this country are simply retarded adolescents whose ideal of femininity remains a girl in a bathing suit and who are incapable of developing a mature feminine ideal through a synthesis of spiritual and physical values Men of this kind are neither adult nor adequate in their relations with women They are the brave lads who spoil the evening slippers of ladies by playing footsie with them under the dinner table They care nothing for an interchange of wit or of ideas with women

If we read this colourful picture I am sure that every sensible man who carries with him some consciousness of social responsibility, would certainly heave a sigh of relief that we are still away from it and have not as yet allowed ourselves to be drifted as American men and women with all their recent inventions have done We have now a good opportunity to learn from the various social experiments which are being made in other countries We have to compare notes and profit ourselves by realizing that we must for ever guard ourselves from reaching the unhappy state at which American boys and girls are now finding themselves It appears that we are not as yet so keen as we ought to be in scrutinizing Western ways of a fast life and the effect that it creates on the moral values prevailing in social groups We are indiscriminately accepting Western habits and comforts their social patterns and forms of behaviour without caring to know whether the Westerners themselves are the better off for having indulged in a fast and "devil may care" life We must never lose sight of the fact that marriages in Western countries and also among us who have adopted their ideology are contracted in the name of love but really because of lust The very essence of Trial marriage as sponsored by Bertrand Russell is pre marital sex experience It is no wonder, therefore that marriage should degenerate into intimate relationship without real intimacy

The latest craze in these civilized countries is to put women on an exalted pedastal This means that they are neither worshipping them as Deities, which is impossible in the very nature of things, if man is to behave with woman as his equal partner in life, nor are they giving them an equal status in the social and psychological plane From the recent trends in American writings one is apt to conclude that a strange and an uncanny sense of avoidance and dislike towards women is taking possession of men's minds Let India beware!

In modern American society, the father who was formerly the Karta of the family is gradually giving way to the mother who finds herself the indomitable mistress of the house Women teachers

in schools are nowhere so common than in America The psycho-analytical diagnosis of this dislike towards women is the domination in the childhood and early youth by females, which engenders a suppression of man's libidinous impulses The repressed impulses which for a time go underworld into the Sub-conscious find a sublimation through anti-social channels The outcroppings of this attitude are found in the language of young soldiers who hardly distinguish between profanity and virility The inevitable result is that men begin to disregard ruthlessly all feminine values and objects of feminine interest i.e. art, music, flowers, as a token of surging manliness

In American culture this atavistic attitude finds ample and thorough-going expression They think that it is manliness to drink whisky, and womanly to take port or sherry. There is pep of manliness in taking coffee, while it is up to every woman to drink tea If a man reads verse, he does something detrimental to manliness Boys under the instruction of female teachers are ostensibly docile but inwardly they are resentful of all feminine objects

American youths have begun to feel in their sub-conscious selves that they are being superceded by women Their fierce manliness is being tamed They are finding themselves domesticated by those suave girls whom they once hunted as idols of beauty The American youth finds that he is being roughly ousted from his former preserves His prerogatives are being usurped by females At first they entered the hair-cutting saloon with feline feet and then they took it over. It is human tendency to love with the fulness of heart the Moon, because she is inaccessible The cool delightful Moon was always the standard of comparison for the beloved fiancee Here lay the secret of all Divine Love Man dreamed of woman like a Moon, or to put it in the words of Cohn, like a blue-eyed Helen far away from the stretch of the hand, and therefore maddeningly desirable. These dreams are shattered Man the Shaikh Mahamad broke to pieces all the beautiful China vessels by his kick in his dreamland reverie. Away from the dreamland, modern man finds himself on the hard rock of reality, in a broken disgruntled home with a woman "seated at the next chair at the cock-tail bar matching him drink of drink and doing his job as well as he can for half the salary". I hope that this lurid picture of the modern atomistic society would operate as an eye-opener to many thinking souls

In order that women should have some redress for their grievances, we have thrown open divorce Courts to marital partners. The District Courts are being flooded with divorce petitions We must never forget the results of such experiments in Western countries In America divorce is comparatively easy Even with them marital happiness is now a matter of fleeting moments "United States is filled with neurotic wives who well kept but badly cared for, are potential material for divorce mills, or who degenerate into that rather loathsome creatures known as the spoiled women"

Should we gather recruits in this way for the divorce Courts opened by us?

THE NOTORIOUS ASSASSINS

By Mr. M S. SRINIVASAN, M A.

THE blades and pistols of assassins have turned the tide of History but not all the Fathers of Nations have been their untimely victims Bismarck Cavour and Sun Yat-Sen died a natural death, while it was assigned to the Fathers of the Dutch Republic, the U. S A, and the Indian nation to lose their lives amidst scenes of universal tragedy to whose enactment and import our generation here has been a helpless witness and inheritor.

Balthazar Gerard was the murderer of William the Silent and John Wilkes Booth murdered Abraham Lincoln The aims and aspirations of the assassins, the circumstance and magnitude of their colossal crimes, and the terrible reaction of their iniquity upon their countrymen have too striking a similarity to escape even the most perfunctory reader of history.

The culprits did not belong to the class of ignoramus and proletariat, the tool of misguided politicians, but were well-to-do men steeped in the political trends of contemporary times. We are familiar with "the honourable men" who stabbed "the ambitious Caesar" who was to the Romans "the Father of our country". Brutus, Cinna (not the poet!) & Co., were leaders stewed in the juice of Roman imperial politics So were Balthazar and Booth.

Balthazar was a Burgundian who belonged to a respectable parentage. He was well-educated and had acquired considerable facility of speech. He was a fanatical Catholic, "a singularly unobtrusive personage, twenty-seven years of age, low of stature, mean-visaged, muddy complexioned and altogether a man of no account" Early in life he had concluded that William, Prince of Orange, nicknamed 'the Silent', who was crusading against the boundless tyranny of the self-willed Philip II, the King of Spain, and struggling to get the freedom and independence of the Netherlands first and later of the seven northern provinces to be known as the Dutch Republic must be murdered, for "so long as he lived he seemed to remain a rebel against the Catholic king, and to make every effort to disturb the repose of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion." Fanatical zeal for Catholicism, loyalty to an unbending master and craving for fame led him from one false step to another

John Wilkes Booth was an actor sprung from a family of stage-players and was the brother of the famous Shakesperian tragedian Edwin Booth on whose fame he was trading He was "a man of twenty-six, exceptionally handsome with an olive-tinted skin, classical features, a Roman nose and flashing eyes, but a poor allowance of talent" His personal hatred of Abraham Lincoln is said to have been that "of a fine-haired patrician for a plebian," He contemptuously referred to him as "this man to whom she (the South) owes so much of her misery." He was opposed, as a Southerner, to the President's policy of total union and abolition of slavery. He had the actor's craze for distinction and aspired for replaying the great roles of Brutus and Tell. As Emil Ludwig in his ABRAHAM LINCOLN remarks, "the heroic deed of the liberator was

mingled in Booth's thoughts with the classical representations of heroic deeds."

How the Burgundian and the American actor kept alive their hatred is indicated even by their ordinary behaviour. Balthazar had often struck his dagger with all his might into a door exclaiming, "Would that the blow had been in the heart of Orange." Booth, a year before he fulfilled his life's mission, had inscribed on a window-pane: 'Abe Lincoln departed this life August 13th, 1864, by the effects of Poison." Another remarkable incident was when he played Mark Antony in *Julius Caesar* in the Winter Garden Theatre, New York He delivered the famous oration of the Roman beginning with "I am no orator as Brutus is", and, after the familiar climax, "The very stones of Rome to rise and mutiny", added "SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS"—three significant words not used by Shakespeare, but pronounced, as tradition has it, by Brutus, not Antony, when he plunged his dagger into Caesar's body, the words now known as the motto of Virginia, the leader of the South, fighting against the ambitions of President Lincoln. In acting Mark Antony, Booth played Brutus against the American Caesar, whose election for the second term fanned afresh the flame of vengeance. Further, he heard the President deliver the famous speech about the elective franchise for coloured men and exclaimed, "That is the last speech he will make."

The sheer technique of preparation and the mathematical calculations of the assassins before they carried out their tasks were amazing.

Balthazar got the moral support of the Duke of Parma, the Regent of the Netherlands and the blessings of a Jesuit Father. He had an unexpected interview with William the Silent posing himself as one Francis Guicon, a pious Calvinist, and could do no more than have preliminary survey of the vantage-points of the leader's house. He obtained from him a sum of money as charity and purchased with it a pair of pistols. William's money for William's murder! On Tuesday, 10th July, 1584, the servants and the Princess of Orange saw "his countenance to be villainous", but did not suspect any foul move in their own house. After dinner William ascended the flight of stairs leisurely. When he reached the second stair, Balthazar emerged from its sunken arch, where he had hidden himself, and discharged three shots against him, one of which passed through his body and struck against the wall. The Prince cried in French, "O my God! have mercy upon my soul! O my God! have mercy upon this poor people!" and expired a few minutes later.

Booth's attempts to kidnap Lincoln had failed and by 14th April, 1865, he had completed the conspiracy to murder him. He prepared everything with meticulous care, fixed the hole in the outer door in the passageway of the President's box in the Ford Theatre, Washington, and entrusted his page Harold with the horse to be kept ready for his escape. He gave one of the actors a document in which he justified his patriotic crime with instructions to have it published in the newspapers after he carried out his noble design. The next day, which was a Good Friday, Lincoln was witnessing, from his box in the Theatre, the play, *Our American Cousin*. Booth told the guard that he

had come to deliver news to the President and was unfortunately admitted without suspicion He entered the passage, locked the inner side of the outer door and through the hole he had made, fired at the President's head He blazoned his key word SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS, pushed aside the aide-de camp and escaped on his horse, though he broke one of his legs when his spur was caught in the hated Union flag After a struggle of nine hours Lincoln died without recovering consciousness, in a house across the street opposite the Theatre Probably his dream the night before had materialised "I seemed to be in a singular and indescribable vessel that was moving with great rapidity toward a dark and indefinite shore

The European and American assassins had no regrets to the last and felt that they saved the world from the rule of unjust tyrants Balthazar even after excruciating tortures and trial boasted, "Like David I have slain Goliath of Goth I will repeat this enterprise if possible, even were I to die a thousand deaths in consequence If I am thousand leagues away I would return in order to do the deed again" He mounted the scaffold, crippled and half-roasted, and yet unrepentent Booth was hunted out and shot in a burning barn in Virginia His parting words were, 'I die for my country I thought I did for the best" He cursed the American people for want of fidelity and burst out, 'For doing what Brutus was honoured for what made Tell a hero And yet I, for striking down a greater tyrant than they ever knew, am looked upon as a common cut-throat"

Motley in his DUTCH REPUBLIC sums up thus the national reaction to the martyrdom of 'Father William' "He went through life bearing the load of a people's sorrows upon his shoulders with a smile . Not all the clouds which calumny could collect ever dimmed to their eyes the radiance of that lofty mind to which they were accustomed in their darkest calamities, to look for light As long as he lived he was the guiding-star of a whole brave nation and when he died the little children cried in the streets" A whole continent was in sable shrouds when Lincoln was assassinated The ordinary American cried, "No it cannot be it is too terrible to be true" A Negro woman ran about wailing, O Lawd! Uncle Sam s dead" A young Swede of New York committed suicide to join Abraham Lincoln" Emerson has rightly said "He (Lincoln) is the true history of the American people in his time'

A TIMELY PUBLICATION

LECTURES ON INDIAN HISTORY

BY

V TYAGARAJAN, M A , L T

Professor of History and Economics, St Xavier's College, Palamcottah

HINDU INDIA
MUSLIM INDIA
AND
BRITISH INDIA

IN ONE VOLUME

WITH A FOREWORD BY

PROF C S SRINIVASACHARI, M A

Principal, R D M College, Sivaganga

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THE ART OF EXAGGERATION

By Mr. FREDIE A. MEHTA

WITHOUT exaggeration, let me say that all exaggeration is an art. It is an art that premeates literature and an art that prevades life. Sometimes as a weapon of truth and more often as a tool of falsehood, the art of exaggeration has played its part in the literature of every country. Exaggeration imparts vigour and vividity to prose; it radiates colour and charm to poetry. It is the heart of humour, the soul of satire.

But if it permeats the various spheres of literature it also pervades the various realms of life. The lover describing his beloved, the preacher delivering his sermons, the philosopher writing his treatises, the poet singing his songs, the politician stumping his orations and the mother describing the achievements of her sons and daughters—all these are phenomena of life which admit directly or indirectly of exaggerations.

As an art however, lovers both of morality and of literature have not taken kindly to exaggeration. The moralist complains that exaggeration is after all a lie and therefore it violates truth; the man of letters complains that it is distortion and therefore it violates Beauty. Goodness suffers in the middle; so that exaggeration is held the villain who is out to destroy the sacred trinity of Truth—Goodness—Beauty. But if the moralist agreed with Khalil Gibran that an exaggeration is after all a truth that has lost its temper and if the man of letters agreed with Emerson that after all it is exaggeration that scatters so much of light, colour and music over our literature, then each of them would think differently from what they thought before of exaggeration and now welcome it with us as an art.

The hyperbole is to the practical-minded what the metaphor is to the poetic-minded—the most powerful figure of speech. Such a distinction is certainly arbitrary, for both the hyperbole and the metaphor are children of Imagination. Moreover, the best wielders of language use both of them in a single phrase or sentence. This point we shall soon have the occasion to examine and illustrate. However, the distinction that arises between the use of a metaphor and that of a hyperbole is one of degree. The degree to which an hyperbole influences the common mind of our Common Man is invariably far greater than the degree to which the metaphor influences it. The metaphor is so to say a nail file, while the hyperbole is a sledge-hammer and in moulding public opinion, it is the sledge-hammer and not the nail-file that counts.

We are here not going in for a chemical analysis of the various ways in which exaggerations are born. But we may note how the Circean charm of exaggeration is borne in upon us usually.

First of all, we have what I may call the Numerical Exaggerations. We have them mostly in our war communiques where we start killing our enemies by the tens and end by killing them by the thousands. It is a recognised truth that in war the first and the greatest casualty is Truth. During the last war it is estimated that the German U-Boats sank the British Navy over seven times, while the Russians have all-told killed more Germans than the entire German population. But there are holier ways in which these Numerical Exaggerations can be used Burke for example said in a celebrated sentence that when he beheld

the Queen of France he felt as if *ten thousand* swords would have leapt from their scabbards to avenge even a single look that threatened her with insult! Doubtless he was exaggerating but so was Hamlet when beholding the coffin of his once beloved Ophelia he cried out to her brother thus —

> I love Ophelia for by the sand br s
> Could not with all their quant y of lo e
> Make up my sum

But when Hamlet had so cried out in his poignancy his villainous uncle the King only muttered Oh h is mad No no Hamlet was no more mad when he spoke of forty thousand brothers" than was Burke when he spoke of ten thousand swords When the human he rt either through an overdose of sorrow or joy is aflame and afire then exaggerations leap out like sparks from the mouth or pen There is one figure of speech that acts then like a thermometer for measuring the emotional heat and that is the hyperbole

The second type of exaggerations we may call the Universalising Exaggerations This type consists in universalising the particular in making sweeping generalisations and in arriving at unwarranted uniformities or dissimilarities Usually it involves the fallacy of simple enumeration It is a powerful technique of propaganda utilised most when there is a war of nerves between nations or parties Thus during the last war it was held perfectly logical to say and think that All Germans are devils

The third category we may speak of as that of Comparative Exaggerations Eh what s this big fuss about the Niagara? said a Scot on surveying this gr atest waterfall in the world We have got a lot of em at home We wash our plates with them Another American said of a celebrated Indian city that it was half as big and twice as dull as a New York graveyard!

The fourth type is one in which there is a lavish use of adjectives and superlatives a type common with film advertisers insurance agents estate sellers book reviewers and automobile dealers We may speak of this type as one of Superlative Exaggerations Words and phrases like best finest nothing like it' and others are here common Every week ten or more films are shown in the city and each of these pictures is not merely the best and the greatest picture of the week but that of the year! Now this is cent per cent exaggeration but from the way people crowd in their hundreds to see these best and greatest pictures of the year one would be forced to agree with Hitler that if you wish the sympathy of broad masses then you must tell them the crudest and most stupid things!

The fifth type of exaggerations is a celebrated and most abused one It is that of Dramatic Exaggerations It consists in saying a thing so dramatically and strikingly that the reader is immediately held in spell by it The inimitable Jeeves of P G Woodhouse says something like this to his beloved 'Darling I ll do anything for you I ll pluck out the planets from the sky above and lay them down at your feet There are said a wit five secrets of happiness They are money money money money and money My boss complained a stenographer is so dictatorial He writes his diaries weeks in advance The reader if he has read any of the modern dramas particularly of Wilde and Shaw will become sufficiently familiar with this type of exaggerations

And now I come to the sixth and final category of hyperboles. For want of better term, we shall call them the Metaphoric Exaggerations. From the literary standpoint, if not from the moral, these Metaphoric Exaggerations must be deemed to be the finest and purest and in fact the noblest examples of exaggerations. The art of uttering Metaphoric Exaggerations consists in uttering phrases or sentences which on the one hand are made beautiful by their brevity and simplicity and on the other hand are made enchanting by their poetic imagery. Thus brevity the soul of wit and imagery the soul of poetry combine themselves here to combine with the hyperbole. This I believe has been the way in which the greatest master-wielders of literature have used it R. G. Ingersol truly said that the greatest compliment that man ever paid to woman he adores is this little line from Shakespeare:—

"Eyes that do mislead the morn"

And surely this will remind the readers of another such beautiful line on the same theme by that great Victorian bard, Tennyson:—

"Her eyes were homes of silent prayer."

Exaggerations these lines are, but no sooner do we hear them, than we are bathed in an atmosphere of luminous beauty and etheral music, that beggars description.

But a superb and skilful artist, like Gandhi, can use these exaggerations even in spheres less sublime than poetry. To describe the mistakes of his life, he spoke of 'Himalayan Blunders'; to condemn the Cripps offer he just dubbed it as "a post-dated cheque."

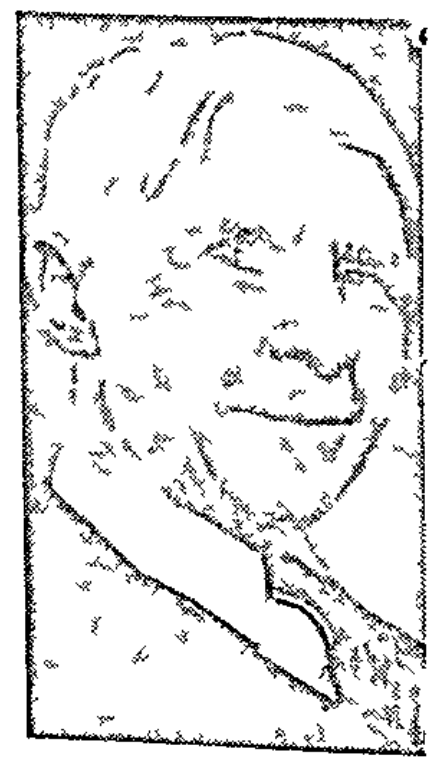
Having dealt with the various types of exaggerations, it is left for me to bear out the statement that "exaggeration is the heart of humour, the soul of satire." Of a humour that expresses itself in the shape of tall stories and jokes, exaggeration is of course the Alpha and Omega. But soon we shall see that it penetrates other fields of humour too. As for satire, we do not know what it would be without exaggeration. Satire has come in as a very handy weapon to those men of letters who surveying the world are tempted to be cynics. It may be prose or poetry, a whole novel, or a short story, a long treatise or a tense sentence. The works of Aristophanes and Juvenal, of Moliere and Voltaire, of Pope and Dryden, of Swift and Shaw are excellent pieces of satire. In prose, the "Gulliver's Travels" of Swift; in poetry, the "Dunciad" of Pope; in drama, the "Tartuffe" of Molière—all these are recognised masterpieces of satire. But how often while reading these satires do we feel that the satirist without exaggeration is like some Milton without his sublimity! The satirist is telling the world something that it will neither follow nor swallow. The satirist has therefore to exaggerate and exaggerate terribly in order to be heard. The same is true, though on a smaller scale of humourists. Rabelais, Dickens, Mark Twain, Artemus Ward and Peacock and in our own times P. G. Wodehouse and Stephen Leacock have all given us wonderful patterns of humour; yet without exaggeration, the pattern would have been dull and colourless. A critic has ventured to ask us: "After all what is Mr. Leacock's humour if not a mixture of exaggeration and myopsis?" Now had he but known that exaggeration is the heart of humour, he would have thought it silly to pose such a question. The late Mr. Peacock certainly did exaggerate

but where on earth is the satirist or humourist who does not?

Now a fact of vital importance concerning the art of exaggeration is that exaggeration always carries with it a rubber like elasticity Strain a fact or fake in proper measures and you secure your mark stretch it a bit too far and it snaps Would to God that our businessmen and film advertisers and insurance agents and the like understood this secret! The result is that this noble art is ruined There was the automobile dealer telling his prospect something like this This car is a real buy the engine runs so smoothly that you can't hear it knee action doesn't let you feel a thing with its perfect combustion there are no odours for you to smell, and as for speed—you can't see At that the prospect hit back 'My gosh how do you know whether you brought it along or left it home? Le Harpe said We always weaken everything which we exaggerate He was only partly right We always weaken everything which we tactlessly or recklessly exaggerate

That businessmen insurance agents and other advertisers should forget this truth may be reckoned as natural but alas! this disease flourishes in its most lavish form in the camp of our philosophers whose dear delight we are told is or should be truth Go over the commentaries or criticisms that philosophers write about the works of one another or each other and you will find that in their praise or blame they are invariably extravagant Emerson for example roundly declared that Plato is philosophy and philosophy Plato while Lessing asserted that there is no other philosophy than that of Spinoza D Alembert exhausted superlatives by proclaiming that Bacon was the greatest the most universal and the most eloquent of philosophers While Hegel dramatically declared that to be a philosopher one must first become a Spinozian and to crown it all Schopenhauer says that any man is a child until he has understood Kant'

Ours is a world girdled around with taffeta phrases silken terms three piled hyperboles A tyranny that chains our minds is upon us—the tyranny of words Let us have less of adjectives less of superlatives less of hyperboles in short less of words and we shall have more of beauty and more of truth



CARL SANDBURG

noted United States poet and biographer of Abraham Lincoln (U S President from 1861 to 1865) Sandburg's latest book Lincoln Collector a compilation of letters documents and source material relating to Lincoln and his period has just been published

The Judicial System of England and Wales*

—(o)—

THERE is in England no Ministry of Justice, nor is there any judicial profession as understood in most other countries So far as the administrative side of Justice is concerned the functions of a Minister are exercised by the Lord Chancellor in civil matters and by the Home Secretary in criminal matters Judges in England are chosen from the ranks of working barristers, either by the Crown on the advice of the Prime Minister or the Lord Chancellor, or by the Lord Chancellor himself, according to rank

Since 1701, Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature (the Court of Appeal and the High Court of Justice), once appointed are removable only on a petition from both Houses of Parliament The independence of the Judiciary is, therefore, unassailable Neither executive legislative or administrative power can influence it The claim, if somewhat hackneyed is none the less true, and it is one of the country's proudest boasts The forfeiture of this independence is highly unlikely, if only because the Englishman, assertive of his rights and nurtured in the Common Law, rather enjoys the occasional spectacle of Authority being put in its place by that Law 'The natural impulse of the English people is to resist Authority', wrote Walter Bagehot, nineteenth-century economist and essayist

THE LORD CHANCELLOR

At the head of the Judicature stands the Lord Chancellor This is logical and natural The King is the fount of all justice and the Chancellor is his immediate deputy Usually a highly placed cleric, he was traditionally the 'Keeper of the King's Conscience'.

The Lord Chancellor today is appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister The appointment is political, carrying membership of the Cabinet and the Speakership of the House of Lords This, of course, entails resignation should the Government fall.

The Lord Chancellor is highly paid. He receives £10,000 per annum, £6,000 of this as a Judge, and £4,000 as Speaker of the House of Lords

THE LAW LORDS

Sitting with the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords are nine Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, commonly called Law Lords

They are appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, and given peerages for life with a salary of £6 000 Members of the Judiciary or outstanding barristers are the source of recruitment As the final judicial authority for the whole United Kingdom the body of Law Lords always contains some Scottish representatives

In addition to the Lord Chancellor and the Law Lords, ex Lord Chancellors and ex-Judges who happen to be peers are also entitled to sit

THE LORD CHIFF JUSTICE

The Lord Chief Justice is head of the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice and next in rank to the Lord Chancellor, although the Law Lords sit in a superior, indeed the final, Court so far as the United Kingdom is concerned †

* The judicial systems of Scotland and Northern Ireland differ (in Scotland greatly, in Northern Ireland slightly) from that of England and Wales All four however, come under the final jurisdiction of the House of Lords (sitting in a judicial and not legislative capacity)

† Certain Appeals from the Commonwealth, and all Appeals from the Colonies, are heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

He is appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister His salary is £8 000 per annum

THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS

The Master of the Rolls is holder of an ancient title Once a keeper of the State Records (or Rolls) he became the deputy of the Chancellor or Vice Chancellor The Public Records Act of 1838 restored him in his dual function

To-day he is head of the Court of Appeal with a salary of £6 000 He is appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister

THE LORDS JUSTICES OF APPEAL

Sitting with the Master of the Rolls are 8 Lords Justices of Appeal (not to be confused with the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary) In addition the Lord Chancellor the Lord Chief Justice and the President of the Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice are *ex officio* members of the Court of Appeal

The Lords Justices are appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister and are paid a salary of £5 000

THE JUDGES OF THE HIGH COURT

Receiving the same salary as the Lords Justices of Appeal £5 000 and appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Lord Chancellor are 31 Judges of the High Court who with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice and the President of the Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division comprise the High Court of Justice This is divided into 3 Divisions Chancery (the Lord Chancellor and 5 Judges) King's Bench (the Lord Chief Justice and 19 Judges) and Probate Divorce and Admiralty (the President and 7 Judges)

The President of the last named Division like the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice is appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister He receives a salary of £5 000

THE COUNTY COURT JUDGES

There are 67 County Court Judges appointed by the Lord Chancellor and removable by him Their salary is £2 000 and they must be practising barristers of at least 10 years standing Once appointed they can devote themselves to the perfecting of their office unimpeded by hopes of promotion which is so rare as to be negligible only three cases have been recorded.

It should be realised that a County Court Judge despite the financial limitations of his jurisdiction and the fact that he does not try criminal or matrimonial matters has probably a wider range of subjects on which to adjudicate than his brother in the High Court where there is greater opportunity for specialisation The High Court Judge has several colleagues and it is only natural that such a tendency should exist The County Court Judge having no colleague must cover the field by himself This fact coupled with the absence of promotion therefore ensures a catholicity of out look to the County Court Judge

THE RECORDERS

Certain Boroughs have a Court of Quarter Sessions and employ a barrister as Recorder This office is a part time one and outside his judicial duties the Recorder maintains his practice at the Bar though not of course within the Borough where he sits He is appointed by the Home Secretary The salaries of Recorders are paid from local funds and vary accordingly

The Recorder of London, however, with the Common Serjeant, holds a full-time office, sitting at the Central Criminal Court (the Old Bailey). Here three or four Courts are held simultaneously, the others being presided over by a Judge or Judges of the High Court in rotation The Central Criminal Court is, in reality, the London Assizes, with the difference that it is in almost permanent session instead of three or four times a year.

The Recorder of London and the Common Serjeant are appointed by the Lord Chancellor and are paid salaries of £2,500 and £2,000 respectively.

METROPOLITAN AND STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES

In London and some 16 provincial cities, the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction are presided over by paid Magistrates known in London as Metropolitan Magistrates and in the provinces as Stipendiary Magistrates. In all cases they are paid full-time professionals appointed by the Home Secretary, and they must be practising barristers of at least 7 years' standing. While holding office they cannot return to practice.

Their salary in London is £2,000 (£2,300 for the Chief Magistrate) which is paid out of the Exchequer. In the provinces the salary varies and comes from local funds.

THE JUSTICES OF PEACE

Lastly, and uniquely, come the Justices of the Peace, unpaid lay magistrates who function at Petty Sessions, and at Quarter Sessions (apart from those in Boroughs), throughout the country. In all they number about 19,000, of whom some 16,800 (13,100 men and 3,700 women) are on the active list. Included in this total are the *ex officio* justices, the majority being mayors of boroughs and the chairmen of country and district councils. For juvenile courts there is a special panel of magistrates.

Justices of the Peace are appointed and removable by the Lord Chancellor (except in Lancashire, where these functions are performed by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) on the advice of the Lord Lieutenant of the County. He, in turn, is assisted by an advisory committee. In boroughs there is a separate advisory committee. At the age of 75, Justices are transferred from the active list to the supplemental, which renders them virtually non-effective.



PRESIDENT OF THE SCOTTISH LIBERAL PARTY

The Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, President of the Scottish Liberal Party, was born in 1890 and educated at Eton and Sandhurst. A member of Parliament since 1922, he was Chief Liberal Whip 1930-31, Secretary of State for Scotland 1931-32, and Secretary of State for Air 1940-45. He was the Leader of the Liberal Party from 1935-45, and was Lord Rector of Glasgow University from 1938-45.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

TRAILING CLOUDS OF GLORY

[*Critics have pronounced the philosophy of the great Ode defective and its style declamatory but as Johnson said of Gray's Elegy it abounds with images which find a mirror in every mind and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo*]

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,
The Soul that rises with us our life's Star
Hath had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar,
Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
Shades of the prison house begin to close
Upon the growing boy

.

The thought of our past years in me doth breed
Perpetual benediction

. .

What though the radiance which was once so bright
Be now for ever taken from my sight?

Though nothing can bring back the hour
Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower,
We will grieve not rather find
Strength in what remains behind,
In the primal sympathy
Which having been must ever be
In the soothing thoughts that spring
Out of human suffering
In the faith that looks through death,
In years that bring the philosophic mind.

TOO DEEP FOR TEARS

The clouds that gather round the setting sun
Do take a sober colouring from an eye
That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality:
Another race hath been, and other palms are won
Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
Thanks to its tenderness its joys, and fears,
To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears
—*Wordsworth* Ode on Intimations of Immortality

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THE ART OF LIFE

One wants to keep the gains of middle life and not to part with the glow of youth The tragedy of growing old," says a brilliant writer "is the remaining young," that is to say that the spirit does not age as fast as the body The sorrows of life lie in the imagination, in the power to recall the good days that have been and the old sprightly feelings; and in the power too to forecast the slow overshadowing and decay of age But Lord Beaconsfield once said that the worst evil one has to endure is the anticipation of the calamities that do not happen and I am sure that the thing to aim at is to live as far as possible in the day and for the day. I do not mean in an epicurean fashion, by taking prodigally all the pleasure that one can get like a spendthrift of the happiness that is meant to last a lifetime but in the spirit of Newman's hymn—

'I do not ask to see
The distant scene one step enough for me"
—*A C Benson* From a College Window

AN AUSTRALIAN GIRL

She has a beauty of her own,
A beauty of a paler tone
Than English belles;
Yet southern sun and southern air
Have kissed her cheeks until they wear
The dainty tints that oft appear
On rosy shells.

Her frank clear eyes bespeak a mind
Old-world traditions fail to bind.
She is not shy
Or bold but simply self-possessed;
Her independence adds a zest
Unto her speech, her piquant jest,
Her quaint reply.

—*Ethel Castilla.*

* * * * *

POLITICAL IDEAL OR MORAL OBLIGATION

"The danger is not that a particular class is unfit to govern. Every class is unfit to govern. The law of liberty tends to abolish the reign of race over race, of faith over faith, of class over class. It is not the realisation of a political ideal; it is the discharge of a moral obligation."

—*Lord Acton's* "Letters to Mary Gladstone."

—*(Jonathan Cape Ltd.)*

* * *

CARDINAL NEWMAN

Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light through the aisles of St. Mary's, rising into the pulpit, and then, in the most entrancing of voices, breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music—subtle, sweet, mournful? Happy the man who in that susceptible season of youth hears such voices! They are a possession to him for ever.

—*M. Arnold:* "American Discourses,"

PARADISE LOST

[*The superb close of the Paradise Lost has a human quality which is profoundly poignant. The spectacle of Adam and Eve caught between the millstones of the two stupendous forces controlling them is enormously moving.*]

In either hand the hastening angels caught
Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate.
Led them direct and down the cliffs as fast
To the subjected plain; then disappeared
They, looking back all the eastern side beheld

Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Waved over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.
Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them soon.
The world was all before them, where to choose

Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

* * *

THE FACE OF POVERTY

Do you know what it is to be poor—downright, cruelly, hideously poor, with a poverty that is graceless, sordid, and miserable? Poverty that compels you to dress in your one suit of clothes till it is worn threadbare—that robs you of your own self-respect and causes you to slink along the streets vaguely abashed, instead of walking erect among your fellowmen in independent ease. This is the grinding curse that keeps down your noble aspiration under a load of ignoble ease.

—*Dickens.*

ENDURANCE AND VIRTUE

What evil can be imagined greater for a State than that honourable men because they have thoughts of their own and cannot act a lie are sent as culprits into exile? What more baneful than that men for no guilt or wrong doing but for the generous largeness of their minds should be taken for enemies and led off to death and that the torture bed should become to the signal shame of authority the finest stage for the public spectacle of endurance and virtue?

—*Spinoza* in 1662

A PRAYER

This is my prayer to thee my lord—
Strike strike at the root of penury in my heart

Give me the strength lightly to bear my joys and sorrows.

Give me the strength to make my love fruitful in service

Give me the strength never to disown the poor or bend my knees before insolent might

Give me the strength to raise my mind high above daily trifles.

And give me the strength to surrender my strength to thy will with love

—*Tagore*

POETIC INDOLENCE

He chose to be quietly among the ruins and let the beauty and wonder of the ancient world float silently about him. For this poetic indolence he had a great faculty To a younger friend whom he had suspected of unwholesome excess of strenuousness he once propounded this test of mental health could you sit for a whole day on the banks of a stream doing nothing and thinking of nothing only throwing stones into the water?

—*J Morley on W R Greg*

THE PRETENCE OF BUSINESS

Business! the frivolous pretence
Of human lusts to shake off innocence
Business! the grave impertinence
Business! the thing which I of all things hate
Business! the contradiction of my fate

—*Cowley*

HAD I A LITTLE SON

And what is it all for? A man can never have too much time for himself, nor too little to do Had I a little son I would Christen him nothing to do. He should do nothing May I verily believe is out of his element so long as he is operative I am altogether for the life contemplative

—*Lamb*

I will walk the meadows by some gliding stream and there contemplate the lilies that take no care and those many other little creatures that were not only created but fed by the goodness of God and therefore trust in Him. And No' let everything that has breath praise the Lord and let the blessing of St Peter's Master be mine And upon all that are lovers of virtue; and dare trust in His providence, and be quiet, and go a Angling

—*Isaak Waton*

FAITH AND HOPE

Faith has to do with things that are not seen and hope with things that are not in hand

—*Aquinas*

SHABBY REVENGE

Small men who have got wrong with the world seek a shabby revenge by shallow irony.

—*John Morley*

THE LEGEND OF PADMINI AND NURJEHAN

By DR. K. S. LAL, M.A., D.PHIL.

HISTORY is always in the making. What may seem an unquestionable truth to one at one time may appear a preposterous lie to another at another time Time, at last, if nothing else, reveals the truth. That is why history should be written, re-written and written once over again. Thus we find modern research shaking our belief in two romances which were thought to be true occurrences in the history of our country.

I

There was a time, and that time is not yet past when we knew Alauddin Khalji to have invaded Chittor for the hand of Rani Padmini. The story goes that Padmini or Padmavati, a princess of Ceylon married to Rana Ratan Singh of Chittor, was a pearless beauty of her age. A mendicant, Raghava by name, once had a glimpse of her while she was giving him alms and swooned at the sight of so superb a beauty. He carried the tale of her charms to the then sultan of Delhi, and Alauddin began to lust for her possession. His demand of her having been scornfully spurned by the Rana of Mewar Alauddin laid siege of the fortress of Chittor. The fight continued for full eight years but the citadel did not surrender. Finding the fortress impregnable and the Rana unbending the chagrined sultan reduced the demand to having a sight of Padmani's reflection in a mirror. The Rajput prince, tired of war gave his assent to the proposal. Alauddin had a look at the fair one's reflection. Then he returned, accompanied by the Rana who came with the king up to the outer gates of the fort as an act of courtesy. There he was treacherously arrested by the sultan and taken to Delhi. The people of Chittor were all aghast at the shameless conduct of Alauddin, who, not very long after sent a royal order saying that Ratan Singh would be released only if Padmini was sent to his harem. The noble matron was also apprised of the tortures Ratan was being subjected to at Delhi. She conferred with Gora and Badal, two brave Rajput generals and at once decided to go to the imperial palace. In 1,600 litters were accommodated Padmini and some of the bravest Rajput warriors, all armed to the teeth, and it was given out that Padmini and her companions and maids were going to Delhi. The train arrived at Delhi and Padmini asked for but one favour from the sultan—to have a last interview with her lord Ratan, from whom she was to part for ever. Alauddin exultant at his triumph, readily agreed. The palanquins bearing the brave Rajputs entered the place of Ratan's imprisonment. No time was lost in rescuing him and he and the queen took road to Chittor. Their flight was escorted by some valiant men under Badal, while Gora gallantly opposed the royal forces which the bewildered sultan had sent to intercept the fugitives. The scuffle thickened, Gora was killed. But the engagement gave ample time to the Rana to be out of the reach of the pursuers. He arrived safely in Chittor, where great rejoicings were made on his arrival. Shortly after his arrival in Chittor Ratan Singh died of the wounds received in fighting Devapala of Kumbalgarh and Padmini and another queen Nagmati performed the rites of State, In the

meantime the sultan again arrived in Chittor and the standard of Islam was hoisted on the soil

This story of Malik Muhammed Jaisi (written in the 16th Century) in which romance, adventure and tragedy are all beautifully intermixed very soon gripped the popular mind and here there and every where the story of Padmini was told and retold. The Persian chroniclers who did not very much care to distinguish between fiction and fact readily accepted it as true history so that after the time of Malik Muhammed Jaisi the Padmini episode is mentioned as a historical fact in many historical works including those of Ferishtiah and Hajiuddabir (Early 17th century) Relying on the local traditions of the Rajputs and their bardic literatur (of the 18th century) Col Tod r peated the story of Padmini with his immitabl pen and transferred it to the present day books on Indian History

A close study of the narratives of Ferishtah Hajiuddabir and other later Persian historians and the bards of Rajputana shows that except in certain minor variations they closely resemble one another and seem to have been based upon the Padmavat of Jaisi The Padmavat is full of inaccuracies and absurd state ments A few uncompromising discrepan cies in Jaisis' Padmavat may here be pointed out Ratan Singh had ruled only for about one year when Alauddin invaded Chittor How was it possible for him to go to Ceylon and stay there for twelve years in quest of Padmini? Again according to Jaisi the war between Alauddin and Ratan continued for eight long years According to all contemporary authorities it did not take more than six to eight months Even those historians who adopted the story from Jaisi's epic were not sure of what they were writing Ferishtah is not certain whether Padmini was a daughter or a wife of Ratan Singh Hajiuddabir s account of Padmini is still more confusing He refers to Padmini as a woman possessed of certain qualities and not as a particular person Again according to him the Rani was not kept impri on d at Delhi but in Chittor country its lf

But strangely enough while all these h storians adopted the story from Padmavat it is extreml y doubtful whether Jaisi h ms lf ever meant to write about the l f story of a princess of Chittor At th end of th epic he writes "in this narrativ Chittor stands for the body, th Raja (Ratan Singh) for the mind Singh ldvip (C vlon) for the heart Padmini for wisdom and sultan Alauddin for Maya (lust) Those who can understand this love story they should see it with this point of view From this remark it is clear that Malik Muhammad was writing an allegory and not narrating a true historical event May be that the selection of this particular theme may have been inspired by the tragic Jauhar of Chittor in Jaisi s own times when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat invaded Chittor in 1534 But once Jaisi had written the romantic story the Muhammedan historians of India, who not unfrequently copied verbatim from their sources of information also adopted this story in extenso The Padmavat was written 224 years after the eventful siege of Chittor, and not a single historian or chronicler Persian or Rajasthani, ever wrote about Padmini before the Padmavat of Jaisi was completed. But once such stories are in the air they gain wide circulation. The

romance of Padmini got so much currency in India that not only Ferishtah and Hajiuddabir but even the great scandal collector Manucci relates its incidents in connection with Akbar's invasion of Chittor, and says that Padmini was the queen of Raja Jaimal who was rescued from royal imprisonment through the stratagem of litters.

Against these confused and varied accounts is the testimony of the contemporary historians, poets and travellers, Barani, Isami, Amir Khusrau, Ibn Buttatah and many others, who never allude to this fact at all. All these historians and chroniclers cannot be accused of deliberately indulging in a conspiracy of silence on the Chittor episode if it actually happened.

Setting aside these confused and varied accounts of the non-contemporary writers the true facts are that Alauddin invaded Chittor in the year 1303 and captured it after a hard siege of six months. The brave Rajput warriors died fighting the invaders; the brave Rajput women perished in the flames of Jauhar. Among those who perished may have been a wife of Ratan Singh by the name of Padmini. Except these bare facts all else is a literary concoction and lacks historical support.

II

The second story exploded by modern research is that of the love of Jahangir and Nurjahan contacted in early youth. The legend as it developed and has continued to the present day is related thus. Mirza Ghayas Beg, a refugee from Persia, came to seek shelter at the court of the emperor of Hindustan. On his journey eastward his wife was delivered of a female child, who was christened Mehrunnisa. Ghayas Beg arrived in India and was given an honourable appointment by Akbar. Through his dexterity and honesty Ghayas Beg rose from post to post. Meanwhile Mehrunnisa was growing into a fine lass. Once prince Salim happened to see her and was immensely charmed by her enchantments. They began to meet in secret. One day while the two were playing together Salim clasped her to his heart in a rapture of love and she, shocked at his behaviour, complained against him to the royal ladies. The incident reached the ears of Akbar, who was all rage. He determined to stop such meetings and asked Mirza Ghayas to marry Mehr to one Ali Quli Istajhi, a Persian youth. Salim bore the blow of separation quietly but his heart pined to possess her. Days went by. When Salim became emperor Jahangir, his desire to marry Mehr had not abated in the least. Mehr was living with her husband Ali Quli (or Sher Afgan as he was called for having once killed a lion with one stroke) at Burdwan. Jahangir determined to kill him and snatch Mehr away. With this aim in view he appointed his favourite Qutbuddin as governor of Bengal and the latter brought about the murder of Sher Afgan. Mehr was sent to the court, where Jahangir lay at her feet asking for her hand. But the noble matron spurned the approaches of her husband's murderer. For four years she constantly refused him, but at last submitted. And in this way Jahangir got back his early love.

This story is as romantic as that of Padmini but, again, it is not history. No contemporary historian, Indian or foreign, alludes to it. Mohamad Khan and Kamgar Husain, who wrote during the reign of Shahjahan do not even refer

to it nor does Abdul Hamid Lahori who writes at length about Nurjahan The court historians may be accused of suppressing a scandal dishonourable to the ruling line but foreign travellers and missionaries also do not talk of any love between Nurjahan and Jahangir resulting in the death of Sher Afgan John Hawkins Sir Thomas Roe William Finch and Pietro della valle who visited India in the time of Jahangir do not let fall a word about the affair It must be remembered that most of the foreign visitors were great scandal mongers They accuse Salim of having some illicit affair with his step mother and Khurram with Nurjahan They talk of the loose life of Raushan Ara and even insinuate a licentious scandal between Shahjahan and his daughter Jahan Ara But none of them hints that it was Jahangir s love for Mehrunnisa that brought about Sher Afgan s death

Moreover some obvious facts also go to prove that the story is a fabrication Why did Akbar oppose the marriage of Mehr with Salim if they were in love? Mehr came of a good Persian family Even supposing Akbar did oppose the marriage and got her married to Ali Quli why then did he appoint Ali Quli to attend to Salim in 1599? Then surely the jilted lover Jahangir would not have bestowed the title of Sher Afgan on Ali Quli and elevated in position his beloved s husband

The true facts are that one Mirza Ghayas Beg migrated to India and was given a post by Akbar By 1595 he became mansabdar of 300 and Diwan of Kabul His daughter Mehrunnisa who was born in 1577 grew up into a charming maiden and was bestowed upon one Ali Quli Istajlu a Persian nobleman Ali Quli had also migrated from Persia had taken service under the Great Mughal and was given a mansab He distinguished himself in the wars of the North Western Frontier and also in Chittor where he served under Jahangir Jahangir was immensely pleased with him and on one occasion bestowed upon him the title of Sher Afgan When he became king he granted him an office and the Jagir of Burdwan in Bengal There Sher Afgan s head turned and he was suspected of a treasonable conspiracy Jahangir ordered Qutbuddin governor of Bengal to examine the credentials of Sher Afgan (1607) Qutbuddin went to Burdwan to arrest Sher Afgan but the latter seems to have made preparations to avenge any insult In the interview between the two Sher Afgan drew the sword and struck the governor His followers attacked Afgan and in the scuffle both Qutbuddin and Sher Afgan were killed together with one or two followers on either side Jahangir was pained at the death of his able governor and in his Memoirs heaps curses on Sher Afgan for his treacherous conduct After the death of her husband Mehrunnisa with her daughter went to her father who held high office at the court Mehr was soon appointed a lady in waiting to Sultana Salima Begum Four years later early in 1611 Jahangir happened to see her at a fancy bazaar, fell in love and married her in May 1611 Besides these bare facts all else is legendary

SHINTO—THE JAPANESE RELIGION

BY PROF C S BHALLA, M A

SHINTO is the religion of Nature worship, Emperor worship and purity It is the national religion of Japan—and is said to be the third oldest among the living religions of the world According to its sacred scriptures, the islands of Japan were the first divine creation, and the first Mikado (Emperor of Japan) descended to earth from the Sun-goddess in heaven The belief in the divine origin of the land and government of Japan has been steadfastly fostered in the youth of that land by its national religion Historically Shinto has furnished the vital religious basis for the oldest reigning dynasty in the world

Shinto is unique for its active tolerance toward other religions History shows how Buddhism and some other religions have co-existed with Shinto The regular Japanese name for this religion is *Kami-no-Michi*, meaning "The way of the gods", but it is commonly known as "Shinto' Shinto has never proselytized nor persecuted, except to require political loyalty It does not possess the sharply defined characteristics which are usual in religions founded personally Some scholars are of opinion that Shinto should not be regarded as a religion; they have interpreted it simply as a patriotic cult.

The sacred scriptures of Shinto consist of "*Ko-ji ki*" meaning "Records of Ancient Matters" and '*Nihon-gi*" meaning chronicles of Japan' They were composed in 712 A D and 720 A D, respectively These dates bring the sacred scriptures of Shinto very late in the history of religions and 1300 years after the accession of the first Mikado Jimmu Tenno, in 660 B C The reliability of these historical records was first rejected, in 1893 by a Japanese scholar, Professor Kume, of the Imperial University at Tokyo, who was deprived of his professorship for thus impugning the orthodox Shinto belief. A third important document of the Shinto religion is the *Yengi-shiki* There is still another important scripture and it is the Manyoshiu meaning "Collection of Ten thousand leaves' This is a collection of 4496 poems The sacred scriptures contain a varied collection of legends, chronicles, ballads and poems centering on the divine origin and the early history of the island empire of Japan They report a generally joyous delight in the powers of nature.

The word *Kami* in the Japanese language means god or deity The number of Shinto deities is usually referred to as 80 myriads in the Nihon-gi, and as 800 myriads in the Ko-ji-ki The origin of these deities according to the Shinto scriptures, occurred after the formation of heaven and earth The two chief deities are Izanaji (male) and Izanami (female) and they became the progenitors of all subsequent The shinto scriptures show that the deities are born, wed, beget children, become sick, die, and are buried and subsequently are raised in rank by the Emperor of Japan The moral character of the Shinto deities is as varied as that of human beings The Shinto religion originally was chiefly nature worship Almost all the deities are objects or forces in nature The Sun-goddess is the most important object of worship among the nature deities The Japanese worship the star god, the storm god, the mist goddess the moon god etc. They worship the Mikado as well because they believe in the divine origin of the

first Mikado This has increased the political importance of the Emperor of Japan The island is covered with a number of shrines and priests and the number of deities is too large to permit systematic worship of them all In fact only a few of them are worshipped The Sun goddess is worshipped individually as well as officially The most sacred spot in Japan is Ise situated on the seacoast south and east of the ancient capital Kyoto Here the Naiku or inner temple is believed by the Japanese to date from the year 4 B C and is sacred to the Sun goddess In it there is a round mirror, the precious symbol of the great orb of light in heaven The mirror is said to have been given by the Sun goddess to the first Mikado as a sacred token Almost all devout Shintoists consider it a privilege and a duty to visit Ise at least once in their life Worship of the Emperor has already been mentioned as an essential feature of the Shinto religion Every year on the Mikado's birthday in every educational institution certain solemn ceremony is officially conducted which is largely patriotic including obeisance to the picture of the emperor The maximum number of shrines in Japan was 1 83 047 in 1890 but in 1920 they had decreased 1 11 181 The worship in the shrines is almost exclusively individual and not congregational It consists of obeisance, bowing reverentially as in the presence of a superior Kneeling is not common

For 1200 years from the traditional date of the first Mikado Jimmu until the introduction of Buddhism Shinto held undisputed sway over Japan But then with the advancing influence of Buddhism Shinto received a blow though it was still the strongest religion on the island for about 250 years After 800 A D this religion intermingled with the foreign religions that had come in Japan The paramountcy of Shinto was weakened even in the court of Japan After 1700 A D efforts were made to revive this religion and these efforts were fruitful to some extent Now as Japan is no more an independent country the revival of Shinto to its former glory may prove to be a dream



50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT IN BOMBAY

The progress of Municipal administration during the last 15 years is a matter of documentary evidence which shows that the expectations formed by the Government of India when they launched the above scheme of the extension of local self Government were amply fulfilled The annual reports upon the working of the Municipalities submitted by their officers to the Bombay Government have borne uniform testimony to the progress made by the Municipalities So also the reviews of local self Government made by the Supreme Government from time to time have had no fault to find with the working of the local bodies in this Presidency

The latest of such reviews was made in 1895 In the Resolution of the Government of India making the review the following observations occur — He (Lord Elgin) has observed with much satisfaction the marked advance in self Government during the last ten years which the examination has disclosed and the activity intelligence and general economy with which the Municipal bodies have improved the conservancy services the water supply the drainage the street paving the lighting and the many conveniences of the towns in their charge These objects are all excellent and some of them absolutely necessary to the health and comfort of the residents and he is assured that in the furtherance of all such projects the Committees will continue to show the energy and the assiduity which they have shown in the past to the great advantage and benefit of their fellow citizens.

N C KELKAR

SOUND CAN BE SO MUCH USEFUL

BY

MR. P. M. ITTYAVIRAH

S. H. College, Thevara.

WE all know that our power of hearing is inferior to that of the dogs. They pick up sound with a vibration rate, on frequency as it is called, up to 35,000 a second while our range is only between 20—20,000. The bat is superior to, even the dog. It can hear sound of a frequency up to 100,000 a second. The pegeon comes lower in the list, its audible range being only within 15,000 vibrations a second.

To-day, sound waves of a frequency up to 120,000,000 a second are being produced by generators. Such sound waves are known as ultrasonics. Many curiosities are associated with these waves.

At the Pennsylvania State College, U.S.A., it was demonstrated, how marbles can float in air under the great pressure of sound waves from a siren below. The waves were reflected back by a brass plate above the glass marbles and at certain points it was found that the rising and falling waves exerted a constant pressure on the air with the result that the marbles were held aloft at those points.

It still remains a mystery, as to how these waves, capable of going through copper sheet, could be stopped by an egg membrane. In one laboratory test, waves were produced by a quartz crystal, vibrating at 400,000 times a second. The crystal was placed in a vessel containing oil, and surrounded by an outer vessel containing water. As soon as the crystal was vibrating, the water in the outer vessel was very much disrupted. But when an egg membrane was interposed there was no action in the water.

Sound waves are, these days, being put to a number of useful, sometimes even amazing, job.

In factories they are used to eliminate soot nuisance. Smoke is passed through a chamber where a vibrator has been installed. The vibrations force together, the minute particles of root, into crumbs like snow-balls and they can be easily collected.

By treating milk with these waves, the bacteria count is reduced to 8 per cubic centimeter, and it is made more digestible and capable of preservation for a long time. Further, the fat globules of the milk- are easily broken by the 'silent sound".

American scientists have demonstrated that by treating plant seeds with ultrasonics, they can be made to flower earlier with an increased yield of 40 to 50 per cent.

Ultrasonic laundering is proposed in the United Kingdom and U. S. A.

Reflecto scope, making use of the ultrasonic technics, is employed to test locomotive axle for fatigue cracks. Sound waves are sent into the metal by a quartz crystal unit. The waves travel to the end of the axle and are reflected back. The echo produced is checked with a standard pattern, and any flaw can be located.

Sound waves have been found to be very useful in aging liquor. Whisky treated

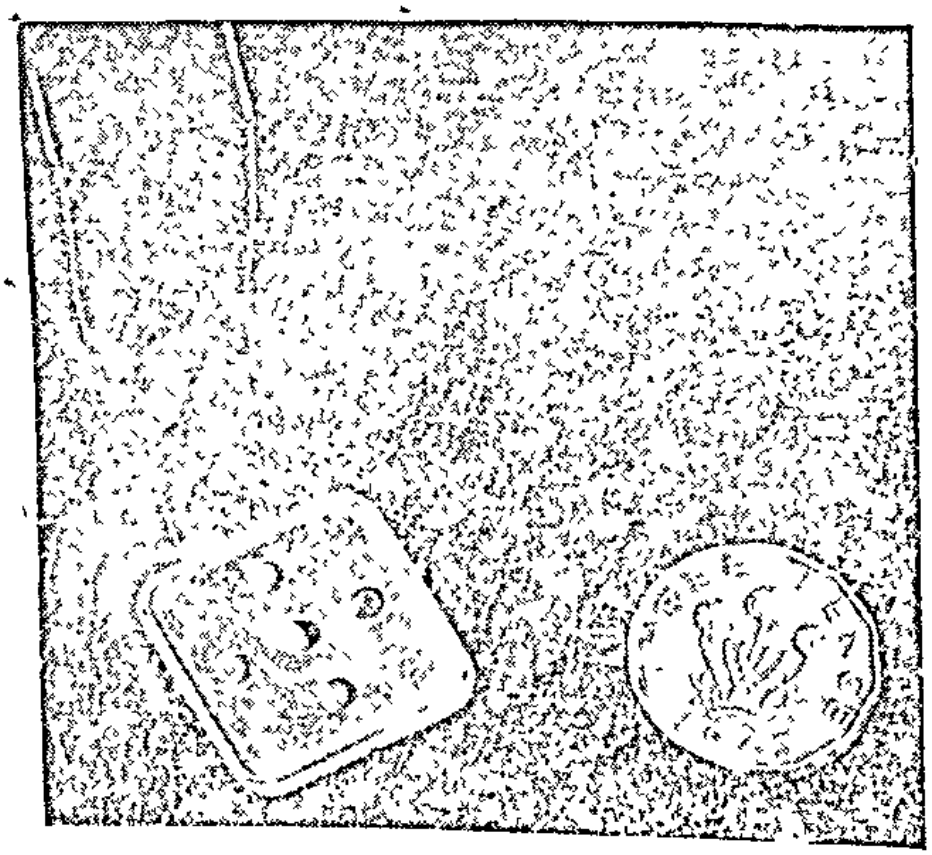
with these, tastes as good, as fine old whisky and it has been shown that a 5 minutes treatment is equivalent to 4 years of aging.

Sound can be a killer as well. Eggs are distorted and rendered infertile by sound. For a laboratory test, the ears of a mouse treated with a small doze of ultrasonic waves for a short time, began to shrink and within 3 days almost completely disappeared.

During the last war data of a sonic gun was found in an experiment station near Lofer, Austria. It developed sound in the audible range, and focussed the waves on the target by a big parabolic reflector. It was estimated that it could, at 60 meters kill a man in 30 to 40 seconds and at 300 meters pain or disable him. However it was not used in the war.

The potentialities of these waves as a life-saviour, are being studied carefully. Scientists believe that it would be possible to perform knifeless surgery on the human brain with these waves.

Ultra sonics is a new-born science. We have certainly made some striking advances. Ahead, there remains a vast domain yet to be surveyed.



SMALLEST EVER MICROPHONE

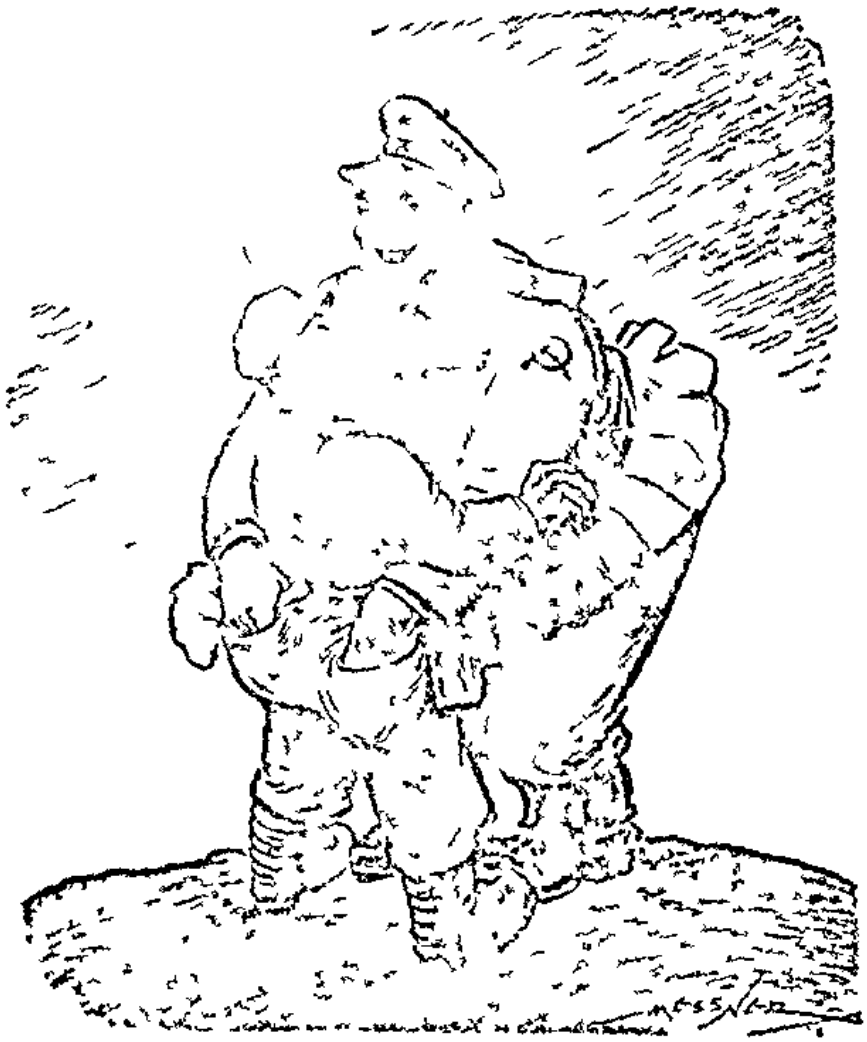
A crystal microphone claimed to be the smallest ever produced, 21 m m. square in comparison with a 3-penny piece. Made by a British firm, the MIC 17 has been designed specially for hearing-aid manufacturers requiring a square type insert capable of maximum performance within the minimum practical dimensions.

TOPICAL CARTOONS



NO FOOTSTEPS COMING OUT

A cartoon recently published in the *Dallas Morning News* a daily U S newspaper of Dallas Texas Mao Tze tung Chinese Communist leader (represented by the figure at the right) notes that all the footsteps on the ground lead into the cave in the background (Moscow) but none lead out The foot imprints bear the words Rumania Poland Bulgaria Czechoslovakia and Hungary



COMRADE !

A cartoon recently published in the *Rochester Times Union*, a daily U. S. newspaper of Rochester New York. Russia (represented by the larger figure) picks China's pockets while greeting him as a comrade

Home and Foreign Affairs

By 'AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Nehru Plan for E. Bengal Hindus

BENGAL has become the problem province of India The debate in Parliament on foreign affairs provided an opportunity for the Prime Minister to declare in a precise but firm statement India's attitude towards non-Muslim minorities in East Bengal After two visits to Calcutta the Pandit himself was fully aware of the plight of the Hindus in East Bengal He had first hand knowledge of the tragic sequence of events having had intimate talks with the Ministers of W Bengal and the refugees He therefore declared in unequivocal terms that the "minorities in East Bengal are certainly our concern so far as security is concerned" For he knew that 58 thousand refugees—victims of Pak aggression—are awaiting rehabilitation on Indian soil, while many thousands are likely to follow in their trek

Generally speaking the entire Hindu population of East Bengal was frightened and full of fear and apprehension about the future

To remove the immediate tension Pandit Nehru said, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr Liaqat Ali Khan, and himself might issue a joint statement Such statement if issued, would naturally lay down.

Firstly, that each Government was fully responsible for giving security and full protection to its minorities secondly that the guilty should be punished, thirdly, that those who had suffered must be helped in every way secure rehabilitation and compensation fourthly that there should be intensive search for looted property and that those found in possession of it should be punished

Was this all that was meant by 'other measures'? No doubt it was an upright and courageous speech, characteristic of Pandit Nehru's candour and love of truth, but does it take the country anywhere? The proposed joint statement cannot enthuse people who have had a taste of Pakistan's past record in the matter of honouring agreements

Much will depend on the outcome of the Nehru—Liaqat meeting at Delhi

India's Foreign Policy

The Prime Minister, initiating a discussion on the demand for grants for the External Affairs Ministry said in Parliament that nothing had happened to warrant a change in India's foreign policy India, he said was opposed to colonialism in Asia and Africa With Asian countries India had no formal treaties and alliances and pacts but she became more and more connected with them by bonds of mutual understanding and interest While keeping aloof from power blocs India's policy was not a negative or merely a neutral policy but a positive policy of those forces she considered right

What then are the principles guiding the foreign policy of the Government of India? We can not, even if we would cut away from world currents It is quite impossible for India to keep apart from what is happening in various parts of the world, but the first thing India had kept in view was to build our own country on a solid foundation and not to get entangled in matters which do not directly affect us because the burden of these entanglements is too great and the problems we have to face in our country are big enough for the country

Pandit Nehru said.

Our general approach, therefore, has been not to interfere in others matters so far as we can help it and not to take part in various conflicts in other parts of the world Of course, as a member nation of the United Nations we have to take part in debates and give our opinions and views on many matters particularly connected with Asian countries with which India is connected When the world is full of tension and possible conflicts and peoples passions are excited it is difficult to look at them with equanimity But the country at any rate should not get entangled and should not be moved by passions

The Prime Minister continued:

I may venture to point out that whatever policy we are pursuing is not a neutral passive or negative policy It is a policy which flowed from our past from recent history and from our national movement and its development and from various ideals we have proclaimed

The passing of Dr Sinha

Yet another link with the giants of an earlier generation has snapped with the passing of Dr Sachchidananda Sinha at Patna Dr Sinha held a unique position in the public life of his province as of the country Scholar lawyer journalist and legislator he played the role of an elder statesman with charm and distinction He died full of years and honours The Gods had been kind to him—he had wealth and the society of good friends and a happy home and all that culture could add to the graeties of life and a fairly good health and a sanguine temperament—indeed everything that could make life lovable And he made the best use of them

He distinguished himself in everything he undertook Whether it was in law or in politics as Vice Chancellor of Patna University or as Editor of *Hindustan Review* which he conducted for nearly half a century he was always the perfect gentleman for whom no good cause was not worth fighting for

Probably his greatest achievement was the creation of modern Behar as it was mainly through his efforts that a separate state was set up for the Biharis

Sinha lived as a man whose every activity was marked by liberal outlook and generous appreciation of men and things Who can now tell us of those far off days of the first decade of the century with that vivid interest and personal knowledge which always marked Sinha s manner of telling?

Dr Sinha received the degree of Doctor of Letters honoris causa from Allahabad University and the degree of Doctor of Law from Patna University in 1937 The crowning honour of his life came when he was elected as first provisional President of the Indian Constituent Assembly

The Kashmir Dispute

The U N Security Council has adopted the four Power resolution on Kashmir replacing the U N Commission by a mediator The voting was eight in favour with none against and India and Yugoslavia abstaining

After India had informed the Council that she accepted the resolution subject to reaffirmation of her position regarding the McNaughton proposals Pakistan also announced her acceptance of the resolution She however made it clear that her attitude generally to the resolution has been that it is based on the McNaughton proposals

It now remains to be seen who that mediator would be—who will command the confidence of both India and Pakistan And then though the two countries have accepted the formula they have done so with such reservations that may ultimately nullify any decision India is firm on her original stand that the aggressors should first clear out before Kashmir can settle down to a referendum Pak troops must go, India does not recognise the so called Azad Government and the legally established Shaik Abdullah Government should with the help of the U N A assess the people s will in an atmosphere of peace and order Failing this we see no prospect of fair referendum in distracted Kashmir For as Shaik Abdullah said the other day Before a plebiscite is possible the entire Jammu and Kashmir territory must be restored to the lawful Government

The mediator s task is certainly unenviable While the U N is searching for this superman Pakistan is busy stabilising her position

King Leopold of Belgium

It is true that the referendum on the question of King Leopold's return to the Belgian throne has ended in his favour But a King to whom over 40 per cent of his people are bitterly opposed cannot be anything like a symbol of unity in a constitutional monarchy. Monarchy is popular and firmly based in Britain because most of the people have genuine admiration for the House of Windsor. It can hardly be said to be so in Belgium. Leopold, King of the Belgians, has a shady record of collaboration with the Nazis, and this many of his people, Socialists, Communists and some Liberals, are not prepared either to forgive or to forget.

Under such circumstances is it wise for Leopold to accept the throne and throw the country into the vortex of an unending controversy ultimately tending to vivisection and dissension even if Parliament should back him up with a negligible majority ?

The Pak Press

Dawn and the entire Press of Pakistan are obviously overdoing their job. They don't seem to realise that in the long run Goebbellian tactics only recoil on their own heads. Sooner or later truth will out and then the consequences will be disastrous to the lier. Look at this blazing piece of fabrication which distorted the news of 20 killed in Calcutta riots into 10,000 ! The quick exposure of this bare—faced enormity must have shamed a decent publicist. But the ink was not dry before *Dawn* came out with a naive suggestion that Laik Ali and his family might have been liquidated. India will not waste its powder and shot on such frivolities. But look at this picture. The State Government—instead of treating Laik Ali as he deserved—showed some consideration as for an erstwhile Premier and gentleman and relaxed the rigidity of police control usual in such cases—with the result that Laik Ali ran away from house detention like a thief in the night. No doubt much will be made of him in the Pak press and Laik Ali's voice will soon join the chorus of mischievous propaganda against India. All the same the inefficiency or corruption that led to the escape cannot go unpunished. What Laik Ali has gained or what India has lost by his escapades—is not much—but the lesson will be hard to forget that such men should be treated as they deserve.

Harold Laski

The death of Professor Harold Laski deprives the world of the services of a leading British Socialist-intellectual, whose contribution to democratic thought and progress has not been inconsiderable.

Born in 1893, Prof. Laski was Professor of Political Science in London University since 1926. He was a member of the National Executive of the British Labour Party and was its Chairman in 1945-46. He was associated with the editing of Britain's leading political periodicals like the *Political Quarterly* and the *New Statesman and Nation* and the Labour Party's *Daily Herald.*

A great authority on political science, Prof. Laski has made a rich contribution to political theory through a number of books, quite popular with students all over the world.

In Harold Laski's death, India has lost a staunch friend and an ardent champion of her freedom.

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SAYINGS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA Sri Ramakrishna Math Mylapore

Here is the latest and most exhaustive collection of the sayings of Sri Ramakrishna —1110 in all— culled from a vast body of literature Ramakrishna's parables like the parables of Jesus have a quality of homeliness and simplicity that is infinitely attractive They are not the laboured effusions of learning but the ripe and natural fruits of experience and then they have the authority of one who lived the life he preached That is at once the strength and greatness of the teachings of Ramakrishna

One cannot have a more wholesome literature for every day reading and comfort than the thoughts and sayings packed within the covers of this admirable compilation which is enriched with an introduction giving an elaborate account of the Master's life and character A remarkable feature of the teachings of saints like Ramakrishna is that their reflections are so racy of the soil and breathe the very atmosphere around them No far fetched similies or learned metaphors as in Milton or Arnold disturb the simple tenor of their rural setting Yet they are charmingly allusive with a quaint humour and geniality all their own The peasant with his plough and pair of oxen the fisherman with his rod the carpenter the barber the the washerman and the butcher the beggar and the Brahmin and the poorest of the poor —all these come into the picture to tell a tale or adorn a moral Open any page of the book and there is a wealth of wisdom and good humour too precious to be missed

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY (1949 ANNUAL) Editor Shri M P Gandhi Published by Gandhi & Co Sir Pherozshah Mehta Road Fort Bombay

Sugar has of late been so much before the public eye owing to *short availability* that speculation has been rife over the causes and the blame laid at the doors of several interests that it is refreshing to obtain an authoritative and comprehensive statement of the real situation with regard to th sugar industry which is provided in this Annual With statistics galore the ANNUAL lays stress on the need for the continuance of *protection* a policy of maximisation of production intensified agricultural research centrally organised sales reduction in price and prohibition of imports If facts and figures must speak, the ANNUAL is a convincing document

CONSTITUTION MADE EASY By V B Kulkarni The Hindustan Newspapers Ltd 341 Tardeo Bombay

Napolean is reported to have said that a constitution ought to be short and clear Running into 250 pages with 395 sections and 8 schedules with almost every section having its sub sections the Indian Constitution cannot lay claim either to brevity or absolute clarity and any attempt to present it in a short and simple form so as to be interesting and intelligble to the common man must indeed be greeted with gladness Mr Kulkarni's Constitution Made Easy is certainly a successful attempt in this direction It is a short and simple summary of the salient features of our Constitution

COMMUNAL UNITY By M. K. Gandhi, Navajeevan Press, Ahmedabad.

Gandhiji, as every one knows, lived and died for communal unity. It was the one passion that was the constant spur to his life's activities.

This bulky volume of "thousand pages" is a fitting memorial of a life so beautifully dedicated to the cause of unity. This is a thoroughly comprehensive and encyclopaedic publication, drawn copiously from Gandhiji's numerous writings in *Young India* and *Harijan*. His weekly comments on contemporary events bearing on unity and his constant exhortation and call for a union of hearts had doubtless a great influence on the generation that looked up to him for guidance and inspiration. To us who read his words, they are no less valuable and we are grateful to the publishers for the care and deligence with which they have gathered together all the master's words on this important subject in one volume of permanent interest. It is fitting that Gandhiji's thoughts, scattered over the columns of his weeklies through many years should be rescued from their ophemeral setting and preserved in the shape of a more enduring volume. Gandhiji, it will be observed, was not content with conventional fraternising. He pleaded for a union of hearts and such cheap prescriptions as intermarriage and interdining had no appeal to him. He had blessed many intermarriages and dined with men and women of all races. But he had no illusions. "It is my settled conviction," he said, "that intermarriage and interdining have no bearing on Communal Unity. The causes of discord are economic and political, and it is these that have to be removed. There is intermarriage and interdining in Europe, but the Europeans have fought amongst themselves as we Hindus and Mussalmans have never fought in all history. Our masses have stood aside."

There is Gandhiji with his clear vision and straight counsel, albeit unconventional.

PRACTICE AND PHILOSOPHY OF CO-OPERATION by V. Veerasingham, Hindu College, Manipay, Ceylon.

Mr. Ratnayake, Minister of Food and Co-operative Undertakings, Ceylon, in his Foreword, welcomes this book as heralding a fruitul era of co-operative authorship in Ceylon, and as possessing a clear philosophy of its own. First, Ceylon emphasised co-operation in general centering round credit: and the need for such a perspective still sways co-operative thought in the Island where the credit and supply movements run parallel to each other. As in England the supply movement is growing strong, but only with Government's help. There is ample scope for multi-purpose societies. The problem of rural reconstruction is tackled with from many sides; but in the process co-operation has played only a minor part and has not succeeded at all in co-operative agricultural production of raw materials. The Store movement has been for the most part the result of compulsory co-operation resorted to as a war measure. The author advocates the formation of a co-operative political party both in India and in Ceylon with its own moral ideals and code of conduct, as co-operation occupies a middle place between capitalism and socialism.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

March 1 Britain s new Parliament opens with Mr Attlee s Labour Government

—Chiang resumes Presidency of National Government

March 2 Gen Li challenges Chiang s move

March 3 U S defence plans ready for emergency says President Truman

March 4 Accident to Calcutta mail at Sulurpet 50 miles from Madras

March 5 Delhi protests against harassment of evacuees from E Pakistan

March 6 The Prime Minister at Calcutta

—Mir Laik Ali former Prime Minister of Hyderabad escapes from detention

—Death of Sachchidananda Sinha at Patna

March 7 Pak occupation of W Bengal villages reported

March 8 India agrees to one man mediation in Kashmir dispute

March 9 Attlee wins vote of confidence on Steel nationalisation

March 10. Rehabilitation of refugees to have priority of War emergency in W Bengal

March 11 The Prime Minister inaugurates Annual Session of Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi

March 12 Sardar Patel in a press statement exposes Pakistan s false propaganda

—B g air crash off Cardiff

March 13 Belgium votes for Leopold

—Sartsee Khama the Bechuanaland chieftain exiled from his State for five years

March 14 Pandit Nehru s second visit to Calcutta

March 15 Terms of reference of Planning Commission announced

March 16 Mir Laik Ali and his family have reached Karachi says Pakistan s official announcement

March 17 The Prime Minister expresses in Parliament India s concern over Hindus plight in E Bengal

March 18 Belgian Government resigns owing to differences over Leopold s return

March 19 Prof Saxena ends his thirty-day fast on Government s assurance of justice to sugar workers

March 20 C R the last Governor General is given an allowance of Rs 1000 a month

March 21 M Molotov takes over most executive powers from Stalin

March 22 British Govt cites Enquiry for ban on Sarotse Khama

March 23 Finance Bill referred to Select Committee

March 24 Death of Prof Harold Laski in London hospital

March 25 Refugees pouring into West Bengal

March 26 A I Cameron Associated Chambers Chief killed by mob in Calcutta

March 27 Martial law declared in Howrah area



INDIA HONOURS BRITISH SCIENTIST

The University of Calcutta has just honoured the British scientist Sir Edward Appleton by conferring on him the Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary Gold Medal This is bestowed once every two years on a scientist considered to rank among the most famous of the age

FOOD TO THE WORLD'S HUNGRY

The United States of America has been urged "to give food to the world's hungry" by Mr. Henry Morganthau (Jr.), in an article in the *New York Times*. Mr. Morganthau, before serving for over 11 years as Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, was Chairman of the Federal Farm Board and Governor of the Farm Credit Administration.

"In our struggle to attain a world of free and peaceful nations, capable of withstanding the onslaught of Communism and Totalitarianism of every kind," he says, 'we have come to recognise that hunger and sickness are our principal enemies.

If we are to attain our objectives, we must not lose sight of the fact that in certain areas of the world hunger and sickness are more widespread than they were in Europe even in the darkest days I refer particularly to the situation in India and the countries of the Middle East These areas do not receive Marshall Aid

Even if considerations of common humanity were not sufficient reasons for action by the United States to assist in alleviating these terrible conditions, it is quite clear that it is in our national self interest to do so.

It is clear, for example that the peoples of India and the Arabs of the Middle East can be our strong and faithful allies in the struggle for a free world But as long as large portions of their populations suffer from hunger and sickness, they will have little interest in being effective partners with us in this struggle

"It is not enough for us," emphasises Mr. Morganthau, "to tell them of the advantages of democracy as a way of life—we must help them make it a reality for their peoples."

The author of the article stresses the fact that the U. S. Government has a tremendous hoard of food and other farm products stored in warehouses all over the country which cannot be sold and which is costing the Government a vast amount of money just for storage. No large quantity of this surplus can be disposed because the countries in desperate need of the food just do not have the dollars of hard currency to pay for it.

"In my opinion," says Mr. Morganthau "we should make a straight gift of the food, with no financial strings attached. This is not solely a financial problem for the United States but a matter of common humanity and national policy.

"The important thing is to see that these surplus agricultural products are distributed as promptly and efficiently as possible in the areas of greatest need . . . and I am confident that this country will have advanced the cause of humanity as well as its own interests by such action."

REPRESSION IS NO REMEDY

There is no reason why the activities of a few communists and other anti-social elements should cause panic in the highest circles of the Government, observes Mr. V. B. Karnik in *The Radical Humanist*. There are other measures caculated to root out the causes of discontent among the people which should be adopted and implemented. "Repression and arbitrary powers offer no remedy against subversive activities. Has it not been the experience of those who participated in the independence movement that the more the British adopted repressive measures the greater was the strength of the movement for independence.

"If there is to be law and order there must be respect for justice all round and no Government which wants to be responsible should impair the foundations of justice for that is undermining the very basis of law. We hope that the Government will realise this before it is too late".

FAILURE OF PROHIBITION

Despite the protests of the Madras Ministers it is becoming increasingly clear says *The New Leader*, that prohibition as worked out in practice is a proved failure "Previous advocates of prohibition have begun to open their eyes to the realities of the situation and to admit that while prohibition entails a large waste of possible revenue and a great deal of positive expenditure it does not really prohibit the use of alchoholic liquor, as is manifest by the steady number of prohibition offences throughout every portion of the State be it in the back woods of South Kanara or the forests of Salem or the deltas of the Krishna or the Godavari But critics of prohibition though courageous enough to protest against the policy have failed to place their fingers on the only solid objection to prohibition *viz*, that it is an unwarranted interference with the fundamental right of the individual to eat and drink as he chooses The fact that nine persons around me do not smoke should not deprive me of the right of smoking so long as I do not smoke in their faces Even so, the prevention of moderate drinking is really a negation of the right of the individual, and therefore a crime against democracy But it will not be this philosophic objection that will prevail but the knowledge that prohibition with the pecuniary losses it entails is a serious handicap to the resetting up of the broken economy of the State The principle of statecraft is not principle, but expediency! A correct index of man's advancement down the ages

WHO IS AN AGGRESSOR?

A new problem has been put up to President Truman on his fateful decision to create the H-bomb It is a problem of semantics the science of the meaning of words What constitutes aggression in this age of atomic and hydrogen weapons asks Mr P G Krishnayya in his American letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* Senator Brien McMahon Chairman of the Joint Atomic Committee has told the President and Secretary Acheson that prevailing definitions of aggression are obsolete He wants them to promulgate a new definition that will realistically fit the fearful threat facing the democratic world.

McMahon urged that the new definition be issued simultaneously with the President's H-bomb decision Specifically McMahon proposed

(1) A declaration that the U S considered the refusal of any power to submit its atomic facilities to international inspection and control as an act of aggression (2) That the United Nations be asked to impose sanctions against such an aggressor These reprisals would include withdrawal of diplomatic representatives cancellation of commercial treaties and denial of port and airfield facilities,

During the weeks the President wrestled with the H-Bomb decision McMahon's proposal was also debated pros and cons It was finally decided not to couple the two together for fear of appearing warlike But McMahon's problem in semantics continues to hang over the White House, State Department and Pentagon like the sword of Damocles The Military chiefs are heartily in accord with McMahon on the need for a new definition of what constitutes aggression McMahon's views are strongly shared by Barnard Baruch

'You ought to be ashamed the father told his loafing son When George Washington was your age he had become a surveyor, and was hard at work

'And when he was your age' the boy replied he was President of the United States"

A TESTAMENT OF FAITH

Gandhi's refusal after the bomb explosion at Birla House to let anybody coming to attend his evening prayer gatherings be searched for hidden weapons in spite of earnest entreaties of Sardar Patel was in keeping with and an integral part of his general attitude Writes Mr Pyarilal in *Harijan*

> While at prayer above all when he had put himself under God's sole protection he wanted no other protection or else his faith in the former was a make believe and a farce As his selfsurrender to God deepened the potency of his non violence grew more and more irresistible It was demonstrated during his Calcutta fast and in a still greater measure during his last Delhi fast when the spontaneous flood of congratulatory messages and telegrams from Pakistan at the successful termination of the fast while the soil under the feet was still sadden with communal bloodshed of the most unprecedented magnitude reflected all the character of an atomic chain reaction

Partition had come in spite of him He had accepted it as a *fait accompli* But if there was true non violence in him even partition could be made to shed its virus and the fundamental unity of mankind to assert itself among the Hindus and Muslims of India in spite of the partition

> A Muslim leader of Pakistan who met him soon after envisaged a fifty mile procession of Hindus returning to Pakistan with Gandhiji at the head and the idea enthralled him There was the Kashmir fight He had accepted it even as he had the partition not that he was reconciled to it or had in any way changed his fundamental attitude on war and the possibility of eliminating it by non violent mass action but because he was still engaged in perfecting the weapon—which though it had demonstrated its matchless efficacy so far in the struggle for India's independence needed to be rebuilt or perhaps redesigned to perform the duty that now confronted it in the new set up That it could be so redesigned he had not the slightest doubt in his mind as the present writer can testify He had a rough idea as to how he would proceed He even felt that he was perhaps on the brink It was not given to him to conduct his experiment further to its successful issue

The object of Mr Pyarilal's article is to bear witness that he regarded its success as a present possibility and to give an inkling of the technique with which he was working

ANOMALY OF EAST BENGAL

Conditions in India and Pakistan are different In India all communities are officially put on the same level, and all are given equal rights before the secular state India is the outcome of a nationalist movement Pakistan, on the contrary is the outgrowth of the two-nation theory says the *New Review* in an Editorial Pakistan is a Muslim state a state of, for and by, Muslims, with the other communities being permitted to stay under the state's tolerant and even benevolent protection In Pakistan all Muslims are equal, but Muslims and non-Muslims are not"

> The two nation theory was not born in East Bengal it was imported from far away Social condition however favoured its acceptance Society had been some way or other adjusted to a century long feudalism with the feudal power vested mostly with Hindus who held a near monopoly in land trade and administration whilst Muslims felt humiliated by the distribution of feudal power The two nation theory was a godsent way of redressing social disequilibrium and reversing communal domination Within a few weeks of the new regime, official nomination police behaviour and methodical legislation had achieved the reality and the consciousness of Muslim domination Yet the life ofthe people did not at once reflect the major change that had occurred in the political complex The communities kept to their old habits pujas and kirtans went on undisturbed meetings were held with a mixed audience athletic clubs kept on their mixed composition, and inter communal life in villages was left largely unchanged Popular behaviour and official policy seemed at variance

The events of the last few weeks tend to show that the people have absorbed the official two-nation theory. In East Bengal says the Editor communal disturbances are the response in popular logic to the differentiation proclaimed and practised by the state, whilst in India communal troubles run counter to the secularism of the state Stern measures to restore communal peace come spontaneously to a secular government they demand an extra dose of mental alertness from a communal Government

WOMEN IN AMERICA

American women are still discriminated against under the laws of many States, according to Laura Vitray in an article in the February issue of the *United Nations World* magazine.

Basing her article on data compiled by the United Nations in a world-wide survey on women's rights Mrs. Vitray points out that

the social and economic programme of women in many countries has failed to keep pace with their victories in winning the right to vote

The United Nations recently asked all member governments to reply to a detailed questionnaire on the rights enjoyed by their women citizens The answer for the USA furnished by the Women's Bureau of the US Department of Labour shows that

ten States and three territories have not yet removed the ancient English common law 'defect of sex', which bars women from all jury duty

Fourteen States give the father alone complete authority over his minor children Four have no procedure for establishing paternity or requiring the father to contribute to the support of a child born out of wedlock

Three restrict the power of a married woman to make contracts Five require the husband's signature to give validity to the wife's deed conveying her own land, Five require her to get sanction of a court before engaging in business

Thirty seven States and the District of Columbia still follow the old common law, which regarded the property which husband and wife accumulated by joint effort, as belonging to him alone

New York State probably leads the list of those having labour laws that discriminate against women workers, the article indicates One such law, under active protest by women, prohibits their unemployment as waitresses after midnight

Though protection of women's morals and health have been cited by those who have lobbied against its repeal union locals composed of women waitresses insist that its primary purpose is to prevent them from being hired on the dinner shift when there are more tips in restaurants which do not observe strict midnight closing

Around the world women's greatest victories appear to have been in the march to the ballot box

Forty six nations to day give women the suffrage They now can also vote in occupied Japan, though they have never obtained that right in Switzerland The new nations rising to independence—India, Israel, Korea, Indonesia—all recognise the political equality of men and women

Certain odd quirks in the suffrage laws of some of the Latin-American States are also revealed in the U N. survey

Guatemala gives the vote to all men citizens, whether or not they are literate—but to women only if they can read and write In Mexico, both men and women vote at 18 if married, but only at 21 if unmarried In Peru, not only may women vote, but those who are mothers may vote even though they have not attained their majority

KASHMIR QUESTION

The following is part of a despatch from 'A correspondent in New Delhi" published in the well-known British weekly, *The Economist*, in a recent issue

There is little hope left in India that UNO will ever be able to solve the Kashmir tangle Mr Nehru, at his last Press conference, could only justify reference of the dispute to the Security Council by saying that, at any rate, it did prevent war in 1948 He was indignant too about attempts being made to bring pressure on us, especially in regard to Kashmir, for reasons not connected with Kashmir

Three assertions can now be made, with some certainty, continues the Journal

(1) the Kashmir solution will be found in private discussions round a table in the Indian sub continent —not at Lake Success or anywhere else, (2) there is now a greater readiness on both sides, despite public utterances, to regard settlement on the basis of partition of Kashmir as inevitable, with Jammu and Ladakh going to India, Mirpur and Poonch to Pakistan and the Kashmir Valley by plebiscite (India having given the impression that it has come to stay, has been gaining ground lately with the Kashmiris, who abhor the prospect of more changes and uncertainty), (3) neither side can afford politically to be the first to suggest solution by partition Perhaps, after the General Election, a lead in that direction by whoever is than the British Prime Minister would be welcomed by both sides "

FEDERATED INDIA

The January number of *Federated India* is a Special number published in commemoration of the inauguration of the Republican Constitution There are messages and articles dealing with the various phases of the new constitution—together with illustrations of the leading figures who have played a part in the achievement of the new freedom We congratulate the journal and its Editor on this happy occasion and wish fulfilment of their aims in the service of the nation

South Africa

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Expressing satisfaction that the way is now cleared for a full dress round table conference to attempt a solution of at least some problems arising from the Indian question in South Africa *Time and Tide* says Indian nationalists have for decades resented the treatment of their racial brethren as second class citizens within the Union of South Africa and are unlikely to forget that their beloved Gandhi served his political apprenticeship in this cause nearly half a century ago South Africans in general and perhaps the Malan Government in particular are touchy on the subject of any apparent intervention from outside in what they consider to be their domestic affairs

U. S. A.

INDIANS IN NEW YORK

The Indian community in New York has been given a clean bill of health in so far as it had been reported linked with the police protection sought for and given to the Pakistan Foreign Minister Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan

The President of the India League of America Sardar J J Singh announced he had received a visit from an Officer of the Bureau of Investigation on behalf of the Commissioner of Police with whom Sardar Singh had earlier lodged a protest The protest had been made on the ground that possible attacks by Hindus posing as Muslims were said to have been cited as the reason for the requested police protection

The Sardar said the officer had assured him that there was nothing in the police records to cast any reflection on the Indian community in fact that the record of the Indian community was an excellent one

Malaya

INDIAN LABOUR IN MALAYA

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Mr V C Kesava Rao Is it a fact that Indian labourers are treated as Communists and they are punished by the Malayan Government?

Dr Keskar Our information is that there have been not more than 200 cases of Indian labourers having been penalised for Communist activities

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No representation had been received from the Indo China Indian Association nor any steps been taken to give relief to the dependents in this country

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To achieve these objectives, the Planning Commission has been entrusted with the following tasks

(1) Make an assessment of the material capital and human resources of the country including technical personnel and investigate the possibilities of augmenting such of these resources as are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements

(2) Formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources

(3) On a determination of priorities define the stages in which the plan should be carried out and propose the allocation of resources for the due completion of each stage

(4) Indicate the factors which are tending to retard economic development and determine the conditions which in view of the current social and political situation should be established for the successful execution of the plan

(5) Determine the nature of the machinery which will be necessary for securing the successful implementation of each stage of the plan in all its aspects

(6) Appraise from time to time the progress achieved in the execution of each stage of the plan and recommend the adjustments of policy and measures that such appraisal may show to be necessary and

(7) Make such interim or ancillary recommendations as appear to it to be appropriate either for facilitating the discharge of the duties assigned to it or on a consideration of the prevailing economic conditions, current policies, measures and development programmes or on an examination of such specific problems as may be referred to it for advice by the Central or State Governments

The Commission, which will make recommendations to the Cabinet, will act in close understanding and consultation with the Ministries of the Central Government and the Governments of the States Responsibility for taking and implementing decisions will rest with the Central and the State Governments

In conclusion, the resolution says

The work of the Planning Commission will affect decisively the future welfare of the people in every sphere of national life Its success will depend on the extent to which it enlists the association and co operation of the people at all levels The Government of India, therefore, earnestly hope that in carrying out its work, the Commission will receive the maximum support and goodwill from all interests and in particular, from industry and labour

THE PRESS TRUST IN PAKISTAN

The Board of Directors of the Press Trust of India have issued a statement to the Press giving details of the circumstances and conditions which have made it well-nigh impossible to obtain news from East Pakistan

All the evidence, from both official and private sources goes to confirm the view that there is virtually an iron curtain around East Pakistan

As matters stand at present, correspondents attempting to send objective and accurate news are liable to find themselves in jail or be attacked physically In the circumstances the PTI regrets to observe that matters in Pakistan have reached a stage directly affecting the fundamental principles of freedom of information which calls for the serious consideration of the world Press as a whole and other appropriate authorities

THE TRAGEDY IN EAST BENGAL

If Pakistan starts a war with India, then the first casualty is East Pakistan With East Pakistan more than a thousand miles away by land and a greater distance by sea the first thing that Pakistan may have to do on the outbreak of hostilities will be to write off East Pakistan altogether There is nothing that West Pakistan can do to save her, when reinforcements neither in men nor materials can be sent, writes "Peregrinus" in *Hindustan Times*

As for West Pakistan herself, he adds

those who are talking flippantly of war will do well to ask themselves a few questions With her relations with Afghanistan being what they are what are the chances of her being able to fight a one front war? And even if she does India too will be in a position to concentrate all her strength on the front Where are the ordinance factories and industries in Pakistan to keep her army well supplied? Her only line of communications north to south runs close to the border and is liable to be cut any moment, thus serving the forces operating in the north from Karachi With the Pathanistan movement on it will be useless for her to expect much from the transfrontier tribesmen If they do not create trouble for her, that would be the utmost she can hope for

Many in Pakistan seem to be hobnobbing with the idea that in the event of trouble with India, Pakistan might get active assistance from one or the other Great Powers Here too she will be in for disillusionment,

because the Great Powers know that for one side to intervene actively would mean immediate intervention by the other on the opposite side And in spite of the continuous snarling against each other no one of the Great powers is anxious to convert the present cold war into a shooting war When their own national interests are not involved why should they intervene in a quarrel which does not concern them?

If there is goodwill on the side of Pakistan if its leaders can shed their hatred which has brought untold misery to their people already, there is not one dispute between India and Pakistan which cannot be settled across the table

EVACUEE PROPERTIES

The rehabilitation of refugees is the concern of all the people and parties in India There should be no difference of opinion on the subject The Congress leaders having accepted the responsibility for giving compensation should now mobilize their entire resources in the whole country to secure the fullest co operation of the people, says Mr Isher Singh Grover in *The People* the weekly published in Delhi

The evacuee property laws in Pakistan are in certain respects oppressive and they are often used in such a manner as to seize property which should not be seized The fanatical section of Pakistan is seen to be working according to a set plan The Punjab N W F P, Bahawalpur, Baluchistan and a good part of Sind have practically been cleared of the Hindus and Sikhs Now the Hindus in East Bengal are being hit Goondas often have a free hand and they kill or drive out the Hindus and seize their property Thus certain Pakistanis are getting richer This is not the only source of their profit The evacuee property law in India is very weak The refugees have represented to the Government that the law in India should be similar to the law in Pakistan They and their sympathisers have never suggested that the muslims should be driven out of India, as the Hindus are being driven out of Pakistan But they have always requested the Government to take possession of the properties of such owners as have partially or wholly shifted their business interest, assets or families to Pakistan There are instances in which wife and children are in Pakistan and the husband is in India Father and sons who had joint business as a family concern are not all in India But our Evacuee Property Law does not apply to them Many of them have been remitting money to Pakistan Such a drain on our national wealth is evidently undesirable The refugees have very clearly pointed out that such persons as have transferred their assets or families to Pakistan cannot be said to be unquestionably loyal to this country

The inadequate legal provisions of the Evacuee Property Laws are not only depriving the state of vast sums of money, which rightly should be available for the rehabilitation of the refugees, but may also encourage the Muslims of doubtful loyalty to stay on in India and make full use of their properties for objectionable purposes

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Pakistan

HINDUS' ORDEAL IN E. PAKISTAN

The great human tragedy hidden behind what is now euphemistically called "the East Bengal situation" is set out in a series of dispatches received in calcutta from Wilfred Lazarus, PTI staff correspondent, who recently flew to Dacca.

Much of what Lazarus has recorded has already been published, but in driblets. Here for the first time is a record of what happened in parts of East Bengal based on facts collected by the correspondent on what he describes as "unimpeachable authority" and which he had checked and cross-checked with other sources.

In terms of figures, as far as Lazarus could gather them in Dacca, these "incidents" have cost:

Barisal sub division: Eight thanas seriously affected; villages in four of these almost completely burnt down; 300 killed in one of the villages and 100 in another, while no authentic information is available from other villages.

Khulna district: Six villages in the Bagerhat sub-division seriously affected, the worst affected—Kaishura village—has only three of its 430 houses intact, the rest having been burnt down; many adjoining villages—number unascertainable—affected, but to a smaller degree, with Hindu houses, including places of worship, looted or set on fire.

Dacca: Responsible sources estimate loss of Hindu property here at between four and five crores of rupees; Hindu homes, shops, temples and *ashrams* have suffered: there is still no reliable estimate of the casualties during the three day acute disturbances; the East Bengal Government gave the figure of a little under 200 killed, but responsible Hindu circles here think that even the figure—600 to 1,000—given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Parliament was a cautious estimate.

Narayanganj (a river port about 20 miles from Dacca): A large number of Hindu passengers—their exact figure unascertainable—waiting to catch a steamer done to death and thrown into the river.

It is all a sordid story of large scale arson and looting and killing.

"CONTINUED HARASSMENT OF EVACUEES"

Reports of continued 'harassment of the Hindu evacuees" by the police and "Ansars" in East Bengal have been received in official quarters in New Delhi.

A cordon is reported to have been thrown around the districts of Jessore and Khulna where Ansars and Pakistan armed police are jointly "guarding the border and harassing parties of evacuees." Looting, arson and murder have also been reported from the interior of Khulna District.

The evacuees, according to the reports, are permitted to take not more than Rs. 5 in cash per head, and are being harassed at several points along East-West Bengal borders for their failure to produce income-tax clearance or domicile certificates. About three thousand to four thousand such evacuees have been stranded at Bengapole, nearly five hundred at Satkhira and three hundred at Bhomra in Khulna District. Several evacuees were held up at Chandpur, Goalundo and other intermediate stations and were not allowed to move beyond Darsana in East Bengal.

In several villages of Bholaganj, Hindu families are reported to have been forcibly converted to Islam. A few cases of abduction of Hindu girls have also been reported.

East Africa

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Indians in East Africa may have better educational facilities through the intervention of the India Government, disclosed Prof. Humayun Kabir, Joint Secretary, Education Ministry, Government of India.

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THE SARDAR ON PAK PROPAGANDA

Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, the course of a statement states that instead of feeling ashamed of what had happened in East Bengal, the Central and Provincial Governments in Pakistan were engineering excuses by tracing an imaginary origin of those atrocities

The Sardar describes the "master plan of the Pakistan Press and leaders to attribute happenings in Calcutta to his speech in Calcutta maidan as a 'signal triumph of untruth and fabrication unequalled in the short but sustained record of falsehood and lies which Pakistan publicity has to its discredit"

I need not say anything in defence of my Calcutta speech It is there for any one to read and form his own conclusions That unashamed fabrication has been resorted to is clear from the following supposed quotation from my speech given by *Dawn's* Calcutta correspondent 'Bombs should not fall on your own policemen They are the guardians of the freedom you have achieved with the blood of your men, women and children in Noakhali Do not forget Noakhali Do not forget that important limbs of your mother India have been cut Do not forget that your goal is not yet achieved and finally do not forget that you and your police have to fight with someone else" Compare that with what was actually said The only reference to Noakhali was when I traced historically the pangs and sorrows which Bengal had suffered The reference to the police came when I was dealing with the menace of Communists and other anti social elements I quote the actual words I used which are representative of the burthen of that part of my speech "We have got used to calling the police bad names in the past We have to change that mentality The police which we maligned was different from the police which is serving you to day They are volunteers they are bearing the burden of a great responsibility You should have respect and sympathy for these guardians of law and order If you do not, you will regret it'

I need hardly comment on the manufacturing efficiency of the *Dawn* further The Pakistan Prime Minister was more clever in his own way He took sentences out of the context and pieced them together to make a plausible story but went on to add, 'Our information is that what he actually said was even more poisonous than the quotations that I have given you and they were kept out of the Press' I can only reciprocate the compliment which Mr Liaqat Ali Khan paid me earlier, and say that he must have been 'singularly ill informed'

NEHRU ON THE PROBLEM OF BENGAL

In a message on the eve of his departure from Calcutta after his three-day investigation of conditions in East Pakistan the Prime Minister observed:

The problem of Bengal, as I said sometime ago, has first priority today in India and it occupies my mind to the exclusion of much else . .

This problem has its immediate aspect and a longer aspect I shall not discuss this longer aspect at this stage, although it fills my mind and we have to find a remedy for it The immediate aspect means giving protection to those who are in fear and danger and of making arrangements for those who so wish to travel to safety under adequate protection We are tackling both these immediately

The many stories I have heard and read of what has occurred in East Bengal have filled me with grief and whatever the political aspect of it may be none of us can shed his responsibility or his strong feeling for those who are in peril and seek safety and deliverance I have grieved also for those who have suffered, for no fault of their own, in any part of India

Every citizen of India, wherever he may be, in India or Pakistan, and whatever his religion might be, is a special responsibility of ours But there are other responsibilities also to our kith and kin and we are thoroughly alive to them and are taking steps accordingly

Minorities must be given full protection and, where this is lacking opportunity to seek safety and protection elsewhere It is our duty to see that this is done Let us perform the duty and trust in regard to our minorities entrusted to us and then let us insist that others do likewise

We must give full protection to our minority groups Both self respect and national honour demand it

Many workers in factories are not at present working there owing to fear The sooner they go back to their work the better for them as well as for the community and the nation

The work of looking after the refugees who come here from East Bengal requires careful effort and co ordination I am glad that steps have been taken to this end

It has been some satisfaction to me in this hour of our difficulty and crisis that all kinds of people, belonging to different schools of thought have expressed their desire to sink their differences and to face this crisis together I welcome this and I hope that this will result in far reaching good for Bengal and India We have to direct this feeling and urge to action into right channels of constructive effort

Above all let each one of us remember that we have the honour and future of our great country in his or her keeping and let no evil or thoughtless deed tarnish that honour.

EDUCATIONAL

RAJAJI'S ADVICE TO TEACHERS

Mr C Rajagopalachari addressing a gathering of over thousand teachers at the Senate House Madras emphasised the responsibility of teachers in raising the character of the people The need he said was to day greater than ever before

He said We cannot have a good Democracy functioning in the country, if we do not have men of character

Who could Mr Rajagopalachari asked the teachers do more to raise the character of our people than teachers who guide young boys and girls

Rajaji said that teachers should feel like 'children with children and instruct their students about the realities of the world We should get out of the world of worlds as soon as possible The world of reality is very different he said and added

It is no good to imprison children through long hours in school rooms and send them home Once they grasp the realities about them they will learn proper methods of work

SANSKRIT UNIVERSITY

With the independence of India Sanskrit has also come to its own Now with Hindi as the language of the Republic of India the knowledge of Sanskrit has practically become as essential as it is for the progress of other Indian languages The future of Sanskrit is now assured Thus said Mr N V Gadgil Minister for Works Mines and Power Government of India addressing the Sanskrit Sammelan at Hardwar on March 4

Advocating the necessity of a Sanskrit university Mr Gadgil emphatically said that it was bound to come A large number of Gurukul students of various classes addressed the conference in Sanskrit and recited Sanskrit poems

DR PRASAD AT GURUKUL

India's President Dr Rajendra Pra addressing the annual Convocation of Gurukul Kangri University decla that it was the responsibility of c Universities to produce leaders and good workers for various phases of our national life What the co needed most at the present moment was efficient principled workers The need was all the more urgent because India's new Constitution conferred the right of vote on every adult of 21 in choosing the rulers of the country He said

Your Gurukul is a unique institution in the whole of India Swami Shradhanand 50 years ago took a bold decision by introducing Hindi as medium of instruction right up to the highest stage in the Gurukul Your experiment has demonstrated that graduates educated through the medium of Hindi are in no way inferior to the graduates turned out by our English teaching universities.

Your one great contribution to our educational system the President continued

is that you have revived the past intimate relationship between the teacher and the taught This vital relationship we miss in the modern system of education where there is hardly any mental or spiritual communion between the teachers and the students

EXAM FOR HIGHER SERVICES

A Press *communique* announces that the Union Public Service Commission propose to hold about the middle of September 1950 a combined competitive examination for recruitment to the following services —

The Indian Administrative Service the Indian Foreign Service the Indian Police Service the Indian Audit and Accounts Service the Military Accounts Department the Indian Railway Accounts Service the combined Customs and Excise Service the Income Tax Officers (Class I and grade II) Service the Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments of the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways the Establishment Department of State Railways and the Indian Postal Service (Class I)

LAIK ALI'S ESCAPE

Investigations into the escape of Mir Laik Ali, former Prime Minister of Hyderabad, carried out by an officer obtained from the Central Government specially for the purpose, reveal that Mir Laik Ali and his children left Hyderabad on March 3, 1950 and Mrs Laik Ali on March 4, 1950, said a Press Note issued by the Hyderabad Government on March 13

The Press Note added that the question of assessing the responsibility of individual officers, whose negligence facilitated the escape of Mir Laik Ali and his family, is engaging the personal attention of the Chief Minister and will be decided at the earliest possible moment

The Press Note adds:

It is now possible to state that investigations concerning the escape of Mir Laik Ali are nearing completion The investigations have been carried out by an officer obtained from the Central Government specially for the purpose They reveal that Mir Laik Ali and his children left Hyderabad on the 3rd and Mrs Laik Ali on the 4th March 1950, although their disappearance came to notice shortly after midday on March 6

It had become necessary to take certain persons into custody for the purpose of the investigation Government will consider reviewing the cases of these persons on the conclusion of the inquiry

As a precautionary measure the other ex Ministers were removed from house arrest to jail custody

While Mir Laik Ali escaped from house-custody at Begumpet, Hyderabad, on March 3 Begum Laik Ali it is reported (adds the UPI) emplaned under an assumed name from Hakimpet aerodrome for Bombay on March 4

Mir Laik Ali it is believed dodged the guard by either concealing in the luggage boot of the car or lying low near the driver's seat The car was purposefully left unscreened at that time to hoodwink the guard in thinking that it was empty. After clearing successfully the boundaries of his bungalow Mir Laik Ali is believed to have made himself comfortable in the car and reached Gulbarga, beyond Wadi on the border of Hyderabad State Here he is stated to have boarded a Bombay-bound passenger train The following day, joined by his wife, he is stated to have emplaned for Karachi under a false name with a "no objection permit"

That there was a ring of people who helped Mir Laik Ali to escape cannot be denied At every stage he, his wife and children have, it is stated, received help from India's enemies The whole plan had been prepared in advance, and the plane reservations and 'no objection" certificates also secured

Mir Laik Ali's escape was the outcome of a conspiracy involving a good number of men from Hyderabad, Bombay and elsewhere As a result of the vigorous investigation all threads of conspiracy have been unearthed

Mr B B S Jetley, Inspector General of Police has been relieved of his office and a series of arrests made in this connection including Major General El Edroos former C in C of Hyderabad state forces

TRIAL OF KASIM RAZVI

Syed Kasim Razvi on March 13 submitted a "memo' to the Special Tribunal, trying him and two others in the Shoebullah Khan Murder Case, that he had decided not to defend himself any more in the case 'I cancelled the Vakalatnamas of my pleaders and prohibit them from defending me , Kasim Razvi said

The Chairman of the Tribunal, Mr A Pinto, stated that a 'memo" had been taken on record for further consideration

FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS

Prime Minister Pandit Nehru inaugurating the 23rd annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Delhi on March 11 expressed the hope that the Planning Commission would produce "solid results" He said:

> It is not going to be a commission producing just a report; it is going to be a live commission functioning from day to day and, I hope producing results, not magic results but solid results

Pandit Nehru appealed for non-official co-operation in solving the range of problems before the Government. He said.

> We just cannot solve them by governmental effort alone Governmental effort and governmental direction are essential, but it must be allied to large scale public effort

It was not good enough said Pandit Nehru, that one worked for the good of the masses The masses must get the sensation of being partners in a large undertaking ' That would apply to the future working of industry, whatever the economic or other pattern '

Mr. K. D Jalan, in the course of his presidential address demanded of the Government a more precise definition of the fields that would be left to private enterprise. Mr. Jalan said such a statement was of utmost importance in view of the conflict of the development plans of the State Governments with the industrial policy of the Government of India

Calling upon the Government to lay at rest all misgivings regarding their nationalisation policy, Mr. Jalan expressed the hope that the proposed Planning Commission would succeed in creating conditions and increase of bureaucratic control in industry and trade, it will not, in our opinion succeed in increasing production and achieve the objects all of us have in view

Emphasising the need to maintain a high level of production, Mr Jalan urged removal of all restrictions on raising of cash crops, reduction in production costs through increased availability of raw materials, and an increase in the 'per capita' productivity of labour.

The Federation passed two resolutions opposing ' encroachments of the State " in the field of trade and viewing with "increasing alarm " the "tendency on the part of Government to embark on industrial ventures without adequate preliminary investigation and without proper guidance of experienced industrialists "

Mr G D. Birla, the well-known industrialist, addressing the session expressed his conviction that businessmen had a bright future in the country if only they would take the opportunities offered to them

While the Federation reiterated that the industrial and business community was "anxious to actively co-operate with the Government ', it expressed ' keen disappointment " that the Constitution of the Indian Republic did not provide any representation for Indian industry, trade and commerce in the Parliament

The Federation suggested that the constitution of the various advisory Committees and Councils should be so revised as to make them more compact and representative of the interests concerned

WOMEN'S DEPUTATION TO P. M.

Thirty-five Women's organizations in Calcutta submitted a memorandum to Pandit Nehru during his visit to Calcutta last month, in which they urged that it would be useless to depend on any agreement with the Government of Pakistan.

They pointed out that any assurance given by the Pakistan Government would not reassure the minorities now. They suggested for the solution of the problem exchange of population or migration of millions of East Bengal Hindus to India.

A deputation on behalf of E. Bengal people in Calcutta is stated to have urged the Prime Minister to leave aside the path of negotiations. They suggested settlement of the issue by other methods or they should be allowed to be prepared to deal with the situation themselves

MARRIED WOMEN AND EXECUTIVE JOBS

"No women have been selected so far for the Indian Administrative Service. Some recommendations of the Special Selection Board are still under consideration". said the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, in reply to Srimati Uma Nehru in Parliament.

"Srimati Durgabai": Is there any ban on the appointment of women so far as married women are concerned?

"Sardar Patel:" So far as jobs in the Secretariat are concerned, there is no ban. But there are certain difficulties in regard to executive jobs.

"Certain functions which married women have to perform create difficulties in the way of our taking women for certain executive posts. In spite of the claim of equality, "men cannot be women and women cannot be men."

EGYPTIAN WOMEN'S CLAIM

The Egyptian Bent-el-Nil (Daughter of the Nile) party has sent out 25,000 written pledges to the young people of Egypt asking them to join the struggle for the complete emancipation of women.

This is part of a drive launched some months ago by the two women's groups in Egypt claiming to represent the majority of the educated womanhood in demanding equality with men.

The latest campaign is being chiefly directed at the young people of the schools and universities, men and women, calling upon them to rally to the work of the feminist unions.

Beside the Bent-el-Nile party, which is made up of the younger elements of Egyptian society, there is the Egyptian Feminist Union, which has the same aims as the Bent-el-Nile, but is less militant.

Outlining the programme of action in this latest compaign, Mrs. Doria Shafik, a pretty college professor and president of Bent-el-Nile, told an enthusiastic feminine audience at the headquarters of the "The Modern Woman" that the order of the day as far as the Egyptian women were concerned was the unrelenting struggle for equal rights and, especially, the right to vote. "The Modern Women" is a non-political organization, tending to raise the status of women in Egyptian society.

Discussing the battle against illiteracy among women—one of the main tasks, of the feminist movement,—Mrs. Doria Shafik said that many girl students had offered their services in this cause—by giving special free courses to women in the cities and villages.

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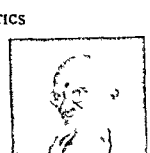
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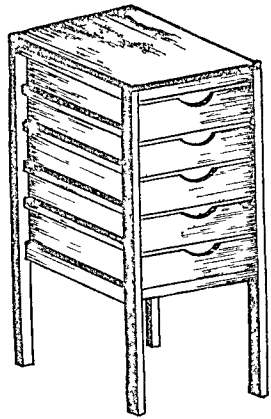
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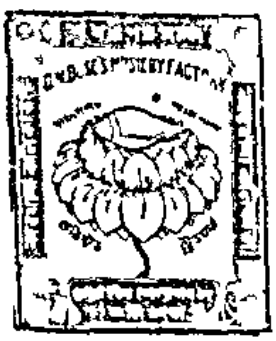
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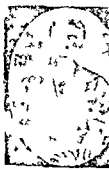
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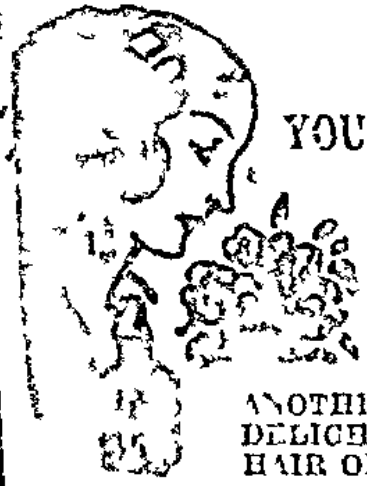
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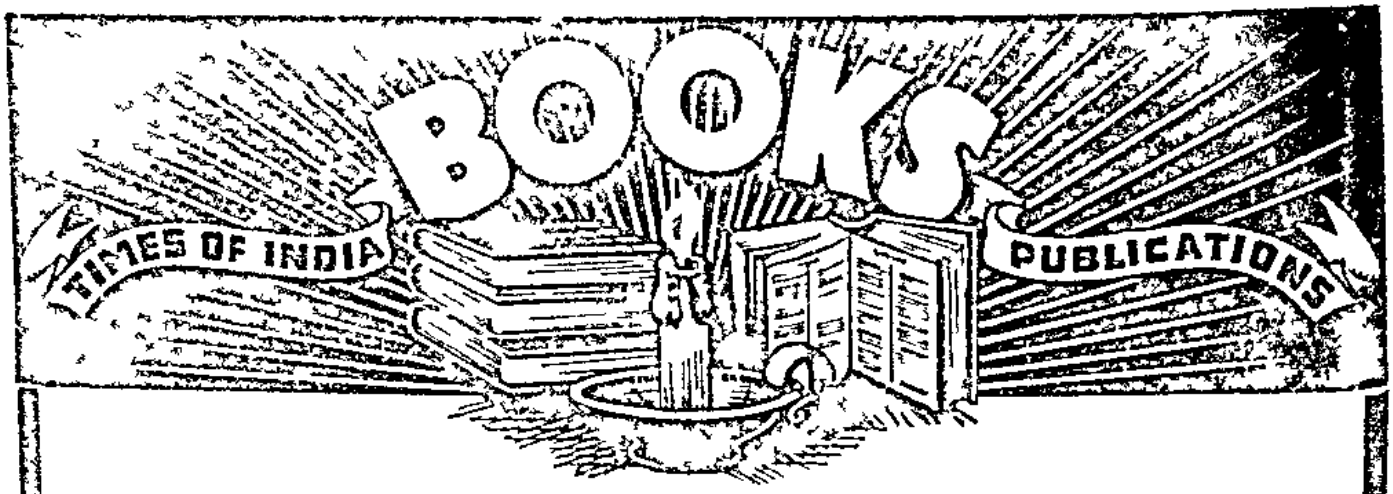
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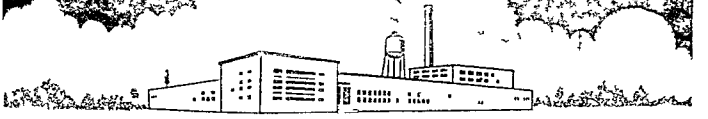
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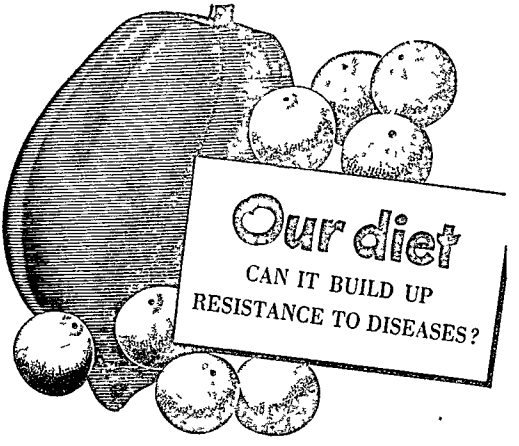
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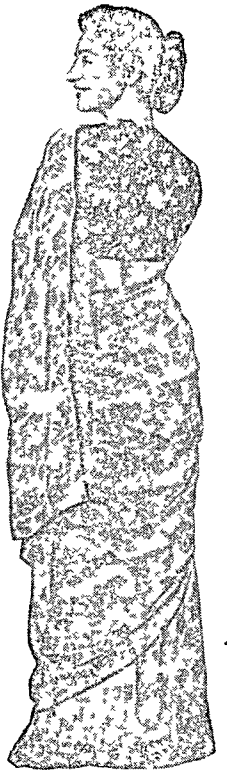
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proved by the subsequent development of an altogether modern psychology in Buddhism The spirit of the later Buddhist literature (Sanskrit) may well be called reckless but this is what the empiricist wants

Turning to the other side for comparison, we find the good willed kind natured devotee the classical *Bhakta* who has taken up belief and surrender as his mottoes He is not only not self reliant but he does not want to be so, devotional literature abounds in similes of how the pious wants to be tossed about in his divine love etc He pays for it in the shape of periods of depression and melancholy and the dreaded dark hours which the emotionless seeker of wisdom alone tries to avoid, the true *Bhakta* fondles them—they are part of his routine It is all a matter of taste—besides the psychologist recalls the phenomenon of Masochism which may be adduced as a parallel appearance in its sphere The lamentations of saints of calibre have become standard texts of poetry—take Augustine Francis Chaitanya—even Sankara is not free from occasional self-abasement as in the impressive *Shiva-Aparadha Kshamapana-Stotram*, though in the case of this author and kindred ones we cannot say whether or not such effusions are but rhetorical, or poetic, or both

If once we have succeeded in attracting our skeptic, we can attempt to make him adopt something that would not contravene his intellectual conceptions and his *Weltanschauung* The approach is the aforesaid spiritual empiricism free from the faintest traditional ballast Don't let us try to entice him with the prospects of peace and bliss—their mention is a sure emetic for them, their promise made old Dr Faustus an agnostic and then a magician! Dr H, top-ranking lecturer at Balliol, Oxford said he left his church at a pre-philosophical age because the idea of paradise whenever catechized, evoked in him a sensation of tasting candy and tomatoes, and having been ill disposed toward that particular combination from his childhood he felt he had to take his drastic step But the grown-out skeptic is delicate about much less primitive and crude forms of eschatological promise Self realization is a current and inadequate rendering of the original *Jnanam*, which implies a state of irrefutable and lasting knowledge—and even though no definition can be clear it indicates something most desirable to the true skeptic—provided he has not given up striving and pushing ahead, hence the redeeming angel contends

> Wer immer strebend sich bemuht
> len konnen wir erlosen *

at the demise of such an inveterate agnostic as Goethe's best man It seems likely that our skeptic takes some interest toward whatever *Jnanam* may imply But here comes a new hitch, the Vedantic text books generally presuppose or postulate faith in the preceptor and the *Shruti* and what is worse for our case they often claim that eventually nothing can be had without Divine Grace or *Ishwara-Prasadam*. At this juncture our friend probably feels like decamping—for this is precisely what has kept him off all the time There are two means to prevent it, either he can be made to

* Whoever keeps but striving on redemption is brought to him anon

read texts that do not emphasize these points in the traditional manner. and which establish a sort of nexus between practice and achievement—Sureshara, Mandana Mishra (sen.), Prakashatman and other later Vedantic writers would be helpful—or we must find random textual corroborations for our empiricism—this should be possible with some effort, if at all our patient cares to look up the scripts—all the better and easier if he does not.

But it is not even necessary to incur a risk of losing a proselyte. Surmising the skeptic has formed the impression that the texts insist on those factors, we have yet another proposal for him—and it is a right empirical one; it is to set up an intermediate target, which he can reach by means which are solely within his own grasp, and which do not depend on the incalculable and unpredictable grace—the skeptic may prefer the word caprice—of a transcendental power. The ultimate aim is the same as that of the gnostic. who can bridge the gulf of doubt with trust and faith in a Divine, and with the hope in its eventual grace. The skeptic cannot venture on this direct enterprise for obvious reasons; his relations to *Ishvara* are so precarious. Still he has no cause for modesty—a most hideous sentiment to him—for his concept of the Ultimate is no less hypothetical than that of the normal-*i.e.*, gnostic-aspirant.

Before dealing with that intermediate step, a short digression into historical matter will not be out of place. This idea of intermediacy is not new. The Knights Templars worshipped the deity *Baphomet*, whom they had probably borrowed from the antique Babylonians. Now this *Baphomet* stands for what has been typified here as the intermediate, a kind of jumping-board to the Ultimate Reality. The Templars and the Babylonians before them, have evidently been holding that the Deity could not be propitiated directly, as He was "unknown and uncertain"; the scarce remains of Templar literature show that the Knights had elaborated this matter fairly well. A similar sentiment may be prevailing in Hinduism, where Hanuman is somehow closer to the devotee than Rama Himself; the fact that the former has so many shrines all over the continent and the latter none may serve as a clue to this conjecture.

To turn back to our thesis—we have to present one or more *Baphomets* to the skeptic, if we want to lure him into spirituality; he must be offered some such intermediate to which he can stick without compunctions; it must be entirely in his own hands, and his life and effort must not be deemed wasted if he does not succeed in obtaining the full goal; that is, he must be sure to have made a good bargain as against his previous cynicism.

What are the intermediates our friend may choose to accept with a view to exchange his skepticism for spirituality? They are chiefly these two—discipline and *upekṣha*. There is no English word which conveys the exact import of the latter term; "indifference" has a kind of negative flavour, and "equanimity" does not cover the whole range of what is meant by *upekṣha*. Now even in the classical literature its meaning varies; with the Vedanta school of thought, and with most of the other *Darshanas*, it is but one of the lower rungs of the ladder to perfection, ranking approximately with *titikṣa*

endurance and *mumukshutva* desire for liberation Not so with the Thera Buddhists in the Pali Canon *upeksa* is much the same as or at least very close to the end We must take the word in its latter setting if it is to tally with what the skeptic needs To an extent it converges with the Stoic ideal though we feel it is far more comprehensive a thing than the Stoic anavid apathy What the Buddha thus styled *upekkha* can be realized by our friend more so as it is obvious that its acquisition does not lie without the aspirant's individual power—for which the fact that the Thathagata proclaimed it stands as a valid voucher

Next comes discipline which is not to be understood in the hackneyed sense of a hierarchic obedience discipline means self discipline It must be far more intensive with the skeptic than with any other adept

There are no expedients for the skeptic who tries himself as a freshman in the line The devotee must have a kind of disciplined routine too but there is no need for rigorous regularity in his case—and the *Bhakta* will as a rule connive at his own occasional or frequent falls referring his conscience to the famous and agreeable dictum of the weak flesh Not so the skeptic *Siddhaka*—he cannot wait for the descension of divine help and grace which he has not yet been able to believe in Whatever course of practice he has taken up *Yoga Jnana* etc he must be uncompromising therein This appears to be a negative point presenting as it does the greater difficulty But the empiricist wants precisely this and being an adventurer of the spirit he loves to go the whole hog

Here is the definition of what we want to regale our skeptic with

> Spiritual Empiricism is a life or line of fully practised endeavour (*Sadhana*) in which all such precepts injunctions teachings and activities as are incumbent on the normal *re* gnostic and believing aspirant are carried out and adhered to on a purely empirical basis An outsider in this definition is a person who does not cherish *a priori* belief in any of these precepts injunctions teachings and activities

A few concrete examples will illustrate the implications of the statement The skeptic who has come so far is now accepting the instruction of a preceptor or of a person he thinks compatible Now the scriptures may ordain that the *Guru* must be considered as the Divine Incarnate and not as an ordinary human being, though the skeptic cannot yield to this demand otherwise he may well do so empirically It is wrong to hold that such an empirical belief cannot equal the *a priori* conviction of the gnostic in intensity experimental psychology and observation have found that it *can* Epistemological consideration also shows that the empirical belief tends to be rather stronger than *a priori* acquiescence for the latter is subject to the concurrence of doubt whereas this element does not come in where belief is a product of deliberate empiricism Classical psychology viz. *Yoga* and *Tantra* were well aware of this fact It seems doubtful that teachers like Patanjali or Purnananda had an *a priori* belief in the existence of the *chakras* and their indwelling *devatas* and *shaktis*; and if they had their works betray a spirit of exact and factual empiricism No thinking man—be he an ultra agnostic—will doubt the sincerity of that large group of ancients

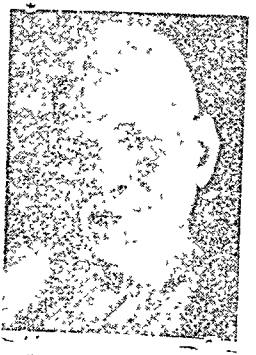
and moderns who spent their lives in such introspective research.

All further items of a spiritual life for the skeptic can then be subsumed under this view. Supposing the new *Sadhaka* is an æsthetist rather than an intellectualist —a type to be met with frequently in modern, sophisticated society—he may well choose some personal *Ishtam* as the object for his meditation instead of the attributeless Reality preferred by his intellectual colleague. It really makes no difference, as either of the aspects is taken to, empirically. Ramakrishna recommended his zealous audience to pray for divine love with a yearning heart. The tyro in the philosophy of values may be perturbed at the apparent inconsistency, thinking it to be equivalent to mother's paradigmal order to her reluctant offspring, when she tells him he *must like the apple*, or to the young man on courtship who tells the object of his wooing that *she must love him* Empirical psychology, however, finds that the Paramahamsa's counsel was well founded and justified for this divine love plus the necessary yearning *can* be put on the schedule of empirical spirituality.

In his daily life and encounters, the newcomer will work himself into a new outlook: He will learn to see the Divine in the Devilish, making this a point in his empirical study. He will of course not forget that he deals with Satan in his everyday life, but he will simultaneously learn to appreciate these practical manifestations.

What if he fails in his endeavour to realize the ultimate? Such a failure will not have a devastating effect upon him. The primitive—primitive in the scientific sense—believer can hardly take a complete spiritual breakdown—psychiatric words and literature abound in cases of religious frustration. The skeptic has no apprehension, as he does not expect much at the commencement. The *Gurus* up to this day have been facing the same question from their disciples—why is there no realization, no *darshan*, after and despite so much effort? The skeptic will spare his *Guru* an answer.

So there are two alternatives for our skeptic seeker: if he advances on his spiritual adventure, he will cease to be a skeptic in due course: if he fails, he will at least be no longer a cynic—and will turn out to be an asset to society; for what is more welcome to human community than the increase in the number of cool-headed, broad-minded, and highly disciplined individuals, free from bias and superstition?



SRI RAMANA MAHARSHI
1879–1950

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

IN "Occupied" Japan General MacArthur was professing to teach 'Democracy' to the 'feudal and fascist' nationals In Germany too, the Americans are planning to build up Hitler's land on the sound foundations of democratic living But those who have been to the United States recently know very well the kind of democracy that is being practised in Uncle Sam's own home. Anything that appears to be progressive and not in line with the prevailing capitalistic order is at once dubbed as 'red and 'Un American,' and the person or persons concerned are chased by the police relentlessly The American Press and the Radio both of which are entirely dominated by the financiers and industrialists, pour out from day to day and even from hour to hour the worst type of poison against the Soviet regime and give to the American public an impression that Russia is their enemy number one The military officers, who have virtually usurped political power in America, are always eager to tighten their hold on the masses by circulating from time to time frightening stories regarding the preparations of the U S S R. for the next war. Military programmes and training have been extended to schools and colleges, and even the girls' high schools have not been left out Professors in State colleges and universities are being asked to sign pledges that they would dissociate from all 'subversive' and 'un-American' activities. The slightest suspicion in this regard inevitably means dismissal and even imprisonment With the exception of Dr Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, all other heads of Universities have succumbed to this constant pressure from the Military administration Dr. Hutchins in the course of his memorable Note to the Federal Government made it abundantly clear that Communism in America could be checked not by the police and the military but by setting their own house in order. If the kind of soil that is most fertile for Communists is not allowed to develop in the country, all will be well with America. Otherwise, no amount of violent coercion would be ever successful in stemming the tide of Communism in the United States, This warning of Chancellor Hutchins will, I hope, not go unheeded by Uncle Sam; in fact, other countries including India, should ponder seriously over this sound advice In a country like the United States of America where students and professors dare not discuss problems like Capitalism and Communism freely even in the class rooms, there must, certainly be something essentially wrong with the socio-economic organisation of the State

In the social sphere, America's treatment towards the Negroes is, to say the least, barbaric. Although there is absolutely no scope for racial discrimination in the Constitution of the United States, the coloured people in Uncle Sam's land are "lynched" to this day without any fear or shame. During our seven-week stay in America, we could read with profound indignation about several cases of such murders in the *New York Times*. The State laws appear to be helpless in the face of this mob fury specially in the Southern

States. President Truman's efforts to get rid of this uncivilized racial inequality have evoked the anger of a number of Congressmen of the Southern States although they belong to the Democratic Party. Thus the President has been experiencing considerable difficulties in seeing his programme through the Congress because several of his own party-men have turned against him owing to his sympathy for the Negroes. The 'Jim Crow' laws in America do not allow the coloured people to occupy front seats in the trams, buses or trains. Negroes cannot enter the general hotels, restaurants or shops; they cannot use the public halls for their meetings. Although officially the Universities and colleges are open to all citizens of the United States, Negro students are compelled to join only those educational institutions which are reserved for them. Coloured professors, however learned they may be, can teach only in the Negro Universities; the 'white' students have no use for their talents and knowledge. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, the distinguished President of the Howard University which is a Negro institution was in India recently in connection with the World Pacifist Conference. Even a highly cultured man like him cannot get entry into State Universities of America simply because he is born of Negro parents. Paul Robeson, one of the most celebrated composers in the world, was hooted out during a musical performance in America a few months ago. These disgraceful incidents in Uncle Sam's own home belie the professions of democracy that America is never tired of making to the outside world. In all the big cities of the United States like Chicago and New York, there are Negro Colonies which are reserved for the coloured people. Negroes are not permitted to reside in houses in other parts of these cities These Colonies are full of dirt and filth partly because of the habits of the Negroes and partly because the Municipal authorities do not pay much attention to the sanitation of these neglected parts. I had a chance of visiting some of these Colonies in America; they reminded me of the 'Harijan colonies' in India against which Gandhiji fought so hard throughout his life. Untouchability in India is, surely, a great curse; it is a dark blot on our culture and civilization. Although it has been made illegal under the New Constitution, the work of the social reformers in India has not ended and cannot and unless the sense of untouchability is rooted out from the very hearts of the people. In America also, colour discrimination is illegal; nonetheless, it continues to remain a shameful commentary on the democratic living of the Americans.

In the economic field, the United States has yet to learn that there can be no real political democracy without reasonable economic equality. It is true that in America every third man has a car. But it is also true that the disparity in the incomes of the labour class and the rich is staggering. While an unskilled wage-earner gets about $250 per month, the income of a business magnate runs into billions of dollars. There are, consequently, "slums" even in the New York. Moreover, we have also to bear in mind that despite all the wealth that Uncle Sam is proud to possess, there are about five million

people unemployed in the United States Of course they do not starve because the State is legally and morally responsible for their maintenance But the immoral and pathetic life that these dole eaters are compelled to lead by society is inconsistent with the basic principles of democracy

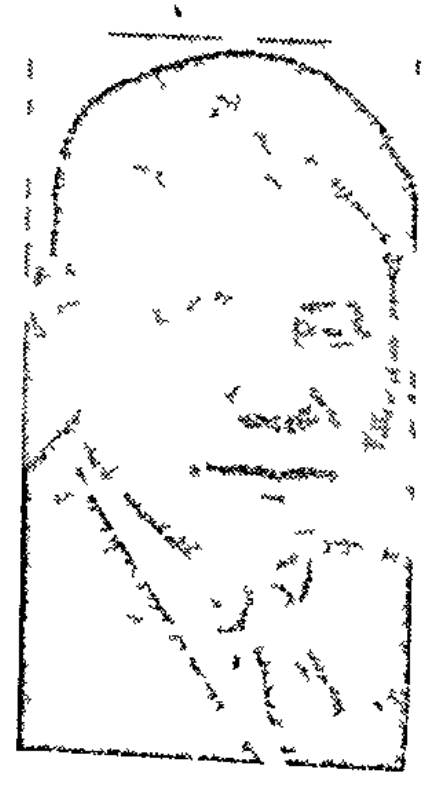
Thus the state of democracy in Uncle Sam s own home is far from satisfactory In fact it is so unsatisfactory that a distinguished educationist like the late Prof Harold Laski who was invited by an American University had to go back without delivering his address simply because the Government did not relish his socialist views When I heard about this incident I did not believe it in the beginning But on making the necessary enquiries I found it to be absolutely true I know that President Truman is aware of the imperfections of American democracy In the course of his message to one of the Annual functions of the Liberal Party in New York Truman made the following significant observation

> The world today is an arena in which the principles of democracy are being challenged and the people of the world are measuring the performance of the democracies against the promises of totalitarianism To meet this challenge requires the free peoples of the earth to perfect the working of their own democracies

Speaking on the occasion Louis Fischer the well known American author remarked with special emphasis

> Sometimes the things that are happening in the U S A frighten me as much as anything in the world I travel a good deal in this country, our people are not as attached to tolerance and free speech as they used to be We have curtailed the freedom to dissent The loyalty tests, which are being applied not only in Washington but to street cleaners in some cities mean that we suspect guilt before any guilt could exist There is the beginning of a terror in this country and though it is only a beginning it is grave and sad The most sacred heritage of America is freedom and it is a better weapon against communism than bombs

These words of wisdom from one of the distinguished sons of Uncle Sam deserve the careful attention of all lovers of freedom and democracy!



Ewan Clague Commissioner of Labor Statistics U S Department of Labor

INDIA'S IMPORT CONTROL POLICY

By Prof. V. R. KRISHNA RAO, M.A. LITT.

IMPORT control was enforced during the war to minimise spendings of foreign exchange and to utilise the same for maximising war effort. After the cessation of hostilities, the policy had to be continued as an adjunct to the control over exports which has been found necessary to conserve essential supplies for internal needs. But due to the need to curb inflationary trend in prices and to relieve shortages, the import control policy could not continue to be rigorous. A few months after the close of war, the control was relaxed to a certain extent. There was a further relaxation in the latter part of 1946, when an open general licence which permitted importation of certain category of articles without licences from soft and hard currency areas was issued. This policy continued throughout the remaining part of 1946.

As a consequence of this liberal policy, there was a heavy flow of imports with the result that the foreign exchange position became precarious. At the same time food situation in the country was causing anxiety and there was an urgent necessity to import large quantities of foodgrains from abroad. Hence to conserve foreign exhange the Government was compelled in May 1949 to cancel the open general licences issued earlier. In its place another open general licence permitting imports from the U.K. and the Empire countries was issued.

As the earlier tightening of control had not the effect of slackening the large flow of non-essential goods, the Government had to further restrict imports. For the licensing period July-December 1947, imports were classified into (1) goods whose imports would not be permitted at all; (2) goods of an essential character like machinery and raw materials which would be licensed freely and (3) goods, imports of which would be regulated on a quota basis or on merit.

The effect of this policy was not, however, fully reflected in the value of imports, mainly owing to the revalidation of outstanding licences. Further, there was a growing deterioration in India's dollar position. Under these circumstances the Government of India revised their policy for the half year January-June 1948. Under this policy discrimination regarding sources of India's imports was introduced. Imports were classified into (1) which would be licensed freely from dollar areas; (2) which would be licensed freely from non-dollar areas and (3) which would not be licensed at all. The O.G.L. which was issued in the first half year of 1947 was cancelled. All articles not covered by any of the above categories were to be subject to monetary ceilings.

By June 1948, there was some improvement in India's foreign exchange position and therefore the Government felt they could liberalise import policy to a certain extent. An open general licence was issued permitting imports of a limited number of articles, besides capital goods and raw materials from the soft currency areas. As regards dollar areas, the policy of strict watch continued

In the first half of 1949 this liberal policy continued in respect of soft

currency areas In regard to dollar areas it was found necessary to restrict imports further Many articles which were licensed from this area were prohibited or were severely restricted

This liberal policy led to heavy imports and there was a heavy drain on the foreign exchange resources At the same time export particulary to dollar areas were falling off with the result that the available foreign exchange was shrinking Hence in the latter part of 1949 the import control was again tightened The open general licence issued in July 1948 was cancelled and in its place another was issued with extremely limited scope Imports from dollar and other hard currency areas were further restricted In fact for about three months no licences were at all issued. Further all imports were subject to the test of essentiality If this test was satisfied the monetary ceiling was fixed Each importer was required to show evidence that he could not satisfy his requirements from indigenous sources

The devaluation of the rupee in September in terms of the U S A. dollar acted as an automatic check on imports from that area As rupee prices of the dollar goods became higher the Government decided not to import foodgrains from the U S A

From November 1949 onwards perceptible improvement in India's foreign exchange position became evident Exports on account of the devaluation and also due to various steps taken by the Government in accordance with the recommendations of the Export Promotion Committee were expanding while imports on the other hand due to severe restrictive policy were declining The result was from that month India had a favourable balance of trade i e excess of exports over imports This position continues even now

In view of this somewhat easy foreign exchange position and also at the same time the urgent need to develop industries the Government of India in their import policy for January—June 1950 have allocated more foreign exchange for importation of raw materials like raw silk and yarn heavy chemicals raw cotton and manufactured tobacco Capital goods and machinery have been given a very high degree of priority India's need for adequate quantities of drugs and medicines has been recognised by allocation of sufficient foreign exchange Newsprint has also been given a high degree of priority In order to discourage frivolous applications for import licences a graduated scale of fees has been levied and no application will be considered unless the prescribed fee is paid

The aim of the import policy during the current half year January—June 1950 is to balance our foreign exchange budget i e to say imports will be limited to the extent of foreign exchange earnings by way of exports and releases from the sterling balances

Recent trends of imports and exports show that the Government will be able to achieve a balance in the country's foreign exchange budget

The present import control policy is indirectly helping industrial development of the country

READING THEIR WILD OATS

King David and King Solomon
Lived happy happy lives
With their hundreds and hundreds of concubines
And their dozens and dozens of wives
But when old age came on them
And they both had got the qualms
King Solomon wrote the Proverbs
And King David wrote the Psalms

"I MEET THE MAHARSHI"

—(0)—

[Sri Ramana Maharshi, the sage of Arunachala, passed away at the Ashram at Tiruvannamalai on the 14th April at the age of 71. At the Maha Nirvana a large gathering of devotees stood reciting the Maharshi's famous composition "Ramana Malai" as the Saint breathed his last peacefully. The body of the Maharshi was placed in Maha Samadhi the next evening, amidst moving scenes and a vast concourse of sorrowing people. The Maharshi was suffering from cancer in his left arm for the last 14 months and underwent four major operations. Almost all the leading exponents of allopathy, homoeopathy and Ayurveda who came into close contact with him at various times during these days had the highest praise for the way he put up with this painful malady, and his unfailing cheerfulness. They gave open expression to the view that none but the Maharshi would have faced that disease with such fortitude. The passing away of the Maharshi removes from the midst of his fellowmen a figure of the first magnitude in the sphere of Hindu religion and spirituality. Tributes to the Maharshi's life and example have poured in from all quarters. Many Indian, European and American pilgrims have recorded their impressions of Sri Ramana's personality—his wisdom and serenity, his habitual gentleness, his patience and fortitude and above all the silent but undoubted influence of his very presence among us. In his "A Writer's Notebook" the well-known author W. Somerset Maugham gives this vivid picture of Sri Ramana Maharshi and his healing presence.—ED. *I. R.*]

HE was of average height for an Indian, of a dark honey colour, with close-cropped white hair and close-cropped white beard. He was not stout, but plump. Though he wore nothing but a white loin cloth he looked neat, very clean and almost dapper. He walked slowly, leaning on a stick, and he had a slight limp. His mouth was somewhat large, with thickish lips, and his eyes were neither so big nor so lustrous as are the eyes of most Indians; the whites were bloodshot. He bore himself with simplicity and at the same time with dignity. He was cheerful, smiling, polite; he did not give me the impression of a scholar, but rather of a sweet-natured peasant. He came into the room in which I was lying down on a pallet bed, followed by two or three disciples, and after a few words of cordial greeting seated himself. I was not very well, having fainted a little time before, and he sat close to me. It was because he had been told that I was not well enough to go to the hall in which he ordinarily sat that he came to the little room into which I had been carried.

PECULIAR GAZE

After the first few moments he ceased to look at me and with a sidelong stare of a peculiar fixity gazed as it were over my shoulder. His body was absolutely still, but one of his feet tapped now and then a little on the floor. He remained thus for perhaps a quarter of an hour, and they told me afterwards that he was concentrating in meditation on me. Then he broke off and asked me whether I wished to say anything to him or to ask him any questions. I was feeling weak and ill and said so, whereupon he smiled and said: "Silence also is conversation." He turned his head away again slightly and resumed his concentrated meditation, looking as it were over my shoulder. He remained like this for perhaps another quarter of an hour, no one saying a word, the other persons in the room with

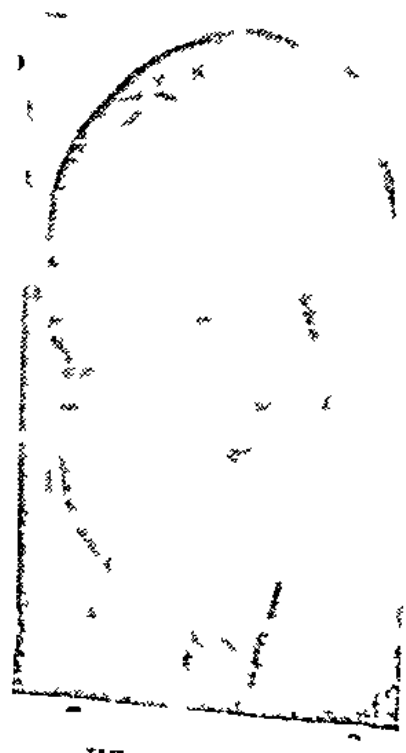
their eyes riveted on him and then got up bowed smiled a farewell and slowly leaning on his stick followed by his disciples limped out of the room

FELT BETTER

I don't know whether it was the result of the rest or of the Yogi's meditation but I felt very much better and a little later I went into the hall where he sits by day and sleeps by night It is a long bare room fifty feet long I should think and about half as broad There are windows all round but the overhanging roof dims the light The Yogi sat on a low divan on a tiger skin and in front of him was a small brazier in which incense was burning Its scent was agreeable to the nostrils Now and again a disciple came forward and lit another stick The faithful sat on the floor Some were reading, others meditated Presently two strangers came in with a basket of fruit prostrated themselves before the Yogi and presented their offering He accepted it with a slight inclination of the head and motioned to a disciple to take it away he spoke kindly for a little to the strangers and then with another little inclination of the head signified to them that they were to withdraw They prostrated themselves again and went and sat among the rest of the faithful Then the Yogi became abstracted in meditation a little shiver seemed to pass through all who were there and I tiptoed out of the hall

FANTASTIC RUMOURS

I heard later that my fainting had given rise to fantastic rumours The news of it was carried not only to various parts of India but even reached America It was ascribed by some to the awe that overcame me at the prospect of going into the presence of the holy man Others said that his influence acting on me before ever I saw him had caused me to be rapt for several minutes into the infinite When I was asked about it I was content to smile and shrug my shoulders In point of fact that was neither the first nor the last time I have fainted Doctors tell me it is due to an irritability of the solar plexus which presses my diaphragm against my heart and one day the pressure will continue a little too long One feels unwell for a few minutes and then one knows nothing more till one regains consciousness—if one does



HERBERT BLOCK
American cartoonist

The Bhakti School of Indian Thought

By Prof S RAMASWAMI, M A

NEARLY thirty years ago, Dr Surendranath Das Gupta, then Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta set himself a task so enormous that it could be quite fittingly called colossal It was nothing less than the task of writing all by himself, a complete and authoritative History of Indian Philosophy It was designed to be a work in seven volumes It was to be as was only proper based on an entirely fresh and first hand survey and study, which Dr Das Gupta was uniquely qualified to undertake as one of the country's foremost Sanskrit scholars, of all the available Sanskrit sources and texts, in print and in manuscript, bearing on every phase of Indian thought from its beginnings in remote antiquity. The sheer magnitude of the task, as Dr Das Gupta originally envisaged it, was so appalling as to make many wonder whether apart from all other considerations a single scholar could physically bear so enormous a burden There was besides some questioning in some quarters of the desirability of a History of Indian Philosophy, on the scale contemplated being undertaken exclusively of a single scholar whose personal philosophical predilections might so easily predispose him in favour of one or other by the various schools of ancient Indian thought It was felt by some that the standard History of Indian Philosophy should be the work of a team of scholars each in a measure a learned and authoritative exponent of a particular system who would nevertheless bring a kind of catholic mind to bear on the whole Apart from these doubts and questionings, there were difficulties of other kinds Dr. Das Gupta's ambitious project of a first hand re survey of original manuscripts seemed, to some, destined to shipwreck on the rocks of finance as well as the chaotically scattered unorganized and ill-preserved condition of such manuscripts as actually had survived the ravages of man insect and time And, for a wonder no university in India seemed to be sponsoring the project It was a sad commentary on the conditions in which scholars like Bhandarkar Ganganath Jha, Das Gupta Radhakrishnan and Hiriyanna laboured that no university or governmental authority came forward to organize or finance a scheme which was so obviously sound and worth the while of the country (Incidentally we find today madcap extravagance characterizing the organization of schemes like the History of India, History of Indian Thought and the History of the Freedom Movement in India Lakhs of rupees are presumably to go down the drain in addition to the tens of thousands that have already been consumed away in travelling allowances to the depressing brood of elderly careerists who now haunt the corridors of the Secretariat at Delhi on some pretext or other) But Dr Das Gupta's courage, resource and faith proved indomitable With a persistence and devotion to learning matched in modern times by but a very few in India, Dr Das Gupta went forward with his scheme And from afar, Cambridge University came up to sponsor the great work and to afford the great scholar and pioneer many other facilities in the execution of his self-chosen but overwhelmingly huge task It was an altogether magnificent gesture from one

*A History of Indian Philosophy By Surendranath Das Gupta Vol IV—Indian Pluralism Cambridge University Press Agents in India, Macmillan & Co Ltd Price 50 Sh

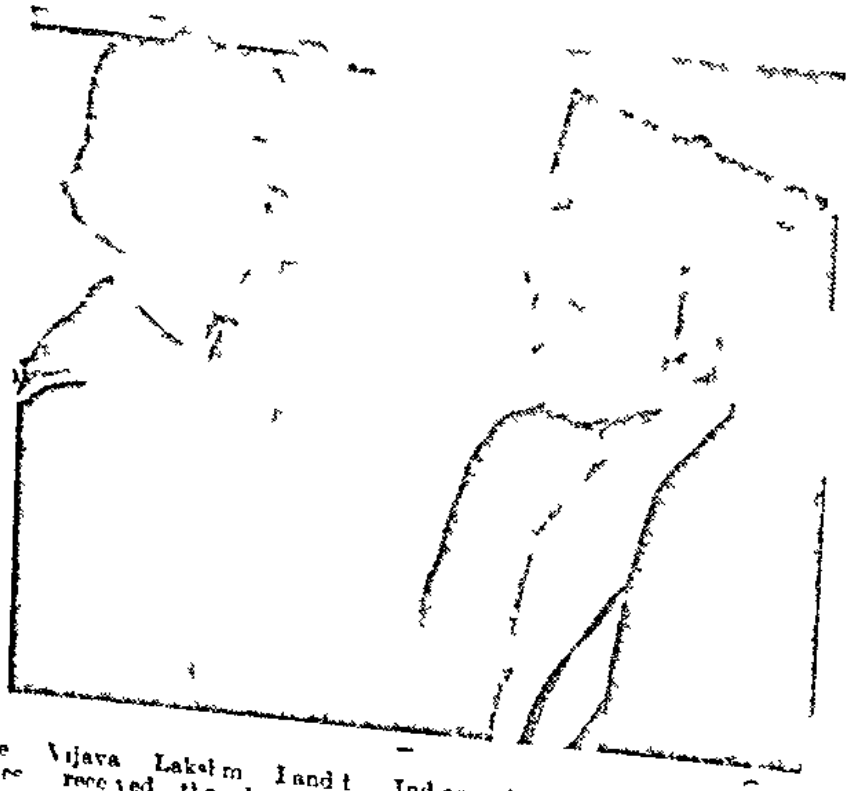
Dr. Das Gupta has very skilfully disentangled the doctrinal from the story element in this intricately interwoven strand The very detailed examination of the evolution of the meaning of the word Dharma in this section is most illuminating

But the *piece de resistance* of the volume is unquestionably the extraordinarily elaborate and clear account given in six well designed chapters, of the philosophy of Sri Madhva and of his great followers, Jayatirtha and Vyasatirtha Work in the critical study of the dualistic position has not been till recently on a scale adequate to its merits Needless to say, Advaita has tended to throw all its rival metaphysical systems into the shade, mainly as a result of the tremendous force of the personality of its greatest exponent Sankara And the matchless brilliance and fascination of the Advaita dialectics, the sheer intellectual courage and vigour and resource of practically all the great expositors in the Advaita side of the grand debate have obscured the somewhat less sparklingly brilliant dialectics of the Madhva school But Prof Glasenapp of Germany and Dr R Nagaraja Sarma of Madras (in his 'Reign of Realism in Indian philosophy') have since made extremely important contributions to the literature of Dvaita and the stature of Sri Madhva stands more clearly revealed today than ever before Nearly half of Dr Das Gupta's section on Madhva is occupied with an account of the continuous, if also occasionally rather cantankerous and caustic essays in refutation of Sri Madhva his followers of what seemed to them the atheistic and almost nihilist position of Sankara and his school The account is perhaps a little too detailed or rather the choice of details is less under control than one would have liked But the instructive and elaborate contrast Dr. Das Gupta draws between the two opposed schools is a fine example of the historical and comparative method which Dr Das Gupta employs with so much success Perhaps Dr Das Gupta shows herein more than a trace of that imperfect sympathy with Sankara and the Advaita standpoint which one noted with some surprise in the earlier volumes dealing with the Advaita Vedanta itself But he nevertheless brings to bear on this continuing debate a mastery of detail and a vigour of expression and a precision in statement which alas are fast dying out in modern Indian scholarship! His treatment is marked by a sobriety, a restraint an objectivity which are by no means conspicuous in the debating manners of some of the partisans of either schools of an earlier day and which seem to be despised as irrelevant by modern champions of the dualist position Jayatirtha and Vyasatirtha, as Dr. Das Gupta shows, exhibit uncommon subtlety and dialectical resource and indeed go far to make us realize "the strength and uncompromising impressiveness of the dualist position" But it would be an error to regard the dialectics of the Madhva school as representing the high water mark of Indian achievement in this field or as in any degree overshadowing the achievement of that master of dialectics, that prince of logicians, the great Sankara

Dr Das Gupta has throughout resolutely avoided instituting any comparisons between Indian and Western systems of

thought however invitingly similar to one another some of them might have seemed We admit that there is a grave risk of facile and fallacious excursions into forced and misleading comparisons Nay we shall go further and concede that the unqualified use of technical terms and concepts of an alien system in the exposition of Indian thought would savour in some degree of a consciousness of native inadequacy and inferiority But it cannot be denied that there an exquisite pleasure to the scholar which such comparative study conducted with proper discrimination affords in rich measure a pleasure altogether rich and rare and powerful for good would we but observingly distil it out For it often yields rich evidence of the ultimate oneness of all mankind of that touch of our higher natures which makes us all spiritually akin sundered apart as we may be by a multiplicity of miscellaneous barriers of race climate geography and the like mechanical and material factors But it is perhaps the special merit of Dr Das Gupta that he aims at and invariably achieves a rugged precision a sheer bareness as of the mountain tops He doesn t aim at and doesn t achieve the occasionally exquisite and purely literary effects that lend to Radhakrishnan s classic on Indian Philosphy a distinction all its own He doesn t compress *ultum in parvo* as Prof Hiriyanna does He has no need to His project is large and will contain multitude

In conclusion we respectfully salute Dr Das Gupta on an achievement which even in its incomplete state is impressive in its magnitude and we fervently hope that his fears notwithstanding he will be spared in sufficient health and strength to complete the great task he has set himself and indeed discharged thus far with such fidelity and devotion



Mme Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Indian Ambassador to the United States received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at the 75th anniversary convocation of Wellesley College held recently (March 1 1950) at Wellesley Massachusetts in northeastern United States

India Revisited: Indo-Pak Problems

BY MR. LIONEL FIELDEN

[Lionel Fielden, who came to India 15 years ago to lay the foundations of our present Broadcasting System, returned to India last winter after an absence of ten years to renew old friendships. He gave his impressions in a talk on the B.B.C. Third Programme. His visit lasted two months, and he admitted that in such a short time it was only possible to gather superficial impressions. His analysis of Indo-Pakistan problems, and his ideas on their solution are summarised in this article.—*Ed. I.R.*]

FIFTEEN years ago I went to India to do an interesting job. India had no broadcasting—or, to be more accurate the very limited commercial service started in Bombay and Calcutta had failed. Partly as a result of pressure on the Government by wireless dealers, but mainly as a result of talks between the Viceroy and Sir John Reith, it was decided that India must have an effective broadcasting system. The decision was rather a vague one: nothing was said about the extent of the system, the cost, the staff, the languages, the wavelengths and other such problems. It was reckoned enough that one man should be sent from England to start the whole project from scratch, and run it. The choice fell on me, and I jumped at it, of course, because pioneering jobs are always fun: It is only the finished article which is so repellently disappointing.

I did not stop to think that I knew next to nothing about India, and I did not realise that the bureaucrats of the British Raj, disliking everything new, would make me fight for every idea put forward and every penny spent. Nor did I realise that myself and broadcasting, as part and parcel of the British Raj, would be suspect from the word go to all Indian nationalists—in fact, to the very people whom it was most desirable to reach. As a result of this I spent five years bumping my head into several varieties of particularly hard stone wall and it was mostly my head that suffered. In the end I saw a radio service for the sub-continent built up just in time for it to be adopted for war propaganda —the very negation of all that broadcasting should be. I crept home rather sadly, with a strong belief in Indian self-government, a fury against British administration and a great admiration for Mahatma Gandhi. I even wrote a book, which nobody read, about these things. And when Indian independence came in 1948 instead of, as it should have come, in 1939, I felt that England was largely to blame for what occurred.

I have made this introduction because I don't believe in the thing called "objectivity." Every observer or writer worth his salt has prejudices and associations and desires. In order that you may judge for yourself what those things are in me, I have tried to give you a brief sketch of the person who went back to Pakistan and India after ten years away from them.

CAUSES OF CONFLICT

Certainly I myself had no notion, until I returned there, of the violence of the tension which exists between India and Pakistan. On either side of the strange wavering line drawn by Cyril Radcliffe to separate India from Pakistan—a line which no railway crosses—the visitor is assailed by arguments and harrangues to prove that the other country is not

only wrong but diabolically wrong and mischievous to boot

The conflict between India and Pakistan springs from four main causes First and foremost there is the violently different attitude of each country towards partition The Hindu feels that India never should have been divided and consciously or unconsciously wants the division obliterated He feels this first because he believes that the Hindus by virtue of long tenure and in spite of conquest have a prescriptive right to inhabit and rule an undivided India And this claim may be put forward in various ways the extreme Right as represented by the Hindu Mahasabha and the R S S will threaten the eventual reconquest or reabsorption of Pakistan the gentle reasonable Congressmen will speak of the pity of Partition the conflicts it has engendered and the unreasonableness of Muslims in wanting it But this attitude however plausible it may sound is really based on the fact that in an undivided India the Hindus would outnumber the Muslims by three to one and it is exactly for this reason that the Muslims of Pakistan wanted Partition and stick to it like grim death

THE PRESS

In the light of these widely different attitudes to the actual division of the country other attitudes become clearer. The tone of the Indian Press and of Indian leaders tends to be a little patronizing sweetly reasonable but nevertheless obstinate and rather consciously self righteous The tone of the Pakistan Press and Pakistan leaders tends to be resentful arrogant and sometimes aggressive The quarrel over the non devaluation of the rupee by Pakistan or over its devaluation by India had its roots not so much in the effect on trade as in the Pakistani preening of self sufficiency —and therefore of the success of Partition— and the feeling of outrage in India not only about the success but also about the impertinence of Pakistan in taking such a decision In clinging to Kashmir India wants to weaken Partition in claiming it Pakistan wants to make Partition safe

REFUGEES & MASSACRES

The second cause of animosity is the refugee and the refugee problem I don't think that anyone who has not visited Pakistan and India can fully appreciate the fury that has been engendered on this issue I certainly did not The uprooting of twelve million people from their homes and the massacre of perhaps a million perhaps even two million more—it is impossible to arrive at any exact figure— under conditions of appalling brutality has left wounds and vendettas which cannot be cured for perhaps a generation perhaps more The presence of five or eight million refugees in either country is a worry which drags at the economy and even at the stability of both Governments The question of property compensation is so vast and complex that it might theoretically at least be said to range from the cost and goodwill of the humblest tea shop right up to the estimated value of let us say the Taj Mahal or the buildings of New Delhi

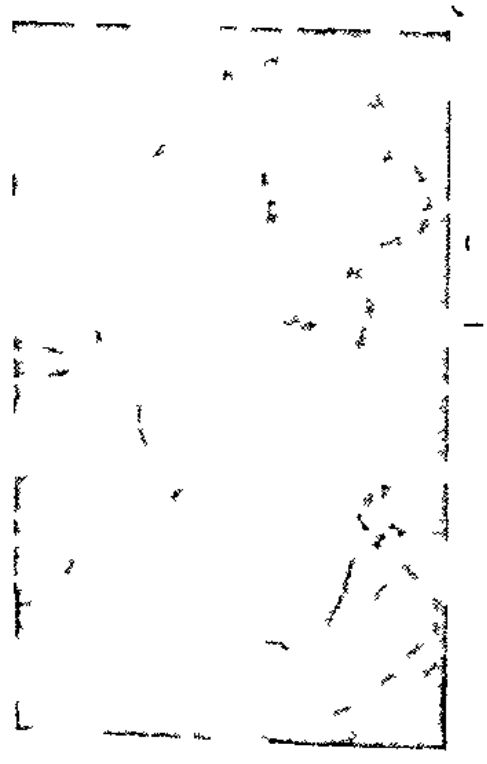
Meanwhile some ten or twelve million people feel nostalgic about the homes they have left resentful at the country which has taken them over and irritated because their own Government does not provide them with a new Paradise They crowd in to the Cities—Delhi has double Karachi

however slowly and painfully to a better and freer world Whatever the troubles of to day nobody wants to put the clock back And in both countries it seemed to me the prestige of England and the English stand higher than ever before You may hear grumbles and indeed you do—Pakistanis will tell you that England favours India and Indians will tell you that she favours Pakistan—and there may be rumours of American loans or of approaches to Soviet Russia but in spite of all that the long tradition of the British connection and the bond of the English language remain firm at least for the present

NO CHANCE OF WAR

In spite of all that I have said I do not believe for one instant that there is any chance whatever of a war between India and Pakistan At times all the bluff and bluster almost persuade one that it is possible but in actual fact both Governments are perfectly aware that war would ruin them both without solving anything Pakistani knows on the one hand that in any conflict even though every Pakistani fought to the last ditch East Bengal would instantly be lost and with it would go the jute trade richest of her assets she knows too that India spending every year twice as much as Pakistan can afford on armaments is growing daily the stronger India on the other hand knows that any war would be a fatal drain on her rather low resources and that a conflict with Pakistan especially with thirty five million Muslims inside India would be inconclusive and endless And if no conflict is likely it follows I believe that with the passing of time better relations will come about

The two countries cannot for ever continue to sever trade relations and even to cut railway communications Moreover it is of course enormously to the interest of both countries to live on terms of friendship the tide of communism flowing from China is along a sufficient incentive to that Therefore although at the moment the picture is dark there is at least a chance that it will grow lighter and I for one am inclined to believe that England if it had a vigorous Commonwealth policy could do more than she is doing to make it lighter still



LEARNING THE ALPHABET WHILE YOU DRINK

This little girl is holding a charming wonder silver beaker designed for a christening present It is engraved with all the letters of the alphabet each in a separate square making it easy for the child to learn its letters

A TALK WITH LASKI

BY DR. P. E. DASTOOR

———:o:———

[The passing of Prof. Harold J. Laski removes a virile thinker and a powerful exponent of democratic thought. The Professor was a great friend of India and had done much to sponsor our cause in Eng'and when that cause badly needed support. Interviewed by Dr. P. E. Dastoor aboard the Atlantic liner *Queen Mary* in 1948 the professor gave expression to some very surprising views on India and Pakistan and their leaders. Indeed candour and courage were his strong points and his downright opinions always expressed without reserve or equivocation not seldom landed him in difficulties even with his colleagues in the Labour heirarchy. In the context of present day developments this article provides interesting reading.—ED. *I. R.*]

IT was on board the Atlantic liner "Queen Mary" that I interviewed Prof Harold J. Laski.

I was crossing over from New York to Southampton in May 1948 and for want of anything better to do I, scanned the passenger-list at the Purser's office, I came upon Professor and Mrs. Harold J. Laski The opportunity of meeting the great Socialist intellectual and political thinker, the one-time Chairman of the British Labour Party, the world-famous author of "A Grammar of Politics," "Liberty in the Modern State," "Democracy in Crisis" and numerous other stimulating political studies, was too good to be missed I immediately sat down and wrote asking for an appointment. Would, I, he wrote back, meet him in the Second Class Smoking Room at five o'clock on the tenth?

At that hour the smoking room was deserted, except for a solitary passenger curled up in a sofa and engrossed in a book. As I approached him, he looked up from his book with the air of a man who cherishes his privacy but when, recognising the features, I announced myself to him, he smiled and beckoned me to a seat. He didn't rise or even offer his hand, but his welcome was none the less friendly on that account. I immediately realised that he was one of those retiring, shy intellectuals who are so preoccupied mentally that they forget the language of the body. There he remained seated, almost swallowed up in the sofa, a small-black-haired, neatly dressed recluse in glasses.

And presently he talked. He talked for over an hour, and he talked all the time with the assurance—I had almost said, the cocksureness of the specialist who knows his opinions must be reckoned with. I didn't seem to trouble him, when for instance, he was foretelling the shape of things to come that he might, after all, be proved wrong as, indeed, he has been in one or two of his prophecies on this occasion. He was conscious of his deductions being logical and of his political philosophy and acumen being sound; no doubts therefore seemed to assail him. He spoke with the confidence of one who is sure he knows all the answers and, one is tempted to add, expects to be asked them.

The strange contrast thus revealed between the shyness of the person and the assertiveness of the thinker is the strongest impression I carried away from our meeting.

VIEWS ON KASHMIR

Naturally we talked most about India and, as we were both returning from a sojourn in the United States, about men and matters American.

The Hindu-Muslim question, the future of Indo-Pakistan relations, the continuance

of India as a Dominion within the Commonwealth—I plied him with questions regarding these What I began did he think about this Pakistan business? Prof Laski's answer was in two parts

First as to Mr Jinnah he had—and he expressed himself quite plainly—no use for him When I protested that even his worst enemies in India acknowledged that he was incorruptible and a man of unimpeachable personal integrity the Professor's answer was May be he could not be bought with money but he was vulnerable in his vanity

And then as to the Pakistan that Jinnah had succeeded in setting up Sooner or later he said Pakistan must seek federation with India

The mention of Pakistan's union with India inevitably brought up the question of Kashmir Do you think I asked that when a plebiscite is held Kashmir will vote itself into India? No it will not be replied without the slightest hesitation Remember what happened when they held a plebiscite in the Saar Valley

CONTEMPT FOR PRINCES

Kashmir turned his thoughts to the Indian Princes as he had known them I was not surprised that staunch socialist that he was he had nothing but contempt for the whole Princely order But his *bete noir* was a particular very powerful ruler who shall be nameless Referring to him he said I once asked his Diwan Sir how he could bring himself to serve such a miserable master and the only reply I got was If I do not somebody worse than myself will

Then recalling his contact with another orthy potentate at the time of the second Round Table Conference he disclosed that he had been engaged by that Ruler to frame a constitution for his State and was shocked to discover from the facts and figures placed before him for the purpose that while this State spent Rs 7,00,000 on the heir's wedding it spent only a meagre Rs 1,1,000 on Education! And he concluded When I had prepared my draft and when discussion on it began His Highness at first had to have *habeas corpus* explained to him and then would have none of it

Prof Laski continued to reminiscence I can claim he said that some thousands of Indians—some of them very highly placed today—have been among my students Why Krishna Menon your present High Commissioner, is himself one of them and he is only one of eleven High Commissioners I have been privileged to teach

This brought us to the problem of India's continuance within the British Commonwealth I asked him whether there was any truth in the rumour that Britain would liquidate its present Commonwealth before the end of June He replied No But as for allegiance to the British Crown which was demanded of a Dominion at present and which seemed to be repugnant to Indian sentiment he did not think it should prevent India from remaining in the Commonwealth Indeed when the Irish Free State was being established and he was charged with discovering a more acceptable term than allegiance he was told by Arthur Griffith that such allegiance as was implied in Dominion Status was nothing more than a political

and historical fiction. In any case, he added, it was advisable for India to remain in the Commonwealth till such time as she settled the major points of difference between herself and Pakistan and was able to work out common schemes of defence with her sister Dominion.

One last question about India. What were, in his opinion, India's immediate problems? His answer was rather unexpected: "Administrative inefficiency and encroachment by the Civil Servants."

I cannot now recall in what context he made another, even more surprising observation: perhaps it was in relation to the communal conflicts in the country. However, he gave it as his opinion that what India needed was a larger number of atheists!

TRUMAN DOCTRINE *versus* U N.

We switched over to America. I suggested that the Truman Doctrine was calculated to sabotage the UNO. He agreed adding that, in spite of there being the U. N. machinery for rehabilitating Europe, the U.S A. had even in this direction chosen to set up its own organisation. Nor, he added, was American 'imperialism' a new thing. It was foreshadowed as far back as Jefferson's times with his vision of America's Manifest Destiny. The Spanish War, the turning towards Cuba and the present refusal to evacuate wartime bases in Iceland were all pointers in the same direction.

It was obvious that the Professor was no admirer of Uncle Sam. He presently dismissed the American Constitution as but an eighteenth-century one. As for political parties in the U.S.A., the two national parties really functioned as rival parties only during election year, and then too largely between June and November of that year. For the rest there were in reality as many parties as there were States in the Union. They may boast too, he continued, of equal political opportunities for all parties; but when Radio time had to be fought at a considerable price, a price which a Republican candidate could afford but not his Socialist rival it could not be maintained that equality of opportunity did in fact exist.

We discussed the rival candidate's prospects in the coming presidential Election. Prof. Laski expressed the opinion that Senator Vandenburg had a better chance of being elected than anybody else. "In any case", he affirmed, all precedent points to a Republican victory." 'What about Wallace?, I asked. His guess was that he would get anything from 7 to 10 milion votes, as an expression of the dissatisfaction of the common man with the programmes of both the major parties.

He had many things to say about President Truman, not one of them, however, even remotely complimentary. For one thing, he was quite convinced that had Rossevelt realised at the time of his last re-election that he was a dying man, he would never have appointed Truman Vice-President. Unfortunately, however, the possibility of death seizing him during his last term of office did not trouble the President. "I have a letter from the President himself" he declared, "as evidence of this. And it was written only two days before his death. I have too Mrs. Roosevelt's

assurance that Truman would never have been his choice had he felt that he would die shortly Nor was president Truman himself without a consciousness of having had presidential greatness thrust upon him Has he not asked Prof Laski been reported as saying At first I was terrified by the job of being President but not I m used to it

Altogether Truman was in the Professor s opinion a very undistinguished man And the danger was he might lead his country to ru n with his narrowness of outlook and his inordinate awareness of his country s strength Take this as an illustration he sa d A friend of mine once suggested to Truman that it would be a wonderf l gesture if the President of the United States one day quietly flew over to Moscow and let it be announced later that he had gone there in search of peace The reply my friend got was Why should I go to Stalin? Let him come to me We are the most powerful nation in the world everybody must come to us

Follo ving up this matter of America s relations with Russia Prof Laski observed that the Americans had no idea of what war with Russia would really entail Not even their military experts seemed to know what exactly it would mean He had recently asked one of these experts if it was realised that even assuming that America won such a war it would need some seven million men to occupy Russia and millions more to put down guerilla warfare Moreover he continued if the Americans count on Britain for help they are likely to be disappointed for the workers in Britain woul l possibly refuse to have anything to do with the war and would in fact resort to paralysing strik es all over country

AMERICAN EDUCATION CRITICISED

Prof Laski was returning home after delivering a series of lectures at Roosevelt College Chicago which he parenthetically remarked was the only college he knew in America where no discrimination was practised between Negroes and Whites whether in the Faculty or in the student body Naturally I asked him what he thought of Amer can education As I had expected he was very critical of it even over critical it seemed to me He started with the not unusual criticism that in America information is often identified with education But he d d not stop at that He went on to mak e the very challenging statement that fundamental research was poor in America If an idea was imported by American scholars he explained they with their apparatus would carry it forward but the ideas themselves were always born in European minds

He was speaking of the American way of getting knowledge from penguinised books and digests when Mrs Laski suddenly appeared on the scene She had come to carry him away to hear the evening news broadcast That ended a most interesting interview Prof Laski rose from the sofa and asking to be excused left the smoking room accompanied by his wife

I rema ned where I was till I had made adequate notes of our conversation

RAINY DAY

The tramp entered the doctor s surgery He looked worr ed Doctor he sa d you v e got to help me I swallowed a sovere gn about fifteen years ago

Good Heavens man! ejaculated the doctor Why have you wa ted fifteen years? Why d dn t you go to a doctor the day you swallowed the sovere gn?

To tell the truth repl ed the tramp I d dn t need the money at the time

WORDSWORTH: THE POET OF NATURE

BY AUGUSTUS MUIR

———: o :———

Wordsworth died a hundred years ago on April 23. A lover of Nature, Wordsworth believed in himself, in his mission as a poet, and in his philosophy which was the fruit of long contemplation. One can feel that sincerity, and share his delight, in lines like

> Therefore am I still
> A lover of the meadows and the woods
> And mountains, and of all that we behold
> From this green earth.

WILLIAM Wordsworth, one of the greatest English poets, extolled the joy he found in Nature and the simplicities of life. He paid homage to what he called "the loveliness and wonder of the world", and enabled others to look with a fresh eye upon everyday things. In reading Wordsworth, we are quickened every now and then with a quiet thrill which comes of a new vision of something we had hitherto regarded as commonplace.

Wordsworth took special delight in the beauty of Nature as it was manifested in rural scenes and in the quiet lives of country people. Nearly all his own life was lived in the heart of the countryside, and one of his great loves was for that part of England where he was born in 1770 and where he spent his boyhood. This was the Lake District in the north-west corner of the country, famous for the exquisite beauty of its scenery—for the amazing effects of mist and sunshine round its mountain-tops and the unforgettable splendour of its lakes both in the placid days of summer and in the wild grandeur of winter tempests.

William Wordsworth knew those uplands and dales in all their moods, and they wove themselves into the very fabric of his being. After leaving Cambridge University and spending a year travelling in France, he returned to the Lake District before he reached the age of 30, and spent the remainder of his days among his beloved mountains.

LIFE'S WORK

At an early age he had decided that poetry was to be his life's work. He had little money, and was obliged to live in the most frugal way; but to sacrifice luxuries meant nothing to him so long as he could devote all his energy to poetry. His placid life was only interrupted by occasional journeys, perhaps the most notable being a tour in Scotland with his sister, Dorothy Wordsworth devoted her life to him, and even his marriage in 1802 did not sever their close and tender companionship.

Dorothy's own story of the tour is not only an interesting travel-book, but is one of the most valuable things ever written about Wordsworth himself. It reveals, for example, how fluent was his pen. In his own famous words, which are often misquoted, poetry "takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity"; and in tranquillity he was too often tempted to write verse that was below the level of his finest work. Those who wish to enjoy William Wordsworth to the full should remember that he wrote an enormous quantity of verse, all of it interesting to the student of literature; but it is to his greater poems that one should turn for a proper appreciation of his real quality.

FRUITS OF GENIUS

Among the richest fruits of his genius, there is his ode on "Intimations of Immortality". In this poem he describes the earliest stirrings of his belief in the

continuity of life, and he writes in the nostalgic mood of one who looks back with regret upon the days of youth when one experiences the full fresh radiance of joy in the beauty of the world. As a companion-piece, we should read the lines he wrote after a visit to the ruins of Tintern Abbey, a poem in which he enunciates his faith in Nature and his sympathy with "the still sad music of humanity."

Wordsworth at his best is revealed in poems such as "The Solitary Reaper", "At the Grave of Burns", 'Stepping Westward", "To a Skylark", and that lovely little lyric of nine lines beginning "My heart leaps up" He wrote some of the finest sonnets in the English language, particularly the sequence "England 1802" and "Westminster Abbey".

His longest work was "The Prelude", a poem of nearly 8,000 lines, the sub title of which is "The Growth of a Poet's Mind". This might be called the greatest spiritual autobiography ever written in verse, and was intended to be preliminary to an even longer poem of which only the second part was written under the title, "The Excursion". These works must be carefully studied for a full appreciation of wordsworth's philoso phy, and there are passages in them both of considerable beauty: but for sheer poetry it is to his shorter work that we turn.

THE HIGHER FREEDOM

In common with so many other English poets, Wordsworth was an ardent lover of freedom—that higher freedom which is limited only by man's duty to his fellow-men. While he deplored the bloodshed of the French Revolution, he was a supporter of the ideals of the French people in their struggle, and he looked forward to the spread of those ideals throughout the world and the opening of a new era of truth and happiness for mankind. His hopes were afterwards to be wrecked during the years of Napoleonic aggression; but the love of liberty that had quickened his blood in his younger days never left him to the end of his long life. We can feel that spirit blowing like a fresh and vitalising breeze through so much of his finest poetry

To wordsworth, the greatest gift was that of life itself the supreme joy of being alive, the privilege of sharing in the life of the world His desire as a poet was to communicate that delight—and in particular his delight in the rural scenery amidst which he passed nearly all his days Truly did he cry

> To me the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears

Wordsworth believed in himself, in his mission as a poet, and in his philosophy which was the fruit of long contemplation, and we can feel that sincerity, and share his delight, in lines like these

> "..Therefore am I still
> A lover of the meadows and the woods
> And mountains, and of all that we behold
> From this green earth"

MY HEART LEAPS UP

—o—

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man,
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The Child is father of the Man
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC HIGHLIGHTS

AN APPRAISAL OF THE PATTERN OF INDIAN ECONOMY

By AN ECONOMIST

LACK of economic development in India is evidenced by low standards of living, caused by lack of efficient and full utilization of man-power natural resources, energy and capital The peculiar growth and development of India's economic institutions and policies during all these years of hectic, un British rule have mainly been responsible for large scale economic disturbances of late advancing in the country Scarcity, inflation and rising prices are now threatening to disrupt the economic structure What is wrong with the economic system of India is revealed by her economic highlights presented summarily in this short essay which is written as an appraisal of the pattern of Indian economy

NATIONAL INCOME

The problems of economic growth have been studied against the background of national income statistics, and in recent years, national income has been widely used to gauge the performance of the country's economic system While the yard stick of economic development of a country is furnished by the estimate of its national income the extent of prosperity enjoyed by individual members of society is indicated by the per capita income available at a given time Such estimates of the per capita income as have been attempted from time to time although not strictly comparable roughly measure the rise in the level of income * In terms of 1925 29 purchasing power real income per capita has been computed for 1867 68 at Rs 44 2 1895 at Rs 55 2, and for 1921 22 and 1925 29 at Rs 78 Real income thus rose by about 76 per cent equivalent to an average annual rate of increase of nearly 1 per cent * At this rate of increase, it has been painfully slow economic progress with the result that the present average income in India in still at (or below!) the poverty line †

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The seriousness of the low level of income is aggravated by its grossly inequitible distribution in India One third of national income goes to about 5 per cent of the population, another third to the next 35 per cent of the population and the remaining third to 60 per cent of the population This is mainly responsible for the low rate of capital formation in our country The number of such persons who can save a sizeable portion of their annual income for investment in productive capital assets is thus small This small class of surplus income prefers to spend money either on land properties and precious metals or lending to the distressed social classes at exhorbitant rates ‡ At most it shows marked preference for speculative commercial and trading activities rather for the basic operation of producing goods

* For the various estimates of the national income of India and their limitations see Rao V K R V The National Income of Br India 1931 32 P 2 and Kaul B N Estimation of the National Income of India Ind an Journal of Economics Vol xxvii April, 1937, Part IV, P 530

* As against this rate of progress the Japanese standard of living increased from 1897 to 1928 at a rate of 2½ per cent per annum

† The annual per capita income in rupees in India and other countries is as follows U S A Rs 1 406 Canada Rs 1 036 U K Rs 980, Australia Rs 702 France Rs 621 Germany Rs 603 Japan Rs 218 and India Rs 65

‡ Mention may be made of absentee landlordism Thanks to the Congress Ministry in provinces, they will cease to exist not long before

In a highly industrialised capitalist economy, an appreciable portion of the annual output say 10 per cent goes into the formation of capital assets designed to maintain its vast apparatus of production at full pressure and also improve the productivity of the economy as a whole In India such capital assets form only a negligible portion of our annual output the bulk being observed by current consumption This accounts for the marked difference in the levels of capital stock in India and other industrially advanced countries which also explains the great difference in output and income per head

Not only the capital structure is weak in the productive system of India but the national employment in the different sectors of economy is itself most unbalanced A study of the percentage distribution of the gainfully occupied population of India and other countries would help us determine the fundamental characteristics of Indian economy

Country	Year	Primary Industries		Secondary Industries	Tertiary Industries	Administration Domestic Services
		Agriculture Fishing	Mining	Manufacturing Handicraft	Commerce Transport	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
India	1931	72	N	11	7	10
U K	1930	5	5	32	23	33
Canada	1931	31	2	25	23	19
Switzerland	1930	21	N	45	19	15

From the above table it is evident that unlike other countries the annual national income produced in India consists mainly of primary products Secondary and tertiary production constitutes only a very small share In 1931 32 total rural income was estimated at 12 000 million rupees This worked out at about 71% of the total national income and nearly 2½ times of the total urban income This predominance of agriculture in the total output and employment reveals the pivotal position occupied by agriculture in Indian economy And yet rural income in 1931 32 worked out only at Rs 48 per head as compared to Rs 162 for urban income (per capita)* This is a significant pointer to the unbalanced economy of our country

* Even a predominently agricultural country like Australia and New Zealand can enter into international trade considerably depending upon the output and the income per head of the agricultural population

ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE

Agricultural practice in India has been described as a kind of gardening The small size of most farms is the fact from which the whole scheme of agriculture takes its shape* The shortage of cultivated land and the preponderance of agricultural population applying an exceedingly large number of workers per unit of land bring about intensive farming followed by soil erosion while the crude antiquated methods of farming render the yield per acre of land hopelessly small as compared to the yield in any other agricultural country of the West Even in the nearby countries of China and Japan the output for example of rice per acre is 2 500 lbs and 3 000 lbs respectively as compared to 800 lbs

* The average peasant holding generally 2 to 5 acres is too small unit for economic production Moreover it is invariably fragmented into small parcels of widely separated land

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ADVENTURES OF A DIPLOMAT

BY "BOOKMAN"

WHICH of the two is the Diplomat Lord Essex, Scion of an ancient and aristocratic family, excellent soldier turned efficient diplomat, quick witted, self centred and sure, imperialist cleverly masking his creed, or MacGregor, palaeontologist, "more self righteous than a cartload of parsons conscientious scientist turned soldier and pitch forked, against his will, into the post war imperialist tug of war between the British Empire and Russia? The initial setting* is somewhat unreal, a career diplomat having chosen the India Office amateur as his understudy to press British interests before the Moscow mighties immediately after an abortive Moscow Conference at a higher level on the same issue, that of the revolt in Azerbaijan The Moscow setting is amusing, with a romantic parenthesis in the Hon Katherine Clive somewhat loosely attached to the British Embassy, whose uncertain conversation is as entertaining as her morals are wayward The intervention of Stalin at the last moment, when the Mission had failed, is unlike him, but gives an opportunity to the trio to visit Persia to study the situation in Azerbaijan first hand There is however, little of the Azerbaijanian adventure in the book, as a convenient breakdown of the new Ford Station Wagon sent the Mission into Kurdistan where, as also enroute, Essex's behaviour and intervention were totally unbecoming of the leader of a foreign mission specially sponsored by Stalin His intervention in local affairs to settle the dispute between the rebels and their beleaguered ex Governor ends tragically, but leaves him cold. His meddling with the Kurds very nearly ends in tragedy until once again he seeks security in flight

The high light of the Story lies, however, in the consequences of the Mission. After almost Hamletian introspection, MacGregor espoused his fixed Persian complex openly on the eve of the Security Council discussions and threw Essex out of gear. That ended MacGregor's diplomatic career, but drew into his arms once again the much sought after Kathy Clive

There is little character about the minor characters they are just symbols of their profession or vehicles for local interpretation. Sir Samuel Fox and Sir Francis Drake are humourless imperialists The Persians and Kurds are featureless Only Asquith is worth knowing, but his monologues and weaknesses make him appear freakish. Curiously enough, his wife is the ministering angel to all his suffering friends, but, alas where are such angels today?

The last few pages are overcrowded with incidents in contrast to the slow start of the mission Democratic politicians will draw sustenance from the example of the briefing of Tom Cromwell M P by MacGregor and his friends, while those in the services will remember the inhuman treatment accorded to an undefended temporary servant, fortified only with the courage of his conviction and keep their mouths shut

* The Diplomat By James Aldridge The Bodley Head, London 12/6 728-pp

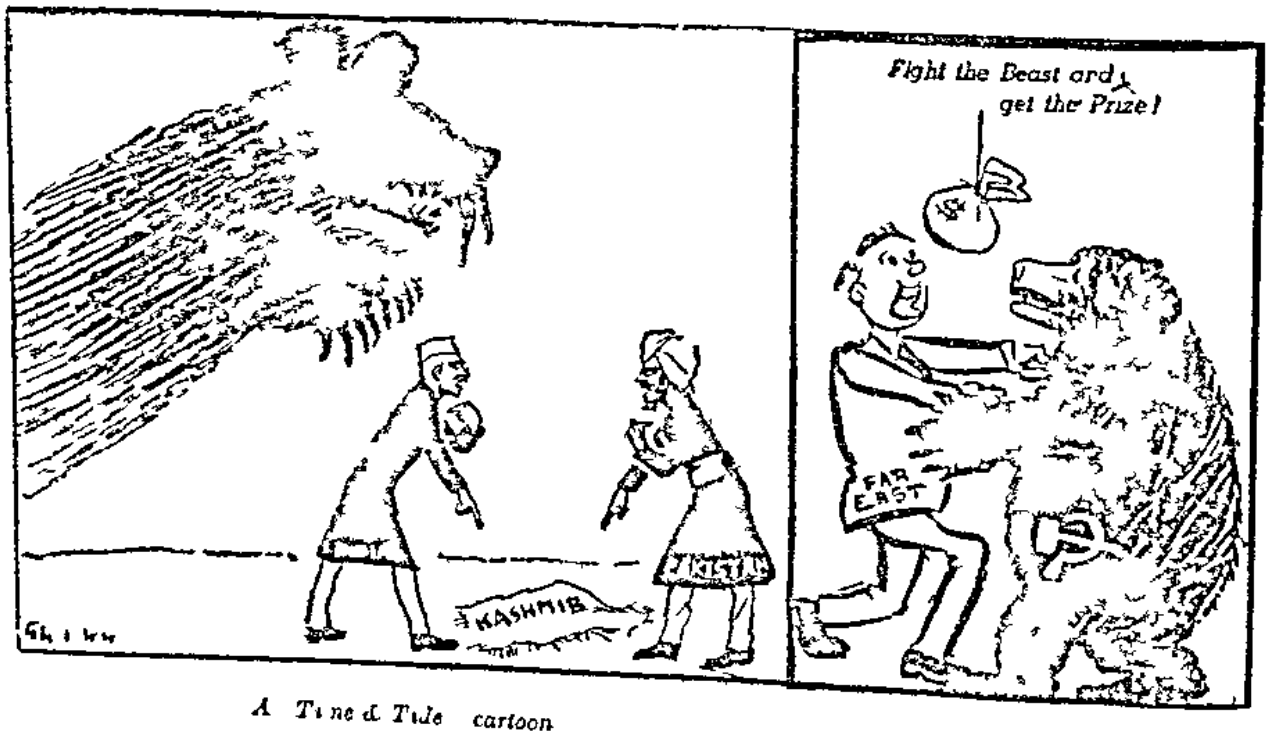
WISDOM

"When I was a young man' said a father to his indolent son 'I worked 12 hours a day"
'I admire your youthful energy Dad," said the boy, 'but I admire still more the mature wisdom that led you to stop it"

TOPICAL CARTOONS

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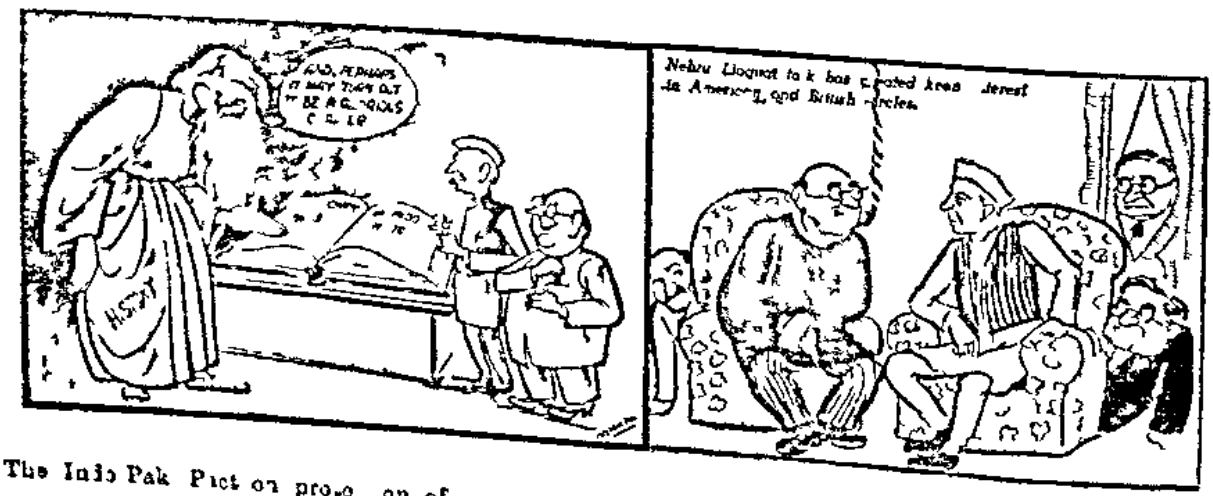
BEWARE OF THE BEAR!



A Time & Tide cartoon

Courtesy *Free India*

THE BEGINNING OF NEW CHAPTER



The Indo Pak Pact on proso on of m nont es is publ shed

Courtesy *The Leader*

Courtesy *Free Ind a*

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

SANATAN AND THE BRAHMIN

Sanatan was telling his beads by the ... ges when a Brahmin in rags came to him and said, 'Help me, I am poor!'

'My alms-bowl is all that is my own,' said Sanatan, 'I have given away everything I had'

'But my Lord Siva came to me in my dreams,' said the Brahmin, 'and counselled me to come to you'

Sanatan suddenly remembered he had picked up a stone without price among the pebbles in the river bank, and thinking that some one might need it, hid it in the sands

He pointed out the spot to the Brahmin, who wondering dug up the stone

The Brahmin sat on the earth and mused alone till the sun went down behind the trees, and cowherds went home to their cattle"

Then he rose and came slowly to Sanatan and said, 'Master give me the least fraction of the wealth that disdains all the wealth of the world'

And he threw the precious stone into the water

—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

TO A MOUSE

The best-laid schemes o'mice and men
Gang aft a-gley,
And lea'e us nought but grief and pain
For promised joy.

Still thou art blest, compared wi 'me,
The present only toucheth thee.
But Och! I backward cast my o'e
On prospects drear!
And forward, though I canna see,
I guess and fear.

—*Burns.*

THE DOCTRINE OF NON-RESISTANCE

The doctrine of mildness and non-resistance preached by Tolstoy and Gandhi is the last and most audacious of all forms of resistance to every existing authority If human beings could only succeed in achieving a real passive resistance, wrote Gilbert Keith Chesterton, 'they would be strong with the apalling strength of inanimate things, they would be calm with the maddening calm of oak or iron, which conquer without vengeance and are conquered without humiliation The theory of Christian duty enunciated by them is that we should never conquer by force, but always if we can, conquer by persuasion In their Mythology St George did not conquer the dragon he tied a pink ribbon round its neck and gave it a saucer of milk. According to them, a course of consistent kindness to Nero would have turned him into something only faintly represented by Alfred the Great In fact, the policy recommended by this school for dealing with the bovine stupidity and bovine fury of this world is accurately summed up in the celebrated verse of Mr Edward Lear.

There was an old man who said, 'How
Shall I flee from this terrible cow'
I will sit on a stile and continue to smile,
Till I soften the heart of this cow,'

JOHNSON'S SALLY

Johnson was present when a tragedy was read, in which there occurred this line.

'Who rules o'er freemen should himself be free'

The company having admired it much, 'I cannot agree with you' said Johnson. It might as well be said,

"Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat,'

SPOONERISM

Dr. W A. Spooner, Warden of New College, Oxford, is remembered as the author of those delicious slips of speech which he is supposed to have made, and as the originator of which he has the enviable distinction of having contributed a word to the English Vocabulary Even quite small dictionaries find space for a definition, with examples, of the term "spoonerism" We are told, for instance in one lexicon that for real pleasure Dr Spooner thinks there is nothing to equal a well-boiled icicle Another mentions the blushing crow that he once received. And a third speaks of the reverend gentleman always travelling light and never carrying more than a rag and bug G K Chettur in his fine book of Oxford recollections—The Last Enchantment—*records his impresions of a lunch he had with the old Oxford Don and his spouse in the Warden's own rooms at New College and admiring the massive architecture of the fourteenth century and the old historic table*—"as smooth and polished as a mirror"

Presently I found myself wondering at the curious reputation our host had achieved for those accidental transpositions of initial letters of words or of sounds, in a sentence, now called after his name. Was this indeed he who had once exclaimed that it was "empty work preaching to beery wenches", meaning that it was weary work preaching to empty benches, and who once in proposing the Royal toast had stood up solemnly and said "Kinkleman the gent!"? I looked at the maid who was serving us and wondered whether this was the very person who, according to one story I had heard, was told to go into the drawing-room and "fight the liar!" And then I glanced at Mrs. Spooner, the stateliest lady I have known, gracious and majestic as a queen, and thought with a smile of that other ridiculous tale of how the Warden had become engaged to her at a tea-party as a result of his innocent remark "And now, my dear, will you please take me" when he had merely meant "make tea." Any moment I thought to myself, he will come out with another of these delightful things but I must confess that I was disappointed Not once did he talk of the Lord being a 'shoving leopard," or refer to the reversed vision of the Bible," or allude to his venerable maiden aunt whom he is supposed to have once greeted with "I am delighted to see you looking as hairless and cappy as ever'

STRANGENESS OF HEART

When I have lost the power to feel the pang
Which first I felt in childhood when I woke
And heard the unheeding garden bird who sang
Strangeness of heart for me while broke;
Or when in latening twilight sure with spring,
Pausing on homeward paths along the wood,
No Sadness thrills my thought while thrushes sing,
And I'm no more the listening child who stood
So many sunsets past and could not say
What wandering voices called from far away:
When I have lost those simple spells that stirred
My being with an untranslated song,
Let me go home for ever; I shall have heard
Death. I shall know that I have lived too long

—*Siegfried Sassoon* (Heinemann Ltd)

DRINK AND DIVORCE

G K. Chesterton was once invited to participate in a debate in the Oxford Union Society In any discussion in which he took a part Chesterton was bound to loom large, not only because of the very pronounced nature of his views but also because of the vigorous manner in which he delivered them And then he had a power of paradox which was simply astonishing, It was as if he were perpetually standing on his head His point of view was therefore, always different from the rest of his fellowmen, and always refreshing Here is a typical instance, as recorded by G K Chettur in his recollections of Oxford

The motion before the House deplored the extension of facilities for Divorce which the Government were considering at the time, and Mr Chesterton whose views on the question were well known, of course, supported the motion The speaker who preceded him had opposed the motion in a remarkably clever speech full of studied sarcasms and innuendoes directed against the distinguished visitor himself. He had even gone to the extent of reading a passage out of *The Superstition of Divorce*, in which Mr. Chesterton had said that the question of Drink does not really affect the problem of Divorce at all, because it is really the men who do not drink, that cause most of the trouble The speaker very deeply regretted that so famous and so responsible a writer as Mr Chesterton should have indulged, merely for the sake of a paradox, in so shameful, yes, and so unblushing a perversion of the truth

This speech created quite a sensation It was taking the bull by the horns with a vengeance, and there was great excitement when Mr. Chesterton laboured up to the front and stood waiting for the applause to cease He told the House that he had been impressed with the ingenuity and the eloquence of the speakers who had preceded him, and with none more, than those of the gentleman who had just resumed his seat

But in one respect he had overshot his mark It was true that he had written the passages that had been read out of his book and he was quite ready to prove to the House that it was very far indeed from a mere senseless attempt at paradox His opponents had made much capital out of the drink evil, and the manner in which it tended to destroy home-life But had the House ever seriously considered the difference that existed in this matter between a husband who was always drunk and a husband who was always sober? A drunken husband, if not a negligible quantity, was a comparatively quiet being, and could safely be pushed out of bed and left to sleep himself out of his cups, on the floor But imagine what a wife had to put up with, whose husband never touched a drop, and who nagged at her all day—and all *night* long, for the matter of that Was not that man more culpable than the drunkard, whose moments of inebriation were at least his moments of quietness? That was what he had meant, and he had written it down in the greatest good faith . .

Mr Chesterton's other arguments proceeded on much the same lines He spoke, indeed, just like one of his books and just as vigorously One would recognise a great deal of what he said on this occasion, in his book on Eugenics and other Evils

LATE DR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

BY DR M HAFIZ SYED M A.

ACCORDING to ancient Hindu tradition when a man leaves his body at an advanced age his people generally rejoice at the sad event because they feel that he has done his life s work and has cast off his worn out body to rest in peace for a time and return in a fresher and newer garb to this earth to undertake fresh duties and responsibilities for the good of the world This has been a gracious custom because every Hindu who believes in his spiritual tradition has a faith in the continuity of life and death has no terror for him, because it does not put an end to his life but to his body only That is why Hindus rightly use the word *Deyant* i e the end of body and not of life

Dr Sinha has lived a full life every hour of which was profitably occupied in some useful purpose He had many unique qualities which one does not generally find in great men and leaders of thought Dr Sinha appeared to live an aristocratic life but he was essentially a democrat and a friend of the poor and the common man I have seen in his reception room men of great light and learning highly influential men and high ranking officers and yet if there happened to be a common man of ordinary means sitting in his company he did not fail to take notice of him and treat him with courtesy and kindness In other words he never made any body feel small in his presence by his outstanding merit, wide learning and high social status He was singularly free from arrogance and disliked snobbery wherever he noticed it.

Another great thing about him was that he was a great lover of learning and never spared an occasion to express his appreciation of the work of merit done by his junior or younger friends and colleagues He always paid them due meed of praise and encouraged them heartily to get along with their literary work

The third thing about him which has a lesson for all workers in the field of letters has been his method of work his thoroughness his meticulous regard for facts and his earnest solicitude for gathering sufficient data before forming an opinion or presenting his case or point of view before the public Writers and journalists should learn a lesson from his strenuous literary life I do not know of another journalist or literary man in India who religiously preserved the cuttings from important newspapers and journals about notable facts and figures which were deposited carefully not only in his file but also in his colosal memory That is why whenever he wrote anything about any leading men of our country and their achievements or failures he quoted their own words to prove his case Many articles have been written on the late Mr M A Jinnah and his political manoeuvres. But I do not know of another writer who has made an admirable and impartial estimate in an impassioned manner of all his faults foibles and failings his erroneous judgments and his arrogant manners in dealing with his opponents It was only about eight months ago that his article on the late M A. Jinnah was syndicated and published all over India giving us truer insight into his complex personality

There was another thing in him which had a great lesson for University men

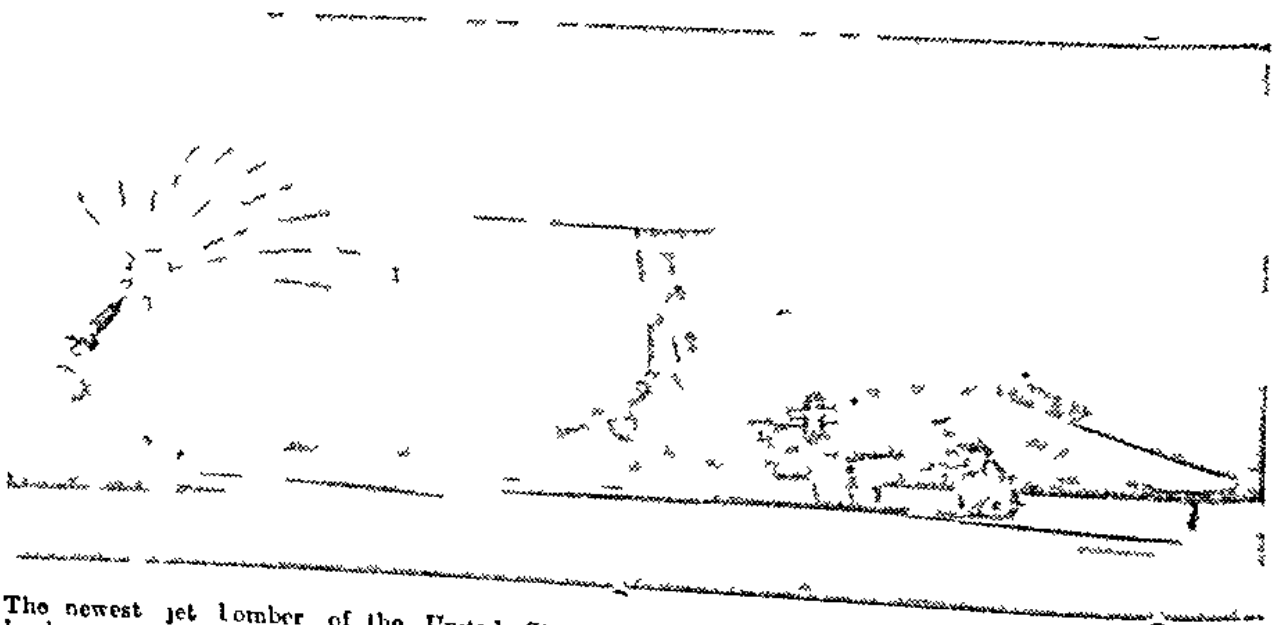
He took infinite pains to collect his material from all possible sources before he sat down to write any subject. The greatest example of it we find in his monumental work on IQBAL and a critical survey of his poetry".

He was one of the most lovable men I have ever met. His life and achievements are varied, full of inspiring examples for his countrymen. I suggest that Dr. Amarnatha Jha, who has been his great friend and admirer all his life and knows more about him than others should honour his memory by undertaking to write his biography for the benefit of the younger generation.

A bare enumeration of his many-sided activities as a public man, as a legislator, as Executive Councillor and as Minister, as Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, as a lawyer, and last though not the least, as a journalist, will fill up many columns of a newspaper. It is difficult to make an estimate of his life and work within the short compass of an article. In a recent speech Dr. Rajendra Prasad described him as "the father of modern Bihar." There can be no finer appreciation of what he did for Bihar—for the separation of Bihar from Bengal and subsequently for the political and educational progress of the new province. But this was but one aspect of his patriotic endeavours in various fields. In selecting him for the position of interim President of the Constituent Assembly the makers of the Indian Constitution did not pay tribute merely to advancing years. They showed their appreciation of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's unremitting toil in freedom's cause for well over half a century. Since 1919 onwards he had not been in the Congress. But he was of the Congress to the last day of his life and, though at times a sharp critic of the policies and programme of the Congress, he enjoyed the love and respect of the tallest of Congressmen. For he was a man of uninpeachable integrity and his patriotism could not for a moment be called into question. Even when, unable to support the successive Non-co-operation movements, he dropped out of the Congress he never contemplated forming any party or joining any party in opposition to the Congress. For, he knew the Congress was the party of freedom. To weaken it on the ground of temporary differences was to weaken the freedom struggle. When, therefore, he was approached by some seceders for whom he had the greatest respect to join the Liberal Party and organise it in Bihar he had no hesitation to turn down the request. He was every inch of him a sturdy patriot. He would not pit himself against the Congress. He was not merely of the Congress to the last day of his life but he was abreast with the march of ideas, politics and economics, to the end of his day. He was an older statesman who knew more of the currents and cross-currents of politics than many who were in the thick of it. He was a voracious reader and his interest in men and affairs was unflagging.

Talking of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's reading habit we are reminded of some thing which he was fond of relating. Dr. Sinha and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru were great friends and both were indefatigable readers of books and newspapers. Dr. Sinha used to say that during nearly half a century's comradeship—they came to know each other in 1898—he had differed with Sir Tej on

only one matter Sir Tej read all newspapers published in India including *Daun*, the militant mouthpiece of the Muslim League Dr Sinha read all newspapers with the single exception of the *Daun* He used to say that Sir Tej read the *Dawn* and fretted inwardly throughout the day but he himself maintained his peace of mind by carefully shunning that poisonous journal Both the friends were robust patriots whose outlook was never for a moment tinged by communal bias But to be non communal is not to be blind to the malignant evil that the Muslim League was Both Sir Tej and Dr Sinha with their clearsighted vision had taken a true measure of the evil that the Muslim League was They never minimised this evil and they were deeply pained when they found that this evil was being minimised or sought to be appeased But there are Congressmen in key positions who would not see the evil in its full magnitude and fight it with all energy lest they should be dubbed communal The Kashmiris, Hindu and Muslim, and the East Bengal Hindus are today paying the price for the shortsighted, mollc coddling policy that is being pursued by the Congress and our Government. Dr Sachchidanauda Sinha knew what Jinnahism stood for and was all for giving unrelenting fight to it Knowing Jinnahism in all its nakedness he could never bring himself to bless partition His writings on the eve of Independence have a propnetic ring They deserve to be read and re read by all who have any hand in the shaping of policy.



The newest jet bomber of the United States Air Force uses a parachute braking device when landing on a small airfield The parachute is stowed aft when not in use The photograph shows the XB 51 using its parachute in a recent test at Baltimore Maryland Radical in design, with sharply swept back wings and a T shaped tail assembly, the XB-51 is flown by a two man crew in a pressurized air conditioned cockpit equipped with pilot ejection seats The airplane, a ground support bomber is powered by three General Electric J 47 engines, each producing a thrust of 5 200 pounds The airplane is 80 feet long and its wing span is 53 feet When on the ground, the wings droop slightly with negative dihedral but straighten out and become parallel to the ground as the craft becomes airborne Small outrigger wheels near the wingtips give balance during take-offs and landings

SCIENCE AND INVENTION

Defence against Atomic Attack

THE United States is developing a guided missile which may prove to be the long sought defence against atomic attack Their role, according to Defence Department sources will be to shoot down bomb carriers before they arrive on the target In the last week of February Defence officials for the first time announced development of "several self-propelled guided missiles with ranges of more than 500 miles In further discussions on March 11, they said four different kinds of guided missiles are being developed as rapidly as possible

The four categories "in various stages of development" are surface to air missiles (launched from the ground) air to surface (including projected 'inter-continental" weapons), air to air and surface to surface

Officials have reported "satisfactory progress" in all phases of missile development Full proving of long distance missiles must, however await completion of long-range testing grounds being established in Florida

Petrol From Coal

The Bureau and Governing Body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has asked the Government of India to accord the highest priority to the project of making synthetic petrol from Indian coal The recommendation was made by the three-day decision of the Council at Delhi

Gloves for the Deaf

Latest invention to aid the deaf is a glove that will act as an ear It will transform sounds into electric impulses on the fingers and send them through the nervous system to the brain

Achievements of Soviet Science

The Soviet Union will use atomic energy for "building and defending Communism", Deputy Premier Lazar Kaganovich proclaimed in an election day statement to Russia's millions as they voted on March 12 for a new Supreme Soviet "Stalin's instructions that our science must not only not lag behind but over-take bourgeois science are being carried out' he told electors

'Such an important fact as the mastering of the secret of obtaining atomic energy by Soviet scientists bears witness to the considerable achievements of Soviet science constantly surrounded by the care and attention of the Soviet Government, the party and comrade Stalin personally'

8,400 Foot Mountain under Pacific

United States scientists have discovered a new 8,400 foot mountain—but navigators need not chart it, and mountain climbers will never scale it The summit of the new mountain lies 3 990 feet below the surface of the Pacific Ocean, southwest of the Queen Charlotte Islands

The discovery, made by scientists aboard the U S, Coast and Geodetic Survey ship *Explorer*' at approximately north latitude 50 degrees 10 minutes, west longitude 141 degrees 59 minutes, is expected to be of extreme interest to geologists, who are studying the possible causes and courses of earthquakes and tidal waves in the Pacific area

Atomic Submarine

The Westinghouse Electric Corporation has officially admitted it is building an atomic powered submarine Scientists said it could virtually run for ever without refuelling

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Sage of Arunachala

A living link with the ancient wisdom of India has snapped with the passing of the sage of Arunachala. Thousands who have visited the Ashram and had darshan of the Maharshi bear witness to the quiet power of his spirit which somehow imparted a strange sense of cheer and solace to many a pilgrim. For more than three decades he had been a beacon light to wayfarers and devotees.

The Maharshi attracted devotees from all over the world and made the wisdom of the East better known and more appreciated. He was no poet or scholar like Sri Aurabindo, in the neighbourhood. He was no savant or evangelist with the glamour and eloquence of Vivekananda. He was pre eminently a Sanyasi and a rishi who had acquired profound knowledge of the spirit through Sadana, a strenuous process of self interrogation and self fulfilment; "one who combined in himself the two strong and typical strands of South India, namely the intellectual philosophy and the bhakti cult." Unlike other popular saints he made a great appeal to the intelligentsia, by sheer power of silence, which in him proved a "tremendous reservoir of psychic energy."

There was something very much in common between the Maharshi of Thiruvannamalai and Sri Ramakrishna of Dhakshineswar. Both had become *Jivanmuktas* by sheer Sadana: both had a universal appeal to people of all faiths irrespective of their creadal differences; both taught by personal example of simple living and high thinking rather than by methods of minatory directive or missionary zeal. Even the last days of the Maharshi remind us of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. If tumour killed the one cancer killed the other. Both alike refused to mitigate their physical sufferings by an application of their spiritual force. Both raised themselves to spiritual heights by their own inner light and intuition without external guidance and left a fragrance that will endure for a long time.

There was grace abounding in their life of gentleness and compassion and their Ashrams truly became centres of sweetness and light. What Ramakrishna was to Bengal in the latter half of the last century, that was the Maharshi for South India during the first half of this century. It will be long before we have such another in our midst. But what a solace and hope for mankind that amidst all the fever and fret of this competitive world the age-old race of seers and sages is not altogether extinct. These are "the remnants" who will still save the world by their insistent call to real and ultimate values amidst the vicissitudes of transient things. One would be ashamed to think an evil thought in their presence.

A friend who had visited the Ashram during the pre-Brunton days when the Maharshi had just emerged from his seclusion and was housed in a shed without the paraphernalia of latter days, is struck rather with the points of difference between the Maharshi and the Paramahamsa.

"The Paramahamsa was anxious for disciples, sought them and put the best of him into them and sent them out into the world enjoining on them a life of enlightenment of humanity and service unto it. But the Maharshi had no such preferences and preoccupations and has left us only a legacy of the memory of a personal life. The Paramahamsa was very communicative, talked

Delhi Agreement

outstanding event of the last is the Indo Pakistan agreement by the two Prime Ministers at on April 8 In view of the ance of the pact, the full text of agreement and the salient points in declarations made by the two Prime Ministers in their respective Parliaments printed elsewhere in this issue The Agreement marks a turning point in the relations between the two countries For one thing it is a good augury that the Prime Ministers of both countries realise the futility of the cold war that has been going on for so long and have settled themselves to face the situation in an earnest and businesslike way. Next a beginning has been made with the minorities problem which may have salutory effects in solving other problems like Kashmir the evacuee property, the canal dispute and the trade war What is more important is that steps have already been made to implement the agreement

Following are the salient points of the Nehru Liaqat Ali agreement —

Parts A and B of the agreements assure necessary protection to minorities of East and West Bengal—including freedom of movement from one country to another

Those refugees who return by December (31, 1950) will be entitled to restoration of their immovable property

Part C deals generally with implementation machinery Each Central Government is to depute a Minister to remain in areas concerned and help in restoring confidence for the return of the refugees and expert so implementation of the agreement

There are to be minority commissions presided over by State Ministers in East Bengal West Bengal and Assam

Commissions of inquiry are to be set up to report on the causes and the extent of the recent disturbances and the measures necessary for preventing them Certain main features of the agreement are in order to restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes the two Governments have decided to depute two ministers one from each Government to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary, to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community in the cabinet Appointments to the Cabinets of East and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

It may be argued that a secular State like the Indian Republic is giving away its principle in adopting the method of communal representation in the Cabinets concerned but that is offset by Pakistan shedding its purely Islamic character which is now declared to be no more than what is meant by the term Rama Rajya in India And then it is wholly gratifying to see how a communal body like the Muslim League has given its unstinted support to the move and how the Pak press led by the *Dawn* is in complete accord with the Indian press in supporting the agreement and giving a fair trial to the new Pact—as evidenced by the forthcoming joint meeting of the Councils of the AIEC and APEC. All these lend hope to the feeling that reason has at last prevailed and that a new faith is abroad This new chapter of faith and statesmanship deserves to succeed, and all right thinking men will wish it success

For as the Sardar said in his fare well broadcast at Calcutta after a week's contact with the leaders and people of West Bengal

The question before West Bengal was not so much whether the agreement was good or bad beneficial or harmful but whether in the face of the stark reality of a partitioned Bengal under two independent Governments and placed in the present set of circumstances any other peaceful means were open to it to bring hope, faith succour and relief to the unfortunate victims of the recent disturbances on both sides of the border

Nor is it wise to discuss if Nehru or Liaqat had tricked the other The main thing is that the prospect of peace is brought nearer and it shows the triumph of reason and commonsense

The Resignations

It would indeed have been well, if Dr. S P Mookerjee and Mr K C Neogi the two Bengali members of the Central Cabinet who have thought fit to resign their office had continued to do their bit as members of the Nehru Government at a time when Bengal is passing through an abnormal situation But where the differences are fundamental it is best for either side to recognise the inevitable and act up to their convictions The out going members may feel in all honesty and sincerity that the Delhi Agreement could be no solution for the Indo Pak situation but then it is equally imperative that a Government facing a crisis like this cannot afford to be divided in counsel More than anything else solid and whole hearted effort with a firm faith in Government's policy whatever it might be is of the essence of success If that is not available then it is best to part

Among the reasons which Dr Mookerjee gave for his resignation were that previous agreements with Pakistan had been violated by Pakistan and that any agreement which had no sanction would not offer any solution the agreement side tracked the 'cardinal issue" that Pakistan was an Islamic State and that India today was exactly where she was previous to the present agreement, and the agreement had re opened the problem of Muslim minority in India, 'thus seeking to revive those disruptive forces that created Pakistan itself"

Let us grant, that all these factors have so far been powerfully operating against the Hindus in Pakistan Would it be proper even then to assume that because it has been so bad in the past it must ever continue to be bad? As has been rightly pointed out by the *Hindu*,

> The intention behind the Objectives Resolution may have been just what Dr Mookherjee insists it was But Mr Liaqat Ali Khan, who speaks with undoubted authority for his people, has energetically repudiated that interpretation He maintains that there is no obstacle, constitutional or other to Hindus being treated as full nationals and in everyway the equals of the Muslims Be the fact as it may, the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurance that no discrimination will hereafter be practised against the Hindus has an independent value of its own If that assurance is acted up to it is bound to lead to an easing of the tension between the two countries and the return of hope and confidence to the Hindus of East Bengal If that should happen, the reversal of that trend would be much more difficult if it were to be attempted later on, whereas if the defeatist view taken by Dr Mookherjee were to prevail with the Government and people of India and with the refugees themselves there would be no chance whatever of the tragic situation in the Bengals being changed

Nobody wants war least of all war with Pakistan which till the other day was one with India and if war is out of the question what is the good of sabre rattling good The only hope is in prudent statesmanship—unhampered by third party intervention the futility and in fact the positive mischief of which we have had bitter experience in the past

Journalists' Federation

Mr N Raghunatha Aiyar, delivering the presidential address of the Southern India Journalists' Federation at the Rajaji Hall, Madras, appealed to the newspaper proprietors to improve the lot of working journalists by implementing the recommendations of the Federation' Committee.

> Journalism is a taxing profession The risk of premature death or incapacitation from ill health is much higher here than in other walks of life and the outlook for the working journalist remains as precarious and uncertain as ever

The president also urged the need for the formation of a Press Council and favoured the inclusion of working journalists in that body.

Civil Liberties

It is up to the citizens of India to stand up for their guaranteed rights and liberties and make the rulers respect them Few will therefore disagree with Mr A C Gupta s general observation in his address to the Civil Liberties Conference at Patna on either the necessity of protecting individual freedom or on the vital growth of liberty in the march of civilization We are not unaware of the dangers of allowing the executive to encroach on the liberties of individuals or the urgency to curb this tendency in the bureaucracy now as in the previous regime But Mr Gupta s reading of the present day conditions in India particularly with reference to the recent enactment of the Preventive Detention Act is too lacking in tolerance and depth of practical knowledge to receive the approbation of the thoughtful sections of our people He is obviously blinded by passion and prejudice

One cannot but share Mr Gupta s disquiet at legislation arming the executive with almost unlimited power to restrict civil liberty by imprisoning people without trial or even without giving the grounds for detention It is quite reasonable to fear that the police may abuse the extraordinary powers vested in them or that the party in power may feel tempted to suppress movements directed against the policy of its Government though not at all subversive of the state itself All this however as the *Searchlight* of Patna rightly observes does not justify imputing unworthy motives to the party in power today and questioning its ability to govern and lead the nation Here are a few gems quoted by our contemporary

The Act (Preventive Detention) is a confession that India cannot govern itself except by barbarous methods

Our Indian politicians seem to be always preoccupied with so many things that they have no time to achieve anything

This is nothing but the psychology of inaction outside the groove of day to day administration

This is an instance of a really good cause spoiled by tiresome exaggeration For indeed exaggeration thoroughly irresponsible could not go further

Churchill's Plea for Coalition

Mr Winston Churchill told the House of Commons in the closing stages of the Budget debate

Somehow or other we must reach firm ground again and have a Government which is not afraid or unable to do things if they are in the national interest

If even the result of the 1950 General Election in Britain had happened in 1945 Mr Churchill said he believed there would have been a National Coalition

Mr Churchill s reference to a Coalition Government evoked considerable speculation in Parliament which however was set at rest by the Chancellor of the Exchequer s unequivocal statement

Winding up the debate on the Budget Sir Stafford Cripps said Mr Churchill had made a sort of vague suggestion of a coalition This could only work if everyone else abandons his policy in favour of the policy of Mr Churchill

Mr Churchill laughingly interjected That would be much the best

Sir Stafford added amid Government cheers

Whatever the Liberal Party may think about it we are not having any on that basis

POOR SCHOLARSHIP

Daniel Webster once good naturedly wrote a letter for an ignorant servant and asked him Is there anything else you wish to say Mike ? The man scratched his head and finally said Yes if you please Just say they must excuse the poor scholarship and want of sense the letter shows

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES WILL BE PUBLISHED)

BROUGHT TO BOOK By John A Lincoln With Drawings by Michael Baseley The Falcon Press London 5s net

This is a most delightful and instructive little collection of epigrams on a variety of subjects of contemporary interest We believe that although the author modestly claims only to have brought them to book they are largely his own handiwork They have the true epigrammatic virtues of brevity and point and whatever labour has gone to their making lies well concealed behind a general impression of artistic smartness Contemporary austerity in Socialist England had doubtless mothered the invention of a good many of these epigrams They have some of them a strongly anti Socialist flavour But it would perhaps be unfair to call Mr Lincoln a Tory on that account There is more of Alice than of malice in Mr Lincoln's glimpses of Socialist England

Here are a few samples of the anti Socialist epigrams —

The difference between a Socialist and a Communist is the same
As that between a laxative and a purgative!

Strachey (Labour's Food Minister) as a Socialist substitute for starch at 1 calories

Sabotage—putting a planner in the works

(This one is skilfully continued indeed combining wit wisdom and rhyme Planner rhymes with spanner (*sabot* in French)

Working class consciousness—consciousness of a class that has no desire for work

The epigram on Nationalisation should in our judgment read Too many officials chasing too little enterprise

That on common ownership is disarmingly effective

[illegible] with common ownership is that it [illegible]

There are good bits on other subjects as well Here are a few more —

Libel Relative to the art of concealing the private vices of public men

Reputation bowdlerised discharged not carried

Critic Nowadays to find an epithet for reading so much

(Here perhaps the impecunious and notoriously ill rewarded book reviewer)

The best in the book in form and content is that on law

The best law is kept there keep the lawyers

STRAY GLIMPSES OF BAPU By Kaka Kalelkar Published by Navajivan Karyalaya Ahmedabad pp 150

The volume is a rosary of one hundred and one anecdotes of Bapu The author as is well known was in intimate touch with Gandhiji from very early days to the last

Each narrative is short pointed and entirely free from sentiments of admiration or devotion The author himself provides the reason for this feature which is surprising to those who are aware of the relations between the author and his subject The volume was intended to be published even when Gandhiji was alive and every kind of complimentary reference had to be ruthlessly avoided for fear of evoking Bapu's stern displeasure

This Journal recalls with pardonable pride the incident numbered 7 the little boy mentioned therein being none other than its present managing editor

The get up and printing have left nothing to be desired

SONGS AND LYRICS FROM THE ENGLISH MASQUES AND LIGHT OPERAS. Collected and edited by F. S. Boas. G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London 8s. 6d.

Dr. Boas brought out in 1915 an anthology of Songs and Lyrics from the English Playbooks, which was very favourably received on the whole. Many readers of that anthology felt however that the limitation of the field of selection to the Play books was unnecessary and that it left out a field equally rich in song and lyric in the English Masques and Operas of various kinds. It is in response to the suggestions implicit in this reception of his earlier book that Dr. Boas has brought out this selection.

The field of selection here includes masques strictly so called as well as kindred forms of musical drama besides 'light' operas, covering comic opera, ballad opera and operetta. And as with the earlier anthology, Dr. Boas limits his selection to work published before 1900.

The value of an anthology of this kind consists in the fact that it brings together, organized on some principle or other, work which scattered and strewn away in bigger works, almost inaccessible to the general reader, unless it be the latter is determined to wade through much less interesting material in quest of what he seeks of song or lyric in the lighter vein.

The more strictly poetic part of the anthology is from the masques which belong to the period when English vocal music was at its highest level of development, when song and music were part of an accepted tradition of social elegance and civilized living. The lyrics of the Jacobean and Caroline period have an unmistakable 'song' quality. The majesty and pomp of diction of the masters of the masque are well exemplified in the selections given herein from Jonson, Daniel, Campion and Milton.

The second part of the anthology begins with selections from the work of Gay and his group, which marks the beginning of the light opera period. Gay's achievement at the beginning of the period was an individual triumph matched and according to some, even surpassed by that of Gilbert at the end of the period. The interim between Gay and Gilbert, while not entirely barren, is relatively to the age of the Masque, rather a disappointing period indeed. Dr. Boas has ferreted out however some rather remarkable pieces even from this unpromising period ; which by their wit, grace and occasional quaintness afford the reader a real joy.

CITY OF MADRAS. Official handbook issued by the Corporation of Madras.

Madras, in recent years, has grown in size and population, and the extension of city limits coupled with the increasing problem of traffic facilities and other amenities of urban life have added to the responsibilities of civil administration. The book under review attempts to present a factual and descriptive account of the efforts made by the Corporation to meet the pressing needs of the people. The eight sections which cover the book deal with the Corporation's handling of the vital problem of the sanitary improvement of slum areas as well as the improvement of the more fashionable areas which, like our glorious sea front, makes the city what it is—a thing of beauty. Anything that is done to wipe out illiteracy and dirt and uncleanliness and make for beauty and dignity in the lives of the people must be welcome.

There is no doubt that tourists and others will find in this book a real and valuable handbook of information about the city, and its ever increasing problems of administration.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

March 28 E Bengal Congress Legislators Memorandum to Prime Minister demands secular State for Pakistan

—Communists set up rival Govt in Burma

March 29 Seretse Khama leaves London for Bechuanaland

March 30 Parliament passes Finance Bill

—Labour Govt defeated on a technical question

—Death of Leon Blum thrice Premier of France

March 31 Centre takes over Excise and Incometax from States

April 1 Centre takes over control of armed forces in States

April 2 Delhi talks between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan open

—Dr Khare externed from Delhi

April 3 Self Government for West Indies

—Colony of Trinidad proclaimed

April 4 Sjt V D Savarkar and other Maha Sabha chiefs arrested under Detention Act

April 5 Feroz Khan Noon takes office as Governor of East Bengal

April 6 Sir Owen Dixon of Australia is proposed Mediator for Kashmir

—Bombay goes dry from today

—Army revolt in East Indonesia

April 7 Sir Sultan Ahmed addressing Shia Conference at Allahabad asks Muslims to throw in their lot with Congress

April 8 Indo Pakistan agreement signed by the Prime Ministers at Delhi

April 9 Indian Council for cultural relations inaugurated at Delhi by Prime Minister

April 10 Nehru and Liaqat explain Indo Pakistan agreement in respective Parliaments

April 11 East Indonesian revolt ends rebel leader Capt Aziz surrenders

April 12 Delhi directs implementation of five fold provisions of Indo Pak agreement

April 13 Kumbhmela at Hardwar

—India and Pakistan approve Sir Owen Dixon's appointment as mediator

April 14 Sri Ramana Maharishi passes away at Tiruvannamalai

April 15 Sardar Patel in Calcutta

—Leopold of Belgium offers transfer of powers to Crown Prince

April 16 Delhi University bids farewell to Sir Maurice Gwyer

April 17 Indonesian Federal troops land at Macassar

April 18 Composite pension scheme sanctioned for Central Government employees

—Indo Pakistan Trade talks open at Karachi

April 19 The Prime Minister accepts resignations of Dr Mookherjee and Mr K C Neogi from Cabinet

—Aziz's troops surrender E Indonesia revolt ends

April 20 Debate opens in Senate on U S Global bill

—Budget session of Parliament ends

April 21 Indo Pakistan trade pact signed at Karachi

April 22 Southern India Journalists' Federation meeting at Madras urges setting up of an all India Press Council

April 23 India—Nepal treaty & drafts finalised in New Delhi

April 24 King Abdullah of Jordan annexes Arab Palestine

April 25 V P Menon holds informal talks in Hyderabad

April 26 Pandit Nehru welcomed in Karachi

—Minority Commission set up in E Bengal

April 27 Attlee Cabinet survives Liberal Tory attack motions rejecting petrol and lorry taxes defected

April 28 The Prime Minister back in Delhi from Karachi talks

April 29 Mr Liaqat Ali Khan leaves for U S A (*via*) London

April 30 Andhra P C C delegation meets Sardar Patel

—Congress to meet at Nasik this year

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Acharya Kripalani, ex-Congress President reviews the position of the present Nehru Government, in the columns of his new Weekly *The Vigil*. The Acharya who is critical of the policies and actions of the Nehru government says it is by no means a truly National Government.

The national government formed in England during the last war was a coalition between the two predominant parties, Conservative and Labour. At any time Labour could have asked its representatives to withdraw from the national government and they were bound to follow the party whip, even if Churchill had liked to retain them as individuals for their personal worth as Ministers. As soon as the national emergency in England disappeared and new elections were ordered each party ran its own candidates. Labour swept the polls and formed the Labour Government. In France generally there is no one predominant party. Governments are formed by a coalition of parties. It is, therefore, notorious that French Cabinets are short lived.

Now let us see if our Government in the Centre is a national government in this sense, the only sense in which the term can be used in a democracy. Is there, he asks, an alliance between the Congress and any other party or parties?

Do non Congress members of the Cabinet represent parties in the country? Have they been sent to the Government by their parties? Are they responsible to these parties? Will they withdraw, if their parties want them to? Will any one or a group of them run their own candidates in the next elections?

To all these questions only a negative reply can be given. The non-Congress members of the Cabinet do not belong to parties in the country that have come to an understanding with the Congress on particular issues of national importance.

They do not represent any party in the country. If some of them did, they no longer do so. They have not been sent to the Cabinet by their parties even if once they belonged to such parties. They will not withdraw from the Cabinet at the bidding of the party to which they may have belonged in the past. They won't run their candidates at the next elections. For all these reasons the Government at the Centre is not a coalition, an all party or a national government, in the democratic sense of the term.

Is the Government a Congress government? Responsible persons have repudiated the idea. Naturally because the non-Congress members of the Cabinet have not been chosen by the Congress Executive.

Their subsequent membership of the Congress does not make them Congress leaders. They became Congressmen just to get into Parliament. Under ordinary circumstances they may not have joined the Congress. They were chosen not because they were leaders in the Congress but for their personal ability or influence whatever the nature of such ability or influence.

What then is the nature of our Government? It is difficult to define it in democratic terms.

All that can be said is that it is a transitional and provisional government the nature of which is quite obscure. There is no parallel to it in democratic history.

BUSINESS FOR BUSINESS' SAKE

There is an interesting anecdote reflecting the mentality that is said to have developed in the Spanish Province of Catalonia.

Senor A. offers Senor B. a carload of sardine tins at 18,000 pesetas, Senor B sells them for 30,000 pesetas to Senor C. and he for 40,000 pesetas to Senor D. Finally Senor E, a far-sighted man afraid of dying from hunger should there be a war, acquires the carload for 56,000 pesetas. Three days later, Senior E. telephones indignantly to Senor D. "I've been cheated," he cries into the phone. "You sold me a carload of sardine tins and now it turns out that the tins are empty." At the other end of the wire Senor D. exclaims: "But, man alive, why did you open the tins? They were not to eat. They were just to do business with."

WORLD'S SUICIDE STATISTICS

Love is seventeen times more deadly than drink, according to the latest Paris suicide statistics For every person who ends his own life because of alcohol seventeen do so because their affairs of the heart have gone wrong writes London *Answers*

Even so love is one of the least spectacular reasons why some French men and women decide that life is not worth living A musician hanged himself because following an operation he was unable to carry the big drum in a local band

A dress designer took poison because at the age of forty, she was getting fat A taxi-driver deliberately drove his vehicle into a river to demonstrate his indignation when an American walked away without tipping him

More people seem to commit suicide in May and June than at any other time of the year The rate hits a low point in December

Also more people commit suicide in the morning from 6 a m to noon, than at any other time of day

Although the suicide rate is highest among the Teutonic races there is no indication that the desire to kill oneself is a racial characteristic and therefore inherited Rather it is more reasonable to assume that suicide is a cultural characteristic

In Japan, for instance, it is quite in order for a noble to kill himself by hara kiri, which is probably the most painful form of suicide There is absolutely no stigma attached to the act It is even a form of heroism, and may be done for such a trivial reason as a protest against government policy

SADHUS IN THE COMING CENSUS

A number of *Sadhu* and *Sanyasi* organizations have passed resolutions asking the Central Government "to enumerate *sadhus* under a separate heading of "*sadhus*" and not lump them together "under the class unproductive along with ... prisoners in jails asylum inmates and prostitutes in the census records of country

I do believe, writes K G ... commenting on the above in *Harijan* that a *sadhu* cannot and ought not to be grouped with the classes of people named above

> But it is not incorrect to say that they are unproductive in the same way as ministers, judges lawyers teachers clerks journalists writers poets actors priests political and social workers bankers landlords and people subsisting on unearned income Not that none of them has any useful function in society but there is no defamation involved in saying that they are all 'unproductive'

The organizations also draw attention of the Government of Bombay to the difference between a beggar and a *sadhu* and to make due provision in the Beggars Act to exclude the latter from the operation of the Act

> This too is a reasonable demand to a certain extent But like all social workers the *sadhus* of this age should also consider whether it is right (*dharma*) for one to subsist on alms or donations and take no part in producing any of the articles which they along with other human beings have to consume Can human society prosper if a large section of able bodied people do no productive work nay, even consider it derogatory to do so? Let it be frankly realized that subsistence on alms can never be *dharma* It may be one's helplessness, but never a right. The *sadhu* institution of India may be good evidence to show that India must have been a producer of plenty of food and absolute necessities of life for a long time in the past But the altered conditions of the country necessitate a change in the and *sadhus* must regard participation in productive work as a duty incumbent upon everyone

WISE WIVES

Mabel Jack told me I was the eighth wonder of the world

Eleanor 'And what did you say?

I told him not to let me catch him with seven of other

SQUANDERMANIA

Numerous instances of wasteful spending by government officials are given by *Pioneer*. Writing editorially it says:

"An American authoress, Mary Jane Ward, recently brought out an astounding story illustrative of Indian squandermania in the wake of her newly found independence. A number of long, sleek and streamlined locomotives was purchased in the United States on behalf of the Indian nationalised railways at the cost of tens of thousands of dollars. The engines arrived according to schedule and were landed at the Bombay docks. The purchasing officials got a mighty thrill out of it until somebody suddenly discovered that the locos were too tall to pass through the tunnels on Indian railways."

Meanwhile, examples of the reckless waste of public funds and no questions asked continue to come to light from all parts of the country.

"In our own State of Uttar Pradesh" says the *Pioneer*, "overpayment of over Rs. 7 lakhs was made to a contractor who made away with it to safety and prosperity in Pakistan. The reply of Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim that the contractor's security deposit of Rs. 2 lakhs has been attached and that the overpayment, therefore, amounts to a little less than has been alleged reminds us of the maid servant who apologised for her illegitimate baby: "But, Ma'am, it is only a leetle one."

The paper further instances the Assam Government's wasteful expenditure of two crores of rupees on a worthless road and the Central Government's pre-fab scandal and concludes:

"If stupidity was responsible for this tragedy then the principle must be enforced that the stupid cannot govern. They must get out"

LUNCH HOUR AND EFFICIENCY

American companies are studying a plan that would alter the "lunch-hour" system practised generally by industry all over the world. Under the plan, morning and afternoon eating periods would take the place of the present lunch hour at noon.

The idea results from recent experiments conducted at Yale University which indicate that the human organism does not work at its best under the traditional three-meal a-day system. It does better if the same amount of food is distributed over four meals, studies show.

It is the experience in industry, notes the magazine *Business Week*, that a workman produces more at the start of each working day and that his work output tapers off before lunch. After lunch he is again more productive, and in mid afternoon he again slows down. Most companies feel that mid-morning and mid-afternoon light refreshments would increase the efficiency of their workers but not to the extent that more leisurely lunch periods would.

One of America's largest department stores, Marshall Field and Company of Chicago, in the state of Illinois, recently installed the new lunch-hour system to keep certain sales counters fully staffed at noon, when business is heaviest. Now, instead of an hour at noon and 15-minute morning and afternoon rest periods, the sales people at these counters take 45 minutes sometime before noon and another 45 minutes in mid-afternoon. Employees, it seems, like the change better and are more efficient at work.

RETURNED WITH THANKS

Mr. A.: "Don't you find writing a thankless job?"

Mr. B.: "On the contrary, everything I write is returned to me with thanks."

THE PRESS AND ITS RESPONSIBILITIES

The Prime Minister has called upon the Press in India to treat the unfortunate happenings in East and West Bengal with the utmost restraint and sense of responsibility. He has wisely conceded that the Press is entitled to report facts accurately and fully. His appeal is to go about their business with due sense of responsibility Commenting on this the *Journal of the Southern India Journalists' Federation* observes

We journalists, for our part accept to quote the U S Freedom of the Press Commission that freedom of the press is not a fixed and isolated value", that "it will be different in times of general security and in times of crisis and that "it will be different under varying states of public emotion and belief' Every responsible journalist recognises that "what a mind does with a fact or an opinion is widely different when it is serene and when it is anxious when it has confidence in its environment and when it is infested with suspicion or resentment, when it is gullible and when it is well furnished with the means of criticism, when it has hope and when it is in despair" These facts impose on us the obligation to make our appeal to the instructed judgment and the unsullied conscience of the public and so to exert our influence as to secure action calculated to subserve the ends of truth and justice

All these things are pretty clear to all. They are not, however, as easy of application as may be supposed by arm chair critics of the Press Should the journalist tell the whole truth, when he knows as a matter of certainty the telling of it may result in grave civil commotion and riots attended possibly with loss of lives or calamitous material loss to large classes of the public?

The British Press, rather than publish news of the Abdication Crisis and thereby risk civil war and trade losses, withheld the news from the public for a time British journalists are not convinced that the conduct of the profession in that connection was of certainty justified, and some have expressed sorrow that they succumbed to the temptation of following the mass The British Press on another occasion, at the bidding of Mr MacDonald refrained from giving news of the then impending devaluation of the pound and observed a conspiracy of silence in the interest of the nation The obligation to tell the truth in all circumstances is not thus deemed absolute by many journalists, they owe an overriding responsibility to subserve the interests of the nation In so far as this obligation is voluntarily accepted and discharged, there is no danger to the principle of freedom of the Press

It must be remembered however, argues the organ of the Journalists' Federation, that the obligation to tell the truth is paramount and admits of very few exceptions, especially when the truth is unpleasant and when it becomes essential to warn the public of dangers in the offing

The Press cannot in such circumstances keep mum lest it should be charged with being guilty of alarmistic propaganda The observations of the authors of the P E P Report on the British Press are pertinent in this context "In quiet times when situations change slowly and catastrophic developments are rare' they say, "the task of an editor is obviously very much simpler than in such a period as the present, when sudden changes of front revolutions and counter revolutions, invasions, civil wars and economic upheavals occur with bewildering frequency There is little time to think calmly in a modern newspaper office, and the spate of problems clamouring for attention allows little rest or relief *Few* possibilities can be ruled out as preposterous, because the preposterous so often happens"

The only course that is open to a responsible newspaper in such circumstances is to give the full facts so far as they are known point out all the possible implications thereof objectively and then set out its own considered views in as unalarmistic though necessarily serious terms as possible

SRI KRISHNA

The first No of the first volume of this monthly Magazine Edited by Mr. A. Srinivasaraghavan, M A and S Narayanan, Pudukkottai (Madras) bearing the name of the blessed Lord opens with a series of messages from personages like Swami Sivananda Saraswathy and Dr. Radhakrishnan. The Magazine contains a number of articles on various spiritual topics, the contributors being men of the calibre of Mr K S Ramaswamy Sastri, Dr. K C Varadachari, Mr K. Bhashyam etc. The magazine will serve as a valuable forum to those pursuing the Bhakthi marga

SIGNIFICANCE OF BOOKS

The second number of the *Literary* v (Bombay) opens with a scholarly on Poetry and other arts from the pen of Dr. James H. Cousins—a poet and writer of no mean distinction. Mulk Raj Anand follows with a dissertation on the significance of books for our lives.

In this ancient land of ours, we have, of course, always held learning and wisdom in great respect. And in fact, we were some of the earliest writers of books in the world. But from the very beginning of our history till comparatively recent times, our intellectual life has remained the monopoly of a few people, of a chosen oligarchy, the Brahmins. The possession of knowledge by one caste did not mean that this did not percolate among the people. For in the caste system the function of the priest was to disseminate religious and social instruction to the other castes, and a great deal of the wit and wisdom of the Pundits travelled as myth and legend and story, or as straightforward philosophy, to the laity. And the whole of religion was centred round the various holy books.

Some books have been known to tumble the world upside down, and the writer goes on to speak of certain books that have made history as, for instance, the writings of the French encyclopaedists from Diderot to Voltaire and Marx's CAPITAL.

For good or ill, in most advanced countries of the world, books exercise an enormous influence and form a reservoir of cultural achievement in which lie the sources of whatever mental energy and emotional vitality our age possesses.

Obviously, then, books have come to have a most profound significance for our lives. But what precisely is it that a book does do when it affects one?

The answer is that it renews the jaded spirit of man and thus enables him to compare and contrast human action or ideas and to create values by which to live more intensely or with an enlarged vision of the qualities and hidden energies of other people and the Universe.

As the sum total of knowledge is never complete, and what has been accumulated in the past tends to be forgotten, each generation restates the old truths and discovers new ones, thus enriching their awareness.

The conquest of nature whose dread energies are constantly threatening to destroy or overpower life, and the various intricate modes of producing goods, and the social relations based on the business of living, all have to be under constant criticism.

AMERICA AND THE H BOMB

President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson and some of the top foreign policy advisers believe Russia is about to embark on aggressive action. Their opinion was learned through diplomatic sources at the United Nations. Writing in the *Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, Prof. P. G. Krishnayya says:

"Word passed on here confidentially by the State Department is that Kremlin appears willing to take the calculated risk of war to gain its ends, these sources say. The President and Acheson both are depicted as gravely concerned over possible developments in Finland, Berlin and Yugoslavia as the principal target of whatever action Russia may be preparing. In view of the rapidly worsening situation on Russia's European borders, diplomats here would not be surprised if Yugoslavia suddenly and dramatically drew world attention to its peril by appealing to the Security Council. It is believed possible that a change in instructions to Yugoslavia's United Nations delegation could pave the way for such a plea, or some intermediate step placing the U. N. on notice. Marshall Tito for some months has been ready for an aggressive Russian act. According to information reaching here Russian troop movements have been noticed anew on Yugoslavia's borders."

The apprehension in Washington could explain why both Mr. Truman and the Secretary of State resolutely are standing against any further appeal at this time to the Soviet to resume negotiations on world atomic control.

It also could explain, says the writer, why the President gave the order to go ahead with construction of the first hydrogen bomb.

CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, permanent Indian delegate to the United Nations, writing in the current issue of *United Nations World*—a magazine not officially connected with the U N—observes that the very fact that the major powers feel there should be control of atomic energy and atomic weapons should be banned is in effect, agreement It would be easy enough he says, to impose a ban on the manufacture or use of atomic weapons There may be even universal acceptance of the ban among the nations of the world, so far as words go but will there be acceptance in deed as well in word?'

To consolidate all work done so far on the problem and as a basis for discussion, Sir Benegal suggests the following declaration

1 (a) The development and use of atomic energy having now become a matter of international concern it is the duty of every State to submit to and act in aid of an effective system of international control adequate to insure the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes and the elimination of atomic weapons from national armaments, as well as to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasion (b) No State or individual shall manufacture, possess or use atomic weapons (c) No State or individual shall use atomic energy except for peaceful purposes

2 In ratifying or adhering to this declaration any State may make a reservation that paragraphs (b) and (c) of Article 1 shall not apply to the State until the establishment of the international control system provided for in paragraph (a) of the same Article 'Provided that in no case shall any State use atomic weapons except in legitimate self defence'

Sir Benegal says such a declaration 'ratified by a large number of States, though not by every State, and though ratified by some States with reservations, can be the beginning of international law" such as the Declaration of Paris of 1856 outlawing privateering, and The Hague Convention of 1899 and the Geneva Convention of 1925 banning the use of poison gas and bacteriological warfare

MINORITIES IN INDIA AND PAKISTA

A significant and fairly objective anal; of the situation in the two Bengals continued in a contribution "from a Co' Correspondent" published in a recent issu of the *'Economist'* of London—date March 25 "The minorities, and especiall the badly shaken Hindus of East Bengal,' says the writer, "must be made to recove their confidence and their feeling tha they are full and wanted citizens.' Discussing casualties, he says

It is significant that the total casualties in th last three months have not been large In Indi they do not go far into three figures, in Pakistai they do not go far into four On the most unfav ourable estimate the total figure is less than th 5 000 killed in August, 1946, in Calcutta, wher there was still British rule in India But the 1946 riot created no refugees, while today 130,00(refugees have arrived in India and keep on coming at the rate of 5,000 a day, and in Pakistan the Chief Minister of E Bengal says that 116,000 refugees have arrived from India

The deduction which the writer draws is that it has now become "painfully easy" in both countries to turn out respectable people from their homes, and, their stories of woe are readily believed and magnified "But," he says, "while the danger is great on both sides, for reasons often beyond Pakistan's control, there is more danger in Pakistan than in India for the minorities"

The correspondent explains his reason for the above conclusion thus·

India is a secular State. The preamble to the constitution talks of justice and liberty and does not mention Hinduism The doctrine that Hindu and Muslim are one is a cardinal tenet of the Congress One quarter of the Muslims used to vote Congress and they therefore still have leadership and an ideal despite the dissolution of the Muslim League in India, there are two Muslim ministers at the Centre and several in the provinces, the Inspector General of Police in Bihar is a Muslim and so on That the Muslims have fair confidence in India is indeed shown by the return of 300,000 from W. Pakistan and by the very large emigration from E Pakistan into Assam since 1947.

DIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Africa

CONFISCATION OF S.A. INDIANS' PROPERTY

The Transvaal Indian Congress cabled Pandit Nehru and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, asking them to intervene with the Union Government on behalf of South African Indians charged with illegal land tenure. The cable said

"Landed properties already confiscated as well as others liable to be confiscated in the immediate future amount to thousands of pounds."

"In this hour of crisis we urge you to intervene on our behalf and to prevail upon the Union Government to suspend, forthwith all prosecutions under the Asiatic Land Tenure Act pending the proposed round table talks between India, Pakistan, and South Africa.

"We are submitting to you a memorandum detailing the *prosecutions and their effect on Indians*".

The Transvaal Indian Congress made a similar appeal to the Union Government.

FEWER IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa received 30,000 immigrants in 1947, 36,000 in 1948 and only 16,000 last year, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. F. Dongee, told an audience at the Little Cape village of Heidelberg.

"My Government believes in quality and not quantity," he added.

West Indies

INDIANS IN WEST INDIES

India's advice had not been sought by British Government in regard to the formation of West Indies as a Dominion within the Commonwealth. The Government of India were watching developments and would certainly take whatever action was considered necessary to protect the interests of Indians in the West Indies. This assurance was given by Dr. B. V. Keskar in Parliament.

Burma

5,000 INDIANS AXED IN BURMA RAILWAYS

Nearly 5,000 Indians employed in the Burma Railways have so far been discharged while 2,000 more await a similar fate as they refused to declare themselves as Burmese nationals, according to information received from the office of the Burma Railways Indian Staff Welfare Association at Calcutta.

Nearly 4000 Indians employed in the Burma railways stayed back and accepted the nationality of that country.

The Government of India, in order to help the retrenched railway personnel, had decided to start two report centres, at Madras and Calcutta, and had issued directions to the General Managers of the M.S.M and the E.I. Railway to absorb the former Indian employees of Burma Railways as best as they could.

A spokesman of the Welfare Association said that since last one year, retrenchment had been going on in full swing. The employees generally belonged to the Class III and IV groups, the former clerical and the latter menial staff. Recently, orders had also been issued by the Railway Board to the General Manager of the Loco Shops at Chittaranjan to absorb as many educationally and technically qualified persons from among them as possible. According to the Association, financially most of the retrenched staff were very much hard up and none has found an alternative employment in India.

Malaya

SAMBASIVAN'S RE-ARREST

Sambasivan, who was released following the Privy Council upholding his appeal against conviction on a charge of being in possession of a revolver, was re-arrested immediately under the Emergency Regulations.

Germany

INDIA INSTITUTE IN GERMANY

We are glad to learn that "India Institute" (which used to be the India Section of Die Deutsche Akademie, Munich) has been re-established to carry on its old and valued activities in promoting cultural co-operation and friendly relations with the people of Germany—relations which came to an abrupt end on the eve of the great war

The Institute was started in 1928 after two years' persistent efforts on the part of Dr Tarakanath Das and his German friends of India such as the late Director Fritz Beck Prof Arnold Sommerfeld Dr Franz Thierfelder and others The work of the Institute in securing scholarships for advanced post-graduate Indian students in German universities and Engineering Colleges and helping Indian scientists to gain practical experience in various industries continued with great success until during the World War II these activities had to be stopped

During the period of its existence more than ten years, Indian Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, aided more than one hundred Indian scholars to get higher education and practical training It was under the auspices of India Institute, the late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta University gave a series of lectures on "Modern India" in connection with the Engineering College of Munich and acted as a Visiting Professor to various universities India Institute of Munich received many distinguished Indian visitors, such as the late Rabindranath Tagore, the late Jagadish Chandra Bose Professor Raman and others

Dr Phil Franz Thierfelder, the President whose interest in the work of the Institute has been sustained and unwearied tells us that

to-day the German people are struggling hard under most adverse circumstances to revive their destroyed Fatherland To them revival of their great educational institutions is one of the most urgent tasks In fact German universities have again begun to function on a limited scale and it is to be hoped that within a short time—a few years at the most—they will be in a position to serve the people of the world, according to their traditions of "academic freedom" search for knowledge and its spread all over the world in co-operation with the people of the world without any discrimination.

Fiji

RESTRICTION ON ENTRY TO FIJI

Britain proudly claims that the Commonwealth of Nations has an association of free peoples and a citadel of human freedom One naturally expects a resident of a free country to be a free man. In Fiji, however a resident is free to leave Fiji at any time but he is not free to return to the Colony writes the *Pacific Review* a news weekly published from Fiji and adds

Under the existing law he is only entitled to return to the Colony within twelve months from the date of his departure No valid reason has come forward as to why the residents of a British Colony should be treated as prisoners let out on parole—the residents who are called equal partners in the Commonwealth! This obnoxious piece of legislation has not done any good to this Colony and has necessarily created a sense of grievance amongst the people of important dominions like India and Pakistan

If the residents were allowed to return within even three years it would not make a scrap of difference to the economic social or political set up of the Colony and it will create a feeling of friendliness and understanding amongst the dominions whose whole hearted friendship is most valuable to Britain and her colonies Time has come to revise the laws which unnecessarily give offence to the nationals of any of the dominions or put them to inconvenience The present restriction on re-entry of the residents has not achieved anything to the advantage or benefit except proving malicious satisfaction to anti-Indian groups Neither Britain nor Fiji can afford to pay such a high price in goodwill and friendship of sister dominions just to pamper the stupidity of a prejudiced few

INDIAN POPULATION IN FIJI

Dr B V Keskar, Deputy Minister of External Affairs said in Parliament that the emigration of indentured labour to Fiji islands was not being continued now. The Indian population in those islands was 129,761, which was nearly half of the total population

ANSWERED

"What a boy you are for asking questions" said the father I'd like to know what would have happened if I'd asked as many questions when I was a boy!

Perhaps, suggested the young hopeful, "you'd have been able to answer some of mine"

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

INDO PAKISTAN AGREEMENT

Following is the text of the Indo Pakistan Agreement jointly signed on April 8 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and Mr Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan

(A) The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces

Both Governments declare these rights to b fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its Constitution The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exists in the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction

Both Governments wish to emphasise that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances

PROTECTION TO REFUGEES

(B) In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments

(i) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit,

(ii) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his movable personal effects and household goods as a migrant may wish to take with him Movable property shall include personal jewellery The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs 150 and to each migrant child Rs 75

(iii) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank A proper receipt shall be furnished to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided as and when required for their transfer to him subject as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned,

(iv) That there shall be no harassment by the customs authorities At each customs post, agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice,

(v) Rights of ownership in or occupancy of the immovable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person it shall be returned to him, provided that he comes back by the 31st December 1950 Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him provided that he returns not later than the 31st December, 1950 In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immovable property cannot be returned to him the matter shall be referred to the appropriate Minority Commission for advice

When restoration of immovable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him

DISPOSAL OF PROPERTY

(vi) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return ownership of all his immovable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale, or by exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise A committee consisting of three representatives of the minority and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustees of the owner The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immovable property according to law

The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these committees

The Provincial or State Government as the case may be will instruct the district, or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the committee's functions

The provisions of this sub paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after the 1oth August, 1947 The arrangement in this sub paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof

RESTORATION OF CONFIDENCE IN DISTURBED AREAS

(C) As regards the province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

PANDIT NEHRU ON THE DELHI PACT

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, submitting to Parliament the Indo Pakistan Agreement on April 10, declared that this particular Agreement, 'both in regard to its contents and timing," has a peculiar significance and importance Our future depends upon the measure of compliance in India and Pakistan "

Referring to his discussions with the Pakistan Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru said that the discussions covered the Bengal situation as well as many other matters, ' which have poisoned the relations between India and Pakistan Both of us were burdened with heavy sense of responsibility, for the fate of our countries and of many millions therein was involved in these discussions "

Emphasizing that the problem was essentially a human one, Pandit Nehru said "The problem was not merely that of Bengal Indeed, its repercussions went far beyond the borders of India and Pakistan Because of this, the world took deep interest in this meeting and its result'

Pandit Nehru said that Mr Liaquat Ali Khan had assured him that the Government of Pakistan believed in the modern conception of a democratic State and that indeed there could be no other form of State under modern conditions This assurance was embodied in the Agreement

After referring to the relevant portions of the Agreement, Pandit Nehru said

The Agreement is a step and a step only in a certain direction It has to be followed up by many other steps and, more particularly by a change in the very conditions of life By this Agreement the Governments of Pakistan and India have pledged themselves to take those other steps also and I feel sure that the House will give its full support to this great enterprise, which means so much to millions of our countrymen

LIAQAT ALI ON THE DELHI PACT

"It is my firm intention to implement this agreement in full," declared Mr Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, in the Pakistan Parliament at Karachi on the morning of 10th April while presenting the new Indo Pakistan Minorities Agreement to the House

Stating that the Prime Minister of India and he would be meeting from time to time to review the implementation of this agreement as well as to consider other problems of common concern Mr Liaqat Ali Khan said,

in the interests of both India and Pakistan, as indeed in the interests of world peace it is essential that we should settle all outstanding issues by peaceful means and promote the growth of friendship and good neighbourly feelings between the two countries

In this task, Mr Liaqat Ali Khan asked for the co operation of the leaders of public opinion and men of goodwill in both countries, and also, in particular, the co operation of the Press on both sides of the border He warned that a false word or action today might upset the balance which might be impossible to redress for generations to come

Mr Liaqat Ali Khan added

I look upon this agreement as a precursor of a new understanding between India and Pakistan I believe, and so does the Prime Minister of India that this Agreement if properly implemented, will lead to the eradication of fear and suspicion which stalk this sub continent today

He was satisfied as a result of his conversations with the Prime Minister of India that Pandit Nehru would do every thing possible to see that the life, property, culture citizenship and other rights of the minority in all parts of India were fully safe guarded.

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

HOLDING OF ELECTIONS

The Law Minister, Dr B R Ambedkar, introduced in Parliament on April 12 a Bill which provides machinery for conducting the forthcoming elections to the House of the People and the legislatures of the States

The Bill, which is the first proposed legislation of its kind under the new Constitution, seeks to provide for allocation of seats in the House of the People and the State legislatures delimitation of constituencies qualification of voters and preparation of electoral rolls

Allocation of seats in the House of the People to the different States and the fixation of the total number of seats in the Legislative Assemblies of the different States has been made on the present population of each State as on March 1, 1950, estimated in consultation with the Census Commissioner for India

The total number of seats allocated to the States in the House of the People is 488 Allocation has been made on the basis of one seat for every 7 2 lakhs of the estimated population of each State Uttar Pradesh has the largest number of seats allocated to it, namely, 86 The number of seats allocated to other States in Parts A and B are as follows Assam 12 Bihar 55 Bombay 45, Madhya Pradesh 29, Madras 75, Orissa 20 Punjab 16, West Bengal 34, Hyderabad 25, Jammu and Kashmir 6 Madhya Bharat 11, Mysore 11, Patiala and East Punjab States Union 5, Rajasthan 20 Saurashtra 6 Travancore Cochin 12

One seat each has been allocated to eight Part C States (Centrally administered areas), namely Ajmer Bhopal Bilaspur, Coorg, Kutch Manipur, Tripura and Andaman and Nicobar Islands Vindhya Pradesh has been allocated 5 seats Delhi 3 and Himachal Pradesh 2

INDIAN STATE FORCES

From April 1, this year the forces of India have been unified as never before in the country's history

The Government of India have assumed complete financial responsibility for and overall control of the Indian State forces from that date

This has been achieved with the agreement of the Rajpramukhs The Indian State Forces are now being reorganised and when this process is completed they will in all respects, including pay and allowances, organisation etc be on a par with Indian Army units.

In the case of the State Forces of Travancore Cochin Mysore and Hyderabad complete control administrative as well as operational has been assumed by the Indian army, and Indian army officers have been appointed Commandants of these forces As soon as the reorganisation of these forces is completed, they will be completely integrated with the Indian army

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

The personnel of the Estimates Committee was announced in Parliament on April 13 by the Speaker The following 25 Members of Parliament have been elected to be Members

Mr M Ananthasayanam Iyengar, (Chairman) Mr Satyanarain Sinha Mr Hariharnath Shastri Mr Khandubhai K. Desai, Dr Pattabi Sitaramayya, Mr Ramnath Goenka Mr Syed Nausherali, Mr Raj Bahadur, Mr Upendranath Barman, Pandit Balkrishna Sharma Srimati Renuka Ray Mr Arun Chandra Guha, Srimati G Durgabai Mr B Shiva Rao, Mr Harivishnu Kamath, Mr Mahavir Tyagi, Mr B P Jhunjhunwala, Mr Ajit Prasad Jain, Sardar Hukam Singh, Mr Sarangdhar Das, Mr V C Kesava Rao Mr Biswanath Das Mr R K Sidhwa, Mr N G Ranga and Mr Mohan lal Gautam

EDUCATIONAL

CENTRE'S GRANT TO UNIVERSITIES

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Scientific Manpower Committee, the Ministry of Education, Government of India, has sanctioned grants totalling Rs 20,419,750 for the development of facilities for research training and post-graduate work in certain departments of eleven Indian universities during 1949-50

The Andhra University will receive a grant of Rs. 500,000. The Universities of Aligarh, Allahabad, Annamalai, Benares, Madras and Calcutta will receive Rs. 200,000 each. The Lucknow University will receive Rs. 115,000. the Nagpur University, Rs. 105,750, the Saugor University, Rs. 82,000 and the Agra University, Rs. 17,000.

GANDHI CHAIR AT AGRA VARSITY

The Executive Council of the Agra University has decided to establish a Gandhi Chair at the University for the propagation of Gandhian philosophy.

The University appointed a small committee to prepare the detailed scheme for its approval.

It was also suggested that the Kasturba Gandhi Trust may be approached for their co-operation and financial help so that the work of the chair may run smoothly and the Agra University may do some constructive and lasting endeavour to advance the Gandhian philosophy amongst the students and educated classes.

ALIGARH UNIVERSITY

Mr. Sampurnanand, Education Minister, Uttar Pradesh, said in the Legislative Assembly that with the partition of India the number of students in the Aligarh Muslim University had gone down by 11 per cent. The number of students in the University before partition was 6,113, while in the current academic year it was 3,631.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York has offered a Fellowship to enable an official of the Ministry of Education, Government of India, to visit U. S. A. to study the work of the United Nations at Lake Success and become familiar with education about international affairs in American colleges and Universities. The Fellow will spend three to four months in the United States as the guest of the Endowment who will arrange conferences and visits to make him familiar with U. N. activities at Lake Success and with certain promising developments in American educational institutions.

The Fellowship has been accepted and Mr. Harish Chandra, an Education Officer in the Ministry of Education, has been nominated.

EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Government of India and the Government of the United States of America have entered into an agreement for the reciprocal exchange of official publications. Two copies of each official publication will be transmitted to the Government concerned through the Smithsonian Institution, Washington and the Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi. The United States Publications will be received by the Indian Embassy at Washington on behalf of the Republic of India while the American Embassy at New Delhi will receive Government of India publications on behalf of the Government of the United States of America.

The agreement has been brought into force from March 27, 1950

LEGAL

—o—

CIVIL LIBERTIES CONFERENCE

The All India Civil Liberties Conference which met at Patna on the 15th and 16th of April under the presidentship of Sri Atul Chandra Gupta, the Bengali jurist and educationist, passed resolutions strongly protesting against the detention of 'any citizen of India without any charge and without trial," condemning the firing on unarmed prisoners in different jails in India, and demanding that the Preventive Detention Act of 1950, passed by the Union Legislature be repealed

The resolution protesting against arbitrary detention was moved by Mr Jai Prakash Narain It said

This conference enters its strong protest against the detention of any citizen of India without any charge and without trial, but on mere suspicion by the Executive that he may do and act prejudicially to the State or to its public order In the opinion of the conference such power of arbitrary arrest and detention may be necessary when the State is in danger during war foreign invasion or rebellion but assumption of such powers during peace is subversive of all rule of law and is a confession that Free India cannot govern herself in a civilised way

This conference has further to point out that such arbitrary exercise of powers demoralises and makes irresponsible all those who exercise them and destroys the sense of security of citizens which is the only sure foundation of the security of the State itself This conference demands that all preventive detention laws now existing in India should be repealed without delay

This conference is further of opinion that provisions in the constitution empowering legislation for preventive detention in time of peace are unworthy of a civilised constitution and steps should be taken to amend the constitution deleting those provisions

This conference is of opinion that the Preventive Detention Act of 1950 passed by the Union Legislature is a piece of extremely retrograde and dangerous legislation

Apart from the general objections against preventive detention laws in time of peace this particular Act is full of special objections of the gravest kind

Its want of any particularisation as to what kind of acts are so prejudicial to the security of the State that even in time of peace citizens may be arrested and detained without trial makes the power given to the executive, which in practice would mean the police, so uncontrolled and extensive that practically all citizens' freedom will be imperilled.

AN ALL INDIA BAR

Mr N C Chatterjee, former Judge of the Calcutta High Court, presiding over the Rajasthan Lawyers' Conference declared that the time had come for the creation of an All India Bar with autonomous powers to regulate the standards of professional equipment and ethics He stressed the need to create and maintain conditions for the growth of a sound, and independent legal profession

'The frontiers of despotism" he said, must be effectively pushed back, and civil liberty should be maintained against the inroads of new despotism

The clauses in the Constitution of India, he said would be reduced to mere copy book maxims unless the Bench and the Bar co operated to make them basic principles regulating the growth of a living Organism

ADVICE TO LAWYERS

'We look upon a court as a temple of Justice and Judges and Lawyers alike are servants of that temple" observed Mr P V Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras presiding over the recent Septuagenary celebrations of the Vishakapatnam Bar Association

There could not be a better and more appropriate motto for either than the motto of the Republic of India *Satyameva Jayathe*, Mr Rajamannar added

Advising Advocates not to look upon their profession as a trade or business Mr Rajamannar said if this was borne in mind it would greatly help to prevent the unhealthy spirit of competition which naturally obtained in business world creeping into the legal profession as well. Law was a dignified profession and could not retain its dignity if practitioners were to offer their services as hucksters offered their wares at cut rates and bargained at prices, he said

TRADE AND FINANCE

TRADE PACT WITH PAKISTAN

The three day secretariat level trade conference between India and Pakistan concluded at Karachi on April 21 after reaching a short term, provisional restricted agreement based on a balanced exchange of commodities expressed in monetary terms

Under the agreement Pakistan has to supply, during the period covered by it (up to July 31 next) eight lakh bales of jute to India India will in return supply certain essential commodities like jute manufactures steel cotton textiles and mustard oil to Pakistan

INCOME TAX INVESTIGATION

The Finance Minister recently revealed in Parliament that a total sum of Rs 11 61,127 was spent on the Income Tax Investigation Commission up to February 28 The Commission has reported a sum of Rs 4 25 crores as evaded income The tax on this amount would be about Rs 3 crores of which only Rs 20 lakhs have been recovered so far Nearly two thirds of the cases were settled voluntarily The total number of cases referred to the Commission was about 1 370 and it is not certain when all the cases will be settled

NON INDIAN INSURERS

The Commerce Minister recently revealed in Parliament that 105 non Indian insurers were doing business under the Insurance Act The percentage of business done by them measured by the ratio of their premium income to the total premium income was fire 4 3 9 per cent sum assured 10 per cent and annual renewal premium 11 per cent

DEVALUATION SEQUEL

The Pakistan Government have sanctioned the issue of Rs 54 29 crores worth of Pakistan Government Securities to the State Bank of Pakistan, to counter balance the 30 per cent depreciation—consequent on devaluation—in the value of the Sterling and Government of India Securities held by the Bank

Clarifying the provision of these additional securities a Karachi Press Note issued on april 5 stated that the total circulation of Pakistan notes should be backed by assets of an equivalent amount The assets are held in the Issue Department of the Bank in the form of gold sterling securities approved foreign exchange (India Securities) Pakistan Securities and Pakistan and Indian Rupee coin

On the total amount of the assets, not less than 30 per cent has to be held in the form of gold silver sterling securi ties or approved foreign exchange

When the pound sterling was devalued, the State bank s total boldings of sterling and India Securities in the Issue Depart ment amounted to Rs 115 88 crores As a result of the devalution of their currencies by U K and India and non devaluation by Pakistan the value of these securities in terms of the Pakistan rupee depreciated by Rs 35 97 crores The vaccum thus created in the value of the assets expressed in terms of Pakistan rupees has been filled up by the Government of Pakistan securities of equivalent amount transferred by the Government to the State Bank

The total value of Government of Pakistan Securities thus transferred by the Govern ment to the State Bank amount to Rs 54 29 crores

WOMEN'S PAGE

WOMEN AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

A separate women's wing for the Central Institute of Cottage industries is put into operation to stimulate active participation of women in the development of cottage industries where the special crafts and accomplishments of women can make a definite contribution The object in opening the women's wing is to train women candidates as instructors ultimately to take charge of cottage industry centres in the States The wing which has been opened in New Delhi will train 200 women to begin with for which purpose a system of stipends has been introduced for the benefit of resourceless trainees The response to the scheme is very encouraging which proves that it was long overdue The course is expected to last for one year in the case of candidates who have already qualified themselves as artisans in a Government recognised craft school and other candidates will have to undergo an initial course of instruction in the first year in the basic section The wing will be divided into four sections viz the basic section, the teachers training section the production section and the design section

BAN ON WOMEN LIFTED

Harvard most venerable university in the United States, has ended a 132 year old ban It has announced that women students would be admitted to law school The authorities say there are no complaints from the male students

WOMEN S HOCKEY TEAM

All India Women s Hockey Association will send a representative team to tour Britain next year This is the first time that Indian women would have taken part in international hockey

WOMEN AT JOBS

More women than ever in German are today earning the family income while the men are doing the household duties In Schleswig Holstein for instance where unemployment is the highest of the British zone because of an enormous influx of refugees into a largely agricultural state about 170 000 men out of a population of 5 000 000 are without jobs and nearly 200 000 women are employed

About 60 per cent of the unemployed are married and over half of them have children It is a common sight to see men in their best years cooking doing the washing tending the children and going out shopping while their wives are at work in a factory or office

Many women not only earn the family income but also provide university fees for their husbands

A 41 year old student who returned last year from a prisoner of war camp in Yugoslavia is now completing his studies in chemistry at Kiel University while his wife works as a chemist

MODERNISM AMONG EGYPTION WOMEN

Several Cinema Owners in Egypt are horrified at the increasing number of unmarried couples married blondes and their friends visiting picture houses these days With a view to check this modernism among Egyptian women cinema owners in an upper Egyptian town of Mollw, have put a ban on women entering cinemas unless they are accompanied by their husbands The husbands will have to prove their identity by prpducing their marriage certificates

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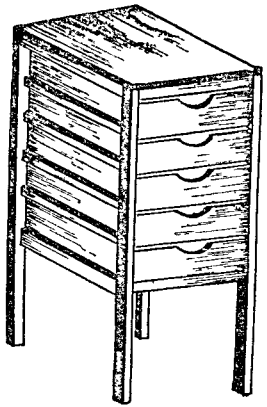
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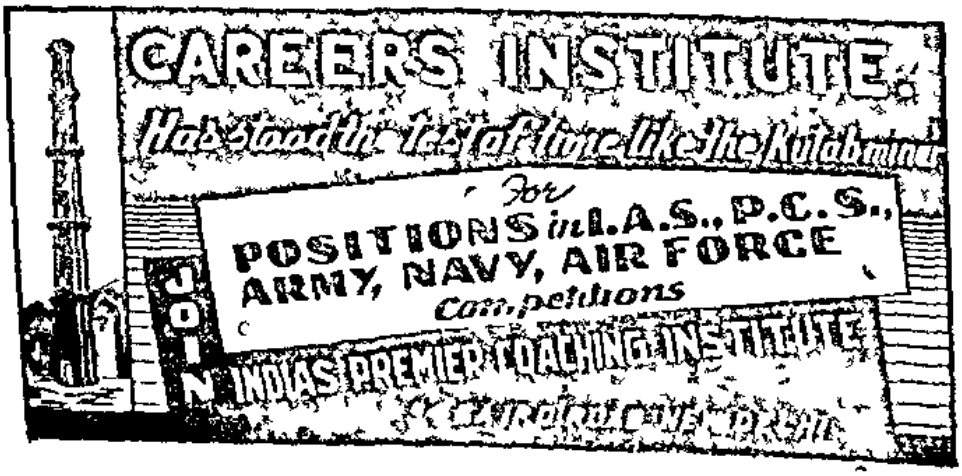
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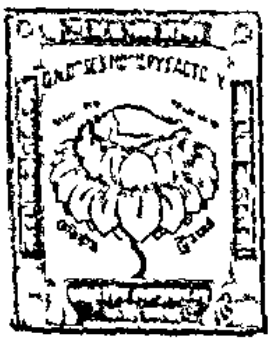
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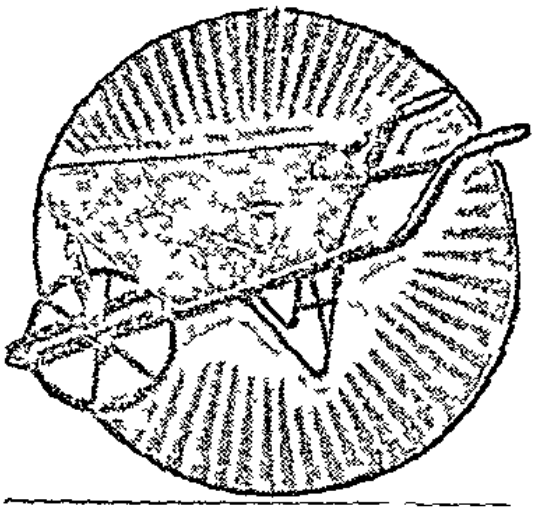
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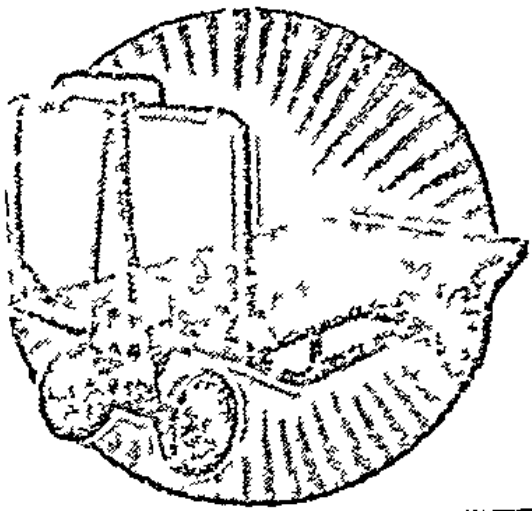
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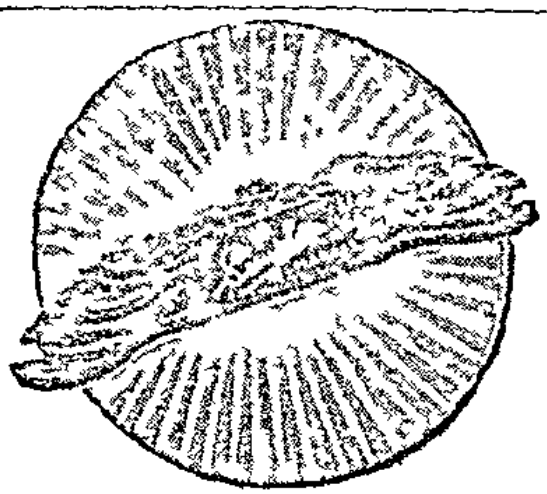
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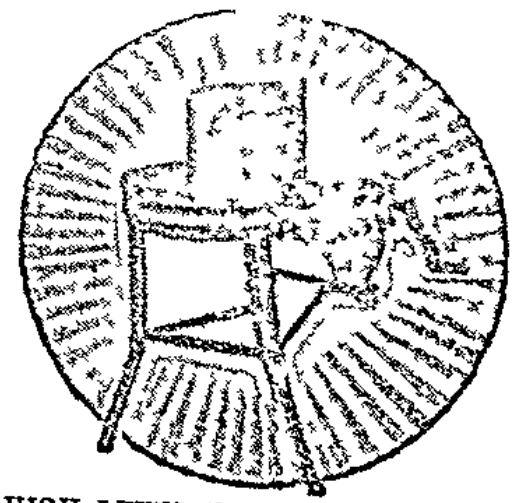
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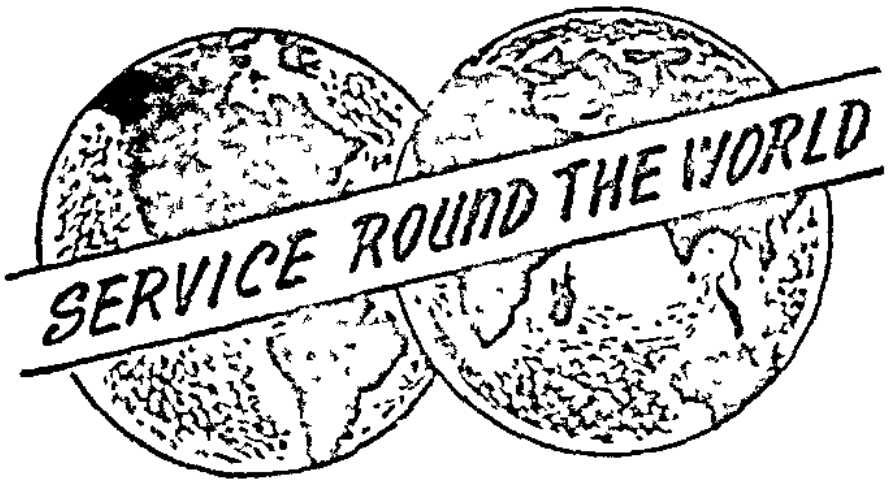
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THE INDIAN REVIEW

Managing Editor MANIAN NATESAN. *Editor* · B. NATESAN.

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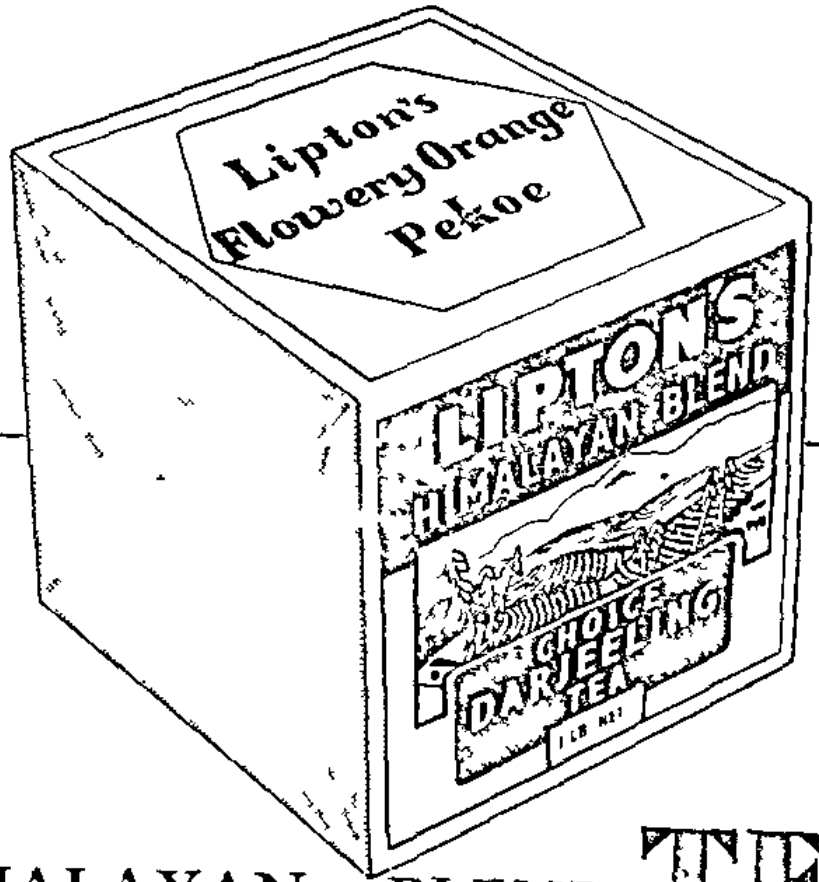
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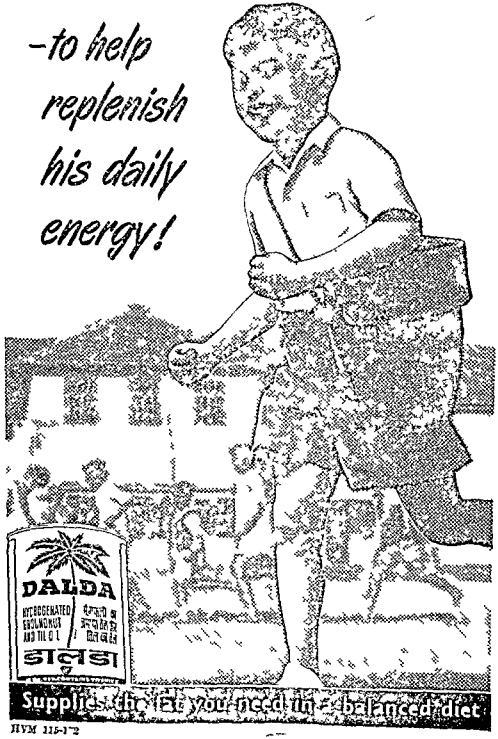
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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Managing Editor MANIAN NATESAN *Editor* B. NATESAN

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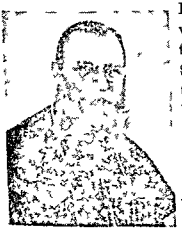
HUMAN RIGHTS

BY THE MOST REV LOUIS MATHIAS

Archbishop of Madras

—— o ——

OF the tasks assigned to the United Nations Organization, one of those which could and should most nearly affect the conscience of the peoples is the drawing up of an International Declaration of Human Rights. The task was committed to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations UNESCO'S part was to consult philosophers and assemble their replies This volume is a collection of the most significant texts thus gathered in the course of UNESCO'S enquiry into the philosophic bases of human rights



"This book then is devoted to the rational interpretation and justification of those rights of the individual which society must respect and which it is desirable for our age to strive to enumerate more fully" (Maritain, Introduction)

"The first group of these essays deals with the general problems of human rights The others deal in greater detail with such subjects as the respect for cultural diversity, the social implications of science, the value of objective information, the right to education and the special position of primitive peoples, dependent peoples, law-breakers etc

In selecting the texts of the replies which are included in the volume an attempt has been made to offer a representative sample of the whole range of opinions expressed. In addition it was thought desirable to give publicity to the opinions of certain thinkers which differed from the final conclusions of UNESCO, but which were, nevertheless, stimulating in their originality of thought" (Introductory Note)

The questionnaire that was circulated to the various thinkers and writers of Member States of UNESCO is given as Appendix I. Appendix II gives the conclusions of UNESCO, as they were elaborated by a Committee of Experts Appendix III is the official text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the United Nations issued on December 10th 1948, in Paris

This book is therefore a symposium of views, not an organic commentary in which several writers contribute their elaboration of particular points, an editor taking care of the unity of the whole. No such thing is intended as a synthesis And in some ways a bewildering symposium it is in which "many schools of thought are represented, each of which brings to the

whole its particular view and justification of individual rights leaning in various degrees towards the classical or the revolutionary interpretation (Introduction)

'It is related that at one of the meetings of a UNESCO National Commission where human rights were being discussed some one expressed astonishment that certain champions of violently opposed ideologies had agreed on a list of those rights Yes they said we agree about the rights *but on condition that no one asks us why* (Introduction)

The question of the why is the great question and also the great (no doubt inevitable) weakness of the declaration itself

For as more than one writer points out the differences are exactly in what is meant by those rights or as Maritain puts it in the different scales of value acknowledged by the different schools A Liberal and a Communist may draw up identical lists of rights but their exercise of these rights will differ All depends on the ultimate value whereon those rights depend and in terms of which they are integrated by mutual limitations (Introd) This question cannot be solved so that we have a philosophic agreement unless indeed one of the two opposing ideologies were imposed on the other

The question now arises If such are the limitations necessarily put by different ideologies to UNESCO S declaration of what use is this or any other declaration of rights? The contributors to the symposium take three different standpoints Some do not see the use of the declaration Croce (p 94) asks for a formal public and international debate on the necessary principles underlying human dignity and civilization

> In such a debate I do not doubt that the force of logic culture doctrine and the possibility of fundamental agreement would secure the triumph of free minds over the adherents of autocracy and totalitarianism who are still reduced to reiterating the same slogans and the same sophistries to catch the public ear'

Apart from this hardly practical demand John Lewis from the Marxian point of view declares that in the document proposed by UNESCO the central issue will be found to be wrong posed The result is not as intended to make a reconciliation possible It creates an irreconcilable contradiction (p 58) For the attempt is made to synthesise two opposing views— the conception of natural rights as the inalienable possession of man as absolute principles which man gradually comes to recognise and rights as goals as arising concretely and historically as different classes rise to importance and power' No reconciliation is possible between these two views

A theoretical reconciliation is on the contrary hoped for and attempted by Sergius Hessen John Somerville is even more optimistic for he says (p 152) that 'the differences between the Soviet and Western democratic conceptions are not of principle but rather of problem area and method of implementation On both sides the basic philosophic writings and constitutional documents stress the principle of human rights that is that people have inalienable rights in virtue of the fact that they are human beings (This is certainly not what John Lewis understands on the Marxian side) The contrast between Soviet and democratic conception would be only, along the lines of area and method Area because the primary democratic emphasis has been on political rights and the primary Sovietic emphasis on social rights Method of implementation, because democracies have mainly emphasized giving the individual

freedom from Government interference, whilst the Soviet have mainly emphasized government planning. But "these different emphases are not necessarily contradictory, but may be viewed as supplementary".

Less ambitious, others as Jacques Maritain and Richard McKeon, recognise the impossibility of an agreement on a common speculative ideology, but yet believe in the possibility of a pragmatic agreement on certain basic principles of action, however these be justified theoretically.

> "To go beyond a mere list or enumeration of rights and to produce a true Charter determining a common way of action, the agreement must also cover the scale of values, the key in which in their practical exercise in social life, the acknowledged rights of man must be harmonised. Thus, we must not expect too much of an International Declaration of Human Rights..."

Yet that this much at least is impossible is already a good thing, for it gives ground for hope that one day a greater and deeper agreement may be reached. (Maritain, page 16-17.)

In such a book on such a subject written by some of the best minds the world can offer, there is evidently a wealth of ideas that deserve mention and comment. Fine studies on the objective conditions under which a declaration of human rights will be useful (H. J. Laski), on the individuation of the enemies of liberty that must be put down if rights are to be more than mere words (A. Huxley). Pierre Teilhard de Chardin contributes some deeply interesting reflections As first expressed—he says—the rights of man were mainly an assertion of the desire for individual independence. But "humanity is collectivising 'totalising' itself, under the influence of physical and spiritual forces of a world-wide nature. Hence the new conflict, which is taking place in every human heart, between the human unit, who is ever more conscious of his individual value, and his social ties, which become ever more exacting. On reflection, we realize that this conflict is only apparent". The human being is non self-sufficient and can reach a full personal development only by proper association with all other human beings. The object of a new definition of human rights of man must therefore be no longer to secure the greatest possible independence for the human unit, "but to lay down the conditions under which the inevitable 'totalisation' of humanity is to take place, in such a way as not to destroy, but to enhance in each of us, I will not say independence, but—what is quite a different thing—the incommunicable uniqueness of the being within us". And the conditions are three: (1) The individual is no longer entitled to remain inactive (2) Society must tend to create among the individuals it comprises the most favourable environment for full development of what is most original in them. (3) But in no case and for no purpose must the collective forces be in a position to compel the individual to distort or falsify himself (pp. 105-107).

S. V. Puntambekar strikes a deeply true note when he warns (p. 197) that with Manu and Buddha we must emphasise that

> "human freedoms require as counterparts human virtues or controls. To think in terms of freedoms without corresponding virtues would lead to a lopsided view of life and a stagnation or even a deterioration of personality, and also to chaos and conflict in society."

And Mahatma Gandhi striking the same note with his characteristic humility and simplicity:

> "I learnt from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be

deserved and preserved came from duty well done Thus the very right to life accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world From this one fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of Man and Woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed ' (p 18)

It would be easy enough thus to cull and collect flowers of deep wisdom and intense interest from this book and to comment on them The outcome would be another book As this is not what I have been asked to prepare I shall limit myself to a few remarks on what is without any doubt the most fundamental question of all those that are treated by the authors of the symposium viz that of the origin and the meaning of human right

John Lewis has expounded at length (pp 51 71) and ably the Communistic view After a summary and very cavalier rejection of "the conception of absolute inherent and imprescriptible rights based on man's origins and nature and antecedent to society ' he says that ' a more satisfactory approach would consider rights as based upon human needs and possibilities and the recognition by members of a society of the conditions necessary in order that they may fulfill their common ends ' Rights are claimed when in the course of social development a section of the community whose strength and importance is increasing finds its needs circumscribed by the restrictions imposed upon it by a privileged class ' Consequently ' such rights cannot be considered as permanent and absolute They are by their very nature constantly changing with human needs and widening opportunity They do not look back to what is eternal and unchanging but forward to what changing circumstances require These are rights *to pursue and realise values* "

All this no doubt sounds very plausible but let us ask ourselves what it means to consider rights as based upon human needs and possibilities as being "rights to pursue and realise values' That means that—on the social plane at any rate—a right is a need plus the possibility to satisfy it On the individual plane that would mean that if I need money and I can steal it from you I have a right to steal it

I have pointed out that John Lewis claims only for the social plane what I have exemplified on the individual plane, viz that the end justifies the means But what is frightening in this conception, and what—I venture to think—few ordinary sound men can accept, is exactly this presentation of Society as such an Absolute that all is right which is for its good and all is evil which isn't

We are very far here from de Chardin's collectivisation that is to take place "in such a way as not to destroy, but to enhance in each of us the incommunicable uniqueness of the being within us". Here the individual is nothing but a cog the all in all is Society The individual's only end and happiness consist in working for the good of society He has no right but a duty to work for Society However he may fare himself is beside the point He has not even that relative value before Society which Christians recognise to him before God For, Christians say that the glory of God is accomplished through the individual's reaching his end and happiness, but for J Lewis it is the other way about It is the individual's happiness that is achieved through and consists in, a certain state of society He is only a means , good if, and only in so far as he is useful

The least that one can expect from a moral principle is that it does not make it impossible to distinguish right from wrong, good from evil. Now, if right is "the assertion of human purposes to be fulfilled in the future" (p. 55); and "the real origin of the rights claimed, and their only validity" are "practical needs" (p. 54); Hitler could claim that Germany was "a section of the community whose strength and importance was increasing and found its needs circumscribed by the restrictions imposed upon it by a privileged class" (p 54) It would therefore, follow that he had a right to do what he did. You will remark that here we are on the social plane. If Germany was wrong when she acted according to the principle that the end justifies the means, why is Russia, why are Communists right when they act according to this same principle?

Remembering all this, we can assess at its true value the eulogy by Boris Tchechko of the Soviet Constitution (p. 158 176). That constitution may give, on paper, ten times the rights that Tchechko enumerates. The point is that *they are not rights: they are gifts.* They are not rights that the individual can claim: they are handouts of Russia, or of Sovietic Society, or of Mr. Stalin, when they feel in a happy mood when they think they can afford to grant them. The source and the only reason of those so-called rights is the good of that Society. How can they be called your rights then, if it is not you that can claim them; but only Mr. Stalin that has *the right* (not the duty!) to grant them to you? What confusion of tongues? We use the same words, but we no longer give them the same meanings! And here indeed is evident the weakness of a mere enumeration of rights in which so many different ideologies may concur, even though they do not really agree, because their agreement does not cover "the scale of values, the key in which in their practical exercise in social life, the acknowledged rights of man must be harmonised" (Maritain, p. 16).

The opposed conception is briefly expounded by Maritain (pp. 72-77) There is a God who created man for a purpose. Man has a duty to realise that purpose, and therefore he has a right to all that he needs in order to realise it. Man's nature is not indifferent to that purpose. He was created *such*, because *such* was his purpose. Man therefore has natural rights, springing from his very nature, rights inherent to him and imperscriptible, permanent and absolute, though the recognition of them may be gradual and even slow.

> "We then understand how an ideal order, with its roots in the nature of man and of human society, can impose moral requirements universally valid in the world of experience, of history and of facts and can lay down, alike for the conscience and for the written law, the permanent principle and the primal and universal norms of right and duty. Simultaneously we understand how the natural law calls for completion, according to the needs of time and circumstance, by the contingent dispositions of human law; how the human group's awareness of the obligations and rights implicit in the natural law itself evolves slowly and painfully in step with the evolution of the group and despite all errors and confusions yet definitely advances throughout history along a path of enrichment and revelation which has no end.....No declaration of human rights will ever be exhaustive and final. It will ever go hand-in-hand with the state of moral consciousness and civilization at a given moment in history.
>
> "Lastly a reasonable concept of natural law allows us to understand the intrinsic differences distinguishing natural law as such, the law of nations and positive

legislation We then see that any declaration of human rights necessarily involves a concatenation of rights differing in degree, of which some meet an absolute requirement of the natural law others responding to a need of the law of nations based on natural law but modified in application by human law and the requirements of common use or the common good others again meeting an aspiration or desire of the natural law confirmed by positive law but with the limitations required by the common good (pp 73 74)

There is no need to say where my preference lies And where the preference of the world of civilised men lies for the matter of that For we read in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

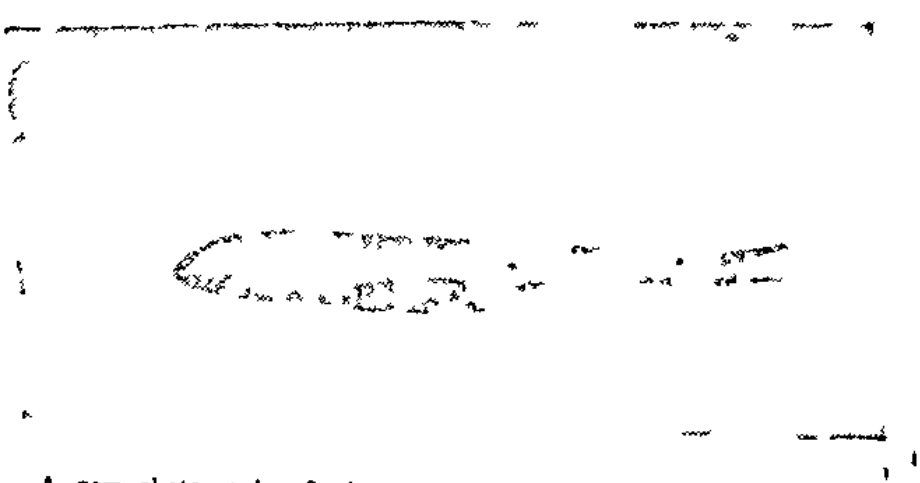
> 'The recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom Justice and peace in the world

and therefore

> the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women' (p 273)

We prefer this recognition of the rights of man because he is a man, even though it be theoretical and still imperfect in practice even though we recognise that a long time and much struggle will still be necessary before it be perfectly reduced to practice We prefer that, I say to the Communistic doctrine that makes men essentially different and makes having any right at all dependent on man's function in society—his usefulness in other words a usefulness to be determined by whoever Dictator will declare himself the infallible representative and embodiment of 'a section of the community whose strength and importance is increasing

This question of the origin of right I repeat is but one of the many points of interest that one finds expounded and debated from many points of view in the book I am reviewing And it is this diversity of points of view no less than the multiplicity of questions analysed, that makes it a precious book and one that every sociologist will want on his desk Men of learning and of discernment will be able to separate the wheat from the chaff



A new photograph of the de Havilland jet propelled Comet airliner in flight Latest figures released state that the aircraft has a cruising speed of 490 mph and as a 36 seater it will have a range of 2 140 miles (3 540 miles without allowances for headwinds or fuel margin)

JAPAN AS THE KREMLIN'S PIVOT?

By Mr R H C STEED

THE establishment of a Communist regime in China has greatly increased the importance of Japan in the cold war between Russia and the non Communist world

The position of Japan in Asia has now become, in many respects, strikingly similar to that of the German Federal Republic in Europe Both are essential to Russian plans for expansion—and to Allied plans to prevent that expansion—by virtue of their great industrial power and their strategic positions Both are unarmed and dependent on Allied occupation forces for their defence / Both are in the throes of vigorous industrial reconstruction, and have attained production figures approximating to those of an average prewar year—although in each case the population to be supported has increased by about 20 per cent owing to loss of territory

RUSSIA S UPHILL FIGHT

Finally, in Japan as well as in Germany Russia is making a great effort to build up mass Communist parties—which must of course, be unquestioningly obedient to control from Moscow Russia perseveres doggedly in this effort, undeterred by the fact that the populations of both countries are overwhelmingly and deeply anti Communist and anti Russian

Such is the increased importance of Japan s position, that it is not surprising while the January purge of the German Communist party was in 'progress, to the accompaniment ' of abject public ' self criticism " by the entire Central Committee that an even more resounding castigation was being administered by Moscow to the Japanese Communist Party

A study of these events in Japan shows that Moscow uses exactly the same methods in its control of all foreign Communist parties whether in Asia, in Western Europe or in the Balkans There is the same rigid imposition of the current Kremlin "party line" the same disregard of the advice of the man on the spot about the particular needs of differing local situations and the same dread of any sign of independent national feeling or "Titoism"

CHANGE OF FRONT ORDERED

The blast of Moscow's displeasure struck the Japanese Communist Party apparently without warning in the form of an article in the official organ of the Cominform published in Bucharest on 6th January It bitterly attacked the leader of the Japanese Communists, Nosaka for having stated in an article written no less than three years ago that a peaceful transition to socialism was possible under American occupation He should instead, have been "waging a resolute struggle for the independence of Japan"

This amounted to an order from Moscow for another sudden change in the policy of the Japanese Communist Party, which had been concentrating on pains taking political and trade union activity with a view to laying solid foundations for a mass party This was to be changed for a policy of direct action, strikes and sabotage

Direct action had already been tried for a short time by the Japanese Communists and abandoned about six months previously, because it had been found to antagonise the traditionally law-abiding worki class Its re introduction now in

intensified form could only serve the short term aim of slowing down economic recovery and harassing the Japanese Government and Allied Occupation Authorities in conformity with the immediate needs of Soviet policy The price would be paid by the 40 000 members of the Japanese Communist Party who despite their small numbers had served Moscow well in the past by gaining the support of ten per cent of the population in the last election

FACE SAVING EFFORT

The astonishment of the Japanese Communist Party at the Cominform rebuke is shown by the fact that when the first reports were received from Bucharest they were rejected as a fake and described as a typical example of anti Communist propaganda When they were found to be genuine a meeting of the Central Committee was held and an effort made to compromise with Moscow without loss of face A statement was published admitting that under the conditions of the occupation the Communists were forced to follow a zig zag course' but defending Nosaka as a valiant who enjoyed the confidence of the masses Nakashima the leader of a minority group supporting the Cominform refused to sign and was expelled

The Kremlin retaliated with a furious article in *Pravda* the Soviet mission in Tokyo was set in motion and Nosaka obediently published the required confession of his mistakes on 19th January 1950 though in highly involved language Nakashima was reinstated while Nosaka for the time being at least was allowed to retain the leadership of the party All the precedents go to show however that his days are numbered He has committed the unforgivable crime of wanting to run the Japanese Communist Party on Japanese lines for the Japanese This is for Moscow a clear case of nationalist deviation

Another point against Nosaka is that he was for a long time a close associate of Mao Tse tung the Chinese Communist leader and has lately been working for a closer association between the two parties

RUSSIA INSISTS ON CONTROL

Russia is strongly opposed to any independent alliances between Communist parties One of Tito's chief offences was his plan for the unification of Bulgaria and Jugoslavia which Russia feared might become the nucleus of a Communist group outside her control Nosaka's personal prestige in the Japanese Communist Party is very high—which is one of the principal reasons why the Russians mistrust him and fear that he may take an independent line But they will probably find it better to remove him from the scene by easy stages

The Russians are prepared to use the Japanese Communists in a campaign of violence which as the Kremlin well knows has not the slightest chance of attaining its ostensible aim In other words to suit the short term interests of Soviet foreign policy the Japanese Communists have become expendable They are called on to sacrifice themselves on the pattern of the Kamikaze suicide flyers during the war

So far there has been little response to this call Nosaka despite his protestations of loyalty to Moscow has given no tangible proof that he really accepts the new line for himself and his followers The struggle in the Japanese Communist Party between the 'Japanese group and the Kremlin group continues behind the scenes

TUKARAM—A MAN OF GOD*

BY H. E. SHRI M. S. ANEY

IN the thirteenth century a great movement of cultural and religious revival began in Vidarbha and Maharashtra. Hemadri and Bopadeva were the leaders, who championed and encouraged Sanskrit learning and scriptural studies and recitation. Hemadri, who was the Prime Minister of the Yadao King of Deogiri, was a scholar and a statesman. There are hundreds of temples throughout Vidarbha, mainly of God Shiva, which are, according to tradition, constructed by or under the orders of Hemadri. There is a peculiar style of architecture known as Hemadpanti. These are big, massive spacious structures with a majestic appearance. They are built in chiselled, smooth stones without use of mortar or lime. Similarly, these temples generally have by their side big tanks. Many of these temples and tanks are in a dilapidated condition. These temples were mainly the institutions for the preservation and propagation of Vedic religious cult and Tantrik form of worship, based on authority of Shruti, Smriti and Puranas. Treatises on religion, philosophy, rituals, astronomy and Dharma Shastra were being written and ritualistic and recitational courses of studies were being systematised. Present day research scholars have not yet given sufficient attention to study the scattered materials and compile a systematic account of this great cultural movement, which aimed at reviving the study of the Vedik religious books and systematise the practise of the religious ceremonies. Vidarbha, Maharashtra, Karnatak and the western part of the Andhra were mainly influenced by this revivalist movement. It received the royal support of the Yadava Kings and later on the Kings of Vijayanagar and the aristocratic class that came into prominence under these kingdoms. The movement received a fresh impetus after the rise of the Maratha power under the leadership of Shri Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, the founder of the Maratha Empire that occupied a dominating position in India from the latter half of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century. The movement of cultural revival that started in the 18th century came suddenly to a standstill on the introduction of British rule.

Another important feature of this revivalist movement was the growth of the cult of Bhakti, which flung wide open the doors of heaven and salvation to all classes of people, including the Antyyajas, while the first part of the movement, involving the study of the scriptures and practice of sacrificial ceremonies, was confined to the first three classes. This latter movement was universal and spread among the classes and masses both. The two movements went on side by side and they were complementary and supplementary to each other and not hostile to or exclusive of each other, as some seem to think.

I propose to draw a very short sketch of this latter movement and try to point out the importance which Shri Sant Tukaram occupies in the history of Vidarbha and Maharashtra, particularly in the propagation and popularisation of the Bhakti cult of Shri Vithal Pandurang of Shri Kshetra Pandharpur. The popular name of this cult is Warkari Panth. The cult is known by this name mainly

*Address at the Tricentenary Celebration of Saint Tukaram at Patna on April 19, 1950.

because the members of this cult have to go on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur for the Darshan of Shri Vithal the presiding deity of the place at least once a year The word Wari in Marathi means a journey to and back from a given place at certain intervals Used in connection with this cult it means pilgrimage to the sacred shrine of Shri Vithal at Shri Kshetra Pandharpur The devotional songs composed by the saints of Maharashtra are full of the description of the idol of Shri Vithal the temple of Shri Vithal and the city and surroundings of Pandharpur The devotional fervour with which the devotees sing the glories of Pandhari is indescribable

The date of the origin of this cult of Shri Vithal of Pandharpur cannot be precisely ascertained But it is certain that it was in existence at the time of Shri Jnaneshwar Maharaj who wrote his famous commentary on Bhagwat Gita in Shak 1212 when Krishnaraj the Yadav King of Deogiri was ruling There are grounds to believe that it existed even before the time of Shri Jnaneshwar

Though it may be true that the idol of Shri Vithal at Pandharpur was the object of worship and also a sacred shrine to which pilgrims were going I think I shall be standing on less debatable ground if I say that the regular organisation of these pilgrims to Shri Vithal into a cult of Warkaris is an event that occurred either in the time of or some time soon after the Nirvan of Shri Jnaneshwar Maharaj

It is Jnanadeva who laid the foundation and built the temple of the cult Saints Namdeo Eknath and Tukaram are among those who carried on the work of this temple Sant Tukaram is described as having himself become the apex of this temple Eknath is said to have put the Dhwaja of Bhagwat the flag of the cult on this temple

Shri Tukaram Maharaj was probably a petty cultivator or with a little shop in the village of Dehu which is at a distance of a few miles from Poona situated on the river Indrayani Alandi the place where Shri Jnaneshwar Maharaj is said to have left the remains of his physical body is also in the neighbourhood of the village Dehu

Sant Tukaram even as a boy showed signs of being spiritually minded He was married and had sons and daughters But he was not a successful businessman or cultivator He was always thinking of God and anxious to have Darshan of that God His business was being neglected He had probably difficulty in meeting the expenses to run his house properly His wife though very faithful and devoted to him was very much discontented The poor woman had not even the consolation of being compensated for the immediate difficulties she had to face by favour of spiritual bliss either in this world or the other Some modern biographers have compared her to Xanthippe But to my mind there was no comparison between the high souled wife of Shri Tukaram and the wicked wife of Socrates Tukaram's wife was not taking any food unless Tukaram had taken his meal She was starving for days together if Shri Tukaram buried himself deep in meditation and did not come to his normal state for some days She would not brook any body talking ill of him although she at times used harsh language having temporarily lost control over herself owing to the unbearable agony of want of

elementary necessaries in the house But that was only a temporary phase in her Tukaram passed several years in his keen search of God and the path to discover Him

There are references in his composition to this state of longing in several places One day while feeling grieved at his failure to go anywhere nearer the solution of the problems that troubled him he was overtaken by sleep and he saw a wonderful dream One sacred and holy person called Raghava Chaitanya appeared before him He placed his hand on the head of Tukaram who at his holy touch had the glorious vision of what he had been hankering for so long and gave him the Mantra to meditate for his spiritual enlightenment The holy person in the dream disappeared Shri Tukaram got out of his trance and came out an enlightened man a prophet

He felt inspired to compose his Abhangas in which he has told the highest truths of philosophy morality and divine devotion in the simplest language intelligible to the meanest intelligence Philosophy stripped of all verbosity and pedantry appears in his utterances in the form of a holy man teaching his beloved disciples the path of virtue and worship

In his house there was a temple of Shri Vithal and its worship was being duly carried on Mambaji Boa the much maligned Brahmin was the worshipper in that temple Tukaram s intense devotional Bhajans began to attract large crowds and thousands followed him singing the name of the God of Vithala in his annual pilgrimage to Holy Shri Kshetra Pandharpur He loved singing the glories of God and the company of saintly persons more than anything else In a very short time the whole of Maharashtra and Vidarbha was ringing with the Bhajans and Abhangas composed by Sant Tukaram The palanquins of Shri Jnaneshwar and Shri Tukaram going to Pandharpur for Ashadi festival attracted lakhs of followers That Procession Divine of Palakis from Dehu and Allandi which is the greatest devotional gathering in motion in any part of India got its impetus from the devotion of Sant Tukaram The cries of Hari Vithal Pundalik Varade Hari Vithal and Jnanoba Tukaram have been the most popular cries of the devotees for the last three hundred years There is not a man or a woman or a child above the age of seven or eight who does not know at least one or two Abhang verses of Sant Tukaram His saintliness piety devotion and personal humility have made him the spiritual Preceptor of the whole of Vidarbha and Maharashtra

His devotional songs has been influencing the Marathi speaking population in a manner that the work of no other saint had done before His poetry goes to the heart of the audience by its directness its very simplicity and its inherent sublimity

Give me only this gift O God
I should never forget You
I ll sing glories of You

This is all my cherished desire
I do not crave for salvation riches or wealth
But want to be in the company of the devotees
You should with pleasure send me back to the
womb of the mother forthwith, says
Tukaram

Having attained the highest state of perfection Tukaram says in one place

I have nothing to desire for or gain
I live only to serve others

In another Abhang he says

Everybody says he wants god
Tukaram says that it is surprising to see men trying to find God outside himself
The mud wall of the house may as well cry for a little earth
The water may insist on being liquified,
The sugar cane may ask for the sweet juice
Tukaram says He is in you Turn your vision inside to discover Him

This greatest saint of Maharashtra has carried the fire of philosophy from the heaven of Gods to the hamlets of the poor and the forsaken Shri Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj who was his contemporary was able to raise an army to fight the powerful Moghals in Maharashtra because the Maharashtrian saints from the time of Jnaneshwar to the day of Shri Samartha Ramdas Swami created a mental attitude that delighted in sacrificing selfishness in pursuit of a higher and nobler aim Tukaram and Ramdas by their high spiritual examples and lofty teachings created an atmosphere congenial for the growth of patriotic fervour and selfless service under the leadership of a hero like Shivaji the Great Shri Tukaram Maharaj opened to all and sundry the doors of heaven which remained closed and locked for ages together

A story runs that Tukaram's attempt to give in vernacular scriptural knowledge was resented by a section of orthodox people They asked Tukaram to throw the manuscripts of his poetry into the deep waters of Indrayani after tieing them with a heavy stone Tukaram abided by the decision and drowned the manuscript with a stone in the deep water But soon after Tukaram came out of the river the manuscript sprang up and was floating on the surface of the current It was dry Tukaram's critics were satisfied having seen with their own eyes that the water of the river did not touch the book, though it was under it They were converted and became devoted disciples of Tukaram Even today the people of Dehu point out to the pious pilgrim the spot in the stream of Indrayani where this miracle occurred 300 years ago Tukaram's poetry has been saving thousands of devotees from being drowned in the sea of worldly passions and lifting up the earnest souls to the feet of their Master in heaven

Similarly Tukaram is described as having gone up above in flesh and bones to the heaven in a celestial car that was sent by his God for him We read in Ramayan the story of Shri Ramchandra's journey to his abode with his mortal body along with all the citizens of Ayodhya All saints who narrated the life story of Tukaram have referred to Tukaram's bodily transportation in a divine car to the heaven Tukaram's Abhangas bidding farewell to the inhabitants of Dehu at the time of riding the divine car are very often recited by the devotees

We are going to our town
Please accept my Ram Ram

These verses must obviously have been transposed by some devotee of Tukaram after Tukaram's departure

He brought hope in place of despair,
Light in place of darkness and
Knowledge in place of illusion

May that light guide the spirit of the present day Maharashtrians and make them god fearing and courageous servants of humanity but steeped in humility All Maharashtrian writers have paid Tukaram their tribute If Vithoba is the national God of Maharashtra Tukaram is the national preceptor and prophet of Marathi speaking India He is rightly honoured by the nation as Sant Shiromani, the Jewel on the heads of the saints

RELIGION IN HINDU POLITICS

By Mr. P. J. CHAUDHURY, M.A. M.SC.

RELIGION is regarded by some politicians as a useful means to rouse the people to anything, war or pacifism, capitalism or socialism, nationalism or internationalism. It has become a tool in their hands, they trade on the religious sentiment of the masses. These politicians are at heart irreligious, otherwise they could not have made a mean use of the sacred notions of men, who, it is a pity, are not trained enough intellectually to judge for themselves what their religion orders them in specific situations. These politicians are like the proverbial devil quoting the Bible. Far better than these men are those who set aside religion altogether and engage in politics pure and simple. But they too are at fault. For they forget that politics cannot be a self-contained activity, if the aim of politics is to bring about true order and happiness in the country it cannot but be a department of religion constantly informed and inspired by the religious ideals of the people For just as physical health is not good in itself but for the general well-being which includes spiritual and intellectual excellence, so is political health, as manifested by perfect order and prosperity of a nation, not good in itself but for the general upliftment which includes spiritual and mental culture. What can be more sordid as an ideal than that of making a nation of men all healthy and wealthy but not good? What can be more barren and tragic? And in order to make a nation of good men a mere change in the political system—in the penal code, in the pay and wage rules, or the banishment of private trade and private capital,—will not do. These are but external machinery fashioned to help the social life, but where is this *life* that will adapt itself to the ingenious mechanism? The life itself is beyond the reach of the brainy politicians, it is to be touched only through sympathy, touched and melted into genial currents by goodness and godliness. When the heart of the society is captured, the political machinery can be worked smoothly like a wind-mill in the vigorous South-winds. And when this heart remains an alien, intractable like a 'gaunt and taciturn host,' all kinds of brain-spun fabrics—the political schemes—do nothing but rot. Men must be made good, his political institutions cannot make him good, rather these will improve and work if man improves.

But how to make man good? Certainly intelligence plays an important role in the ethical progress of humanity, but a purely intellectual ethics has been proved bankrupt time and again. Knowledge of good does not suffice to make one good, will is needed, and practice. Aristotle perceived this truth and so he criticised the intellectual ethics of Socrates, which made virtue equivalent to knowledge. Arjuna too felt the same difficulty when he said to Krishna (in Gita), "I know my duty but I have no will to do it." Lord Krishna's prescription for this lack of will is 'practice and detachment.' The secret of being good is therefore not mere knowledge of what is good but also 'practice and detachment.' These are but the cardinal teachings of every religion worth its name. Hinduism does not divorce religion from politics, rather it regards the political head (the king) as the head of the religious institution also. A king must protect the religion of his subjects and his fame rests not so much on the wealth and power he accumulates as on his contribution to the cause of religion. This we find in the ancient

inscriptions where a great king is praised in such terms as the protector of religion preserver of the weak and the good of women and children of cows and other gentle creatures The king in ancient Hindu India who used to be a Kshatriya always had a Brahmin minister whose counsels he followed like a disciple The Brahmin inspired by true detachment advised the king only that which was really good for the people Kant would say that his will worked autonomously and Plato would call the State so ruled as an ideal Republic where the philosopher is virtually the king Sometimes it is argued that it may be dangerous to mix religion with politics for religion forbids war which is often a necessity The answer to this is that it is really dangerous to mix *bad* religion with politics the Brahmin ministers of the past never forbade their kings to engage in wars Hinduism does never so forbid Where war is just Hinduism never turns to her face against it to worship some abstract conception of *ahimsa* For to do so would be compromising with the forces of evil and to destroy the very basis of religion

The Indian independence and the prosperity consequent upon it are but poor rewards for the tremendous sacrifice of millions of patriots for over half a century of India's freedom struggle These are poor indeed if they are not accompanied by a religious awakening if with the material bondage flung aside there is no rift made in the chains that bind the soul Slavery and poverty often depress the spirit of man when these are removed there must be a spiritual rising the soul of India must arise to realise its full depth and its great end Every Hindu must utter the words of the Upanishad Listen O the sons of the Immortal I am an aspirant after Brahman To know and become Brahman is the birth right of our spirit Hinduism promises this great prize to every Hindu a promise that sounds like a challenge a clarion call to the soul for adventure on the spirit's uncharted ocean of liberty and peace Many have heard this call it is good luck that not all our political readers are deaf to the call of the great One to his dear and near the Mahatma has heard it and moved towards the promised *Ramrajya* with a smiling face and steps unfaltering Will not the Hindu respond to this call and follow the Mahatma the god incarnate (*avatar*) of the age? Will he regard this as a deluding voice a superstition foisted by the priests and so will he sit tight in his political corner afraid of 'mixing religion with politics? He should know that it is not mixing religion with politics but providing politics with broader and worthier ends and thus saving it from a premature self stultification

O SILKEN DUST

By Mr. R L COOK

Sometimes I drift where you lie
As lovely as summer a golden
And touch your hair that ripples
Silken as harvest in an autumn
windstream
Fugitive as the dreams I've laced
with you

O silken dust briefer than harvest
is yellow
O summer love will you still wait
for me
When I return in winter*

PROBLEM OF POPULATION

By Mr P S NAIR B A

PLANNING of population has been a subject of study by thinkers and public men as far back as the days of ancient Greeks and the Romans While the Greek philosophers considered it from a cultural point of view and wished an ideal citizen to be a person who has developed his physical and mental qualities to the highest state of production the Romans looked at the problem from the defence standpoint and planned and nourished a community of healthy peasantry who could furnish soldiers to the Roman Legions

In the 18th century the physiocrates and later on Adam Smith looked at the problem from the economic standpoint but the first attack on the old Goldsmithian conception of the increase of populations as an unmixed blessing was made by Malthus who contended that while population increased by geometrical proportion foodstuffs increased by arithmetical proportion and therefore urged for its planning and control According to him two checks to population are in operation Positive and Preventive among the former are classified Famine Epidemic War etc while the latter included birth control and other artificial limitations of birth

The world has shown a tremendous increase in population during the last century and the question is often mooted whether its population will not in the near future outstrip the means of subsistence The present World population is estimated at 2000000000 souls distributed at uneven intensity while the density of population of Australia is 2 souls per square mile and U S A 40 the average of U K is 700 per square mile Besides this there is the unequal balance between rural and urban areas Migration as a force for the adjustment of population has practically become ineffective owing to the unwillingness to entertain strangers by the thinly populated countries It has been calculated by Professor East that the minimum acreage on which a human being can sustain his life on a moderate standard of living is 2 5 acres per head and the world with its 13 to 17 Billions can support 5 Billion souls Professor Rose the American authority is of the opinion that the world population is increasing at the rate of 1 4 per cent annually and the mankind will be doubled within fifty years This shows an alarming state of affairs for nature with her inscrutable ways will not allow the mankind to wreck and ruin The limit of human population is the same which nature has set on animals and plants Blades of grass when grown on a plot of ground will multiply with great rapidity until the whole plot is covered after which it becomes stationary Among human beings as well as plants and animals there is a struggle for survival going on and the death rate thus produced will balance the birth rate As civilization advances with the consequent increase in the standard of living the resulting economic and social forces will put a break to indiscriminate growth of population

The increase of population is most marked in those countries which are thinly populated and least in the highly populated areas Thus in the 19th century while the population has increased six times in U S A and less marked in Germany and France in U K it increased according to her industrial advance It was practically

stationary in Japan in accordance with the static and isolationist nature of her economy during the Tokugawa era Thus while an increase in per capita wealth increases the birth rate among the poor who with increased income can marry early and manage a larger family the increase in wealth does not show a further increase after a certain stage as we witness in France because of the desire of the wealthy to maintain their social status Birth control and other preventive measures are resorted to by the wealthier classes at this stage of their economic prosperity

Although the generality of the people shudder at the mention of birth control it is often ignored that some sort of such checks were operative in all countries through traditional usage or social custom In early Japan it was a custom for each married couple to rear no more than one or two children and to put to death all unwanted babies It is recorded by an English writer that the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills and Sree Vaikuntam Vellalas practised some sort of check to population by killing babies as soon as they were born The Nambudries of Malabar only allowed the eldest male to marry in their caste, so as to keep their numbers within the limit

While one school of economists believe that India has reached the limit of her resources to maintain her present population and any further increase will bring into operation the natural checks with disastrous results the other school argue that due to the great scope for the industrialisation and intensive exploitation of the land India has not reached The Optimum Density which brings the maximum income to the country India's first census place her population at 127 millions while the last in 1941 showed about 350 millions Industrial productivity has certainly kept pace with population growth but the standard of living of the masses is pitifully low compared with other countries In the first population conference held in Lucknow in 1936 Professor R K Mukerji estimated India's food shortage at 48·4 billion calories and the number of average men without food at 6·6 millions Industrial workers in the cities get better diet than the peasants in the towns though the dietary level was much lower than the British level India's waste lands be estimated at 162 acres and that as India has already reached the optimum density as estimated by the Professor it has become absolutely essential to formulate a sound population policy for the country,

While discussing the question one should not ignore the fact that qualitatively India's population is very low compared with other countries Underfed half naked and steeped in superstition physically they have little stamina and power of resistance to diseases Tuberculosis is rampant while plague small pox and malaria are frequent visitors These are the results of poverty which can be indicated by industrialisation and more equitable distribution of wealth As Dr Takada the Japanese economist says only efficient productivity and efficient distribution can balance the combined weight of the population and the standard of living Secondly, India's intellectual social groups are showing either small increase or actual diminution as in U P while backward social groups are more progressive demologically and threaten to swamp the cultured stocks as in the Gangetic plain This disparity between fecundity and culture is a dangerous phenomena which if allowed to grow unchecked will lower the standard of intelligence in the country

A SCHEME OF CROP INSURANCE

By Mr V. R. NATARAJAN, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

THE risks which the Indian agriculturist is heir to are many and yet there is hardly protection against any. The periodical Land Revenue Remission and the Famine Relief Fund come to his help invariably after the event and that in none too generous a manner. There is no assured, adequate provision against the ryot's losses in an occupation which is a veritable gamble in the rains.

Crop Insurance and Cattle Insurance are the obvious solutions to this state of affairs. They have long been talked about and progressive countries have instituted insurance schemes in one form or other A predominantly agricultural country like India unfortunately, has still no provision. The Government of India are working out certain pilot schemes in these two respects. But in insurance where the benefits accrue from the "magic of the average of millions", schemes have to be wide in coverage, if they are to be of success.

IMPORTANCE OF CROP INSURANCE

Crop Insurance is a device by which the losses sustained by a few are shared by all in a community of cultivators exposed to the same risk. A cultivator pays a certain amount of premium every year and by doing so substitutes for an unpredictable loss occurring infrequently, a definitely known annual cost item in his cultivation budget. The broad purpose of Crop Insurance therefore is to protect the individual cultivator against the hazards of drought, floods, hail, fire, excessive rainfall, winds plant diseases and insect pests. This protection helps to establish stability of agricultural income for the individual and for agricultural communities.

Although the need for Crop Insurance is widely appreciated, it has not however been tackled in any country to the extent its importance deserves. The ordinary insurance companies have given it a cold shoulder, because of the inherent difficulties involved. While death, fire, marine and accident risks are risks which lend themselves to actuarial measurement, it is not so in agriculture where nature plays a prominent part. Scarcity of data has also been another stumbling block.

VARYING TYPES OF RISKS

The risks against which agriculturists have to provide are those incurred in growing, harvesting and storing crops. The nature of the risks to which agriculture is exposed varies from country to country according to situation and climate. Thus, losses from wind storm are more common in North America than in many countries of Europe. In Scandinavia, forest fires are more important risks, while in Canada, hail causes considerable damage. In our own country, agriculture is a gamble in rains.

STATE-AID TO CROP INSURANCE

In all the countries where hail insurance is undertaken, it is observed that the Governments are actively helping the insurance corporations, financially and otherwise. In Greece, the Agricultural Insurance Institute undertakes direct insurance against hail and frost as well as re-insurance of local agricultural associations and mutual insurance societies and other unions. It grants indemnity up to 90 per cent. of the value of the crops insured. The insurance is confined to a few staple crops like vine, tobacco, wheat and fruits. Government gives special grants to the Institute. In Bulgaria,

agricultural insurance is organized by the Agricultural and Co operative Bank Organizations to cover risks from hail are found in several other countries of Europe also *e g* Denmark Switzerland Spain Italy etc and also in Canada In the U S A mutual property insurance companies insure against wind storm and hail It was in the United States of America that attempts were first made in 1916 to provide an all risk insurance to the agriculturist As an item of the New Deal Programme the late President Roosevelt inaugurated a bold and far reaching scheme of Crop Insurance in America under the auspices of the Federal Government The experience of the American experiment will be of great value in the organization of a scheme of Crop Insurance in this country A corporation designated The Federal Crop Insurance Corporation was created under the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 with a capital of 100 million dollars subscribed by Government The corporation was practically a part of the United States Department of Agriculture

THE INDIAN EXPERIMENT

In India the only attempt at some sort of Crop Insurance was made in the state of Dewas Junior in 1948 It is a compulsory scheme and is a perpetual type of insurance against the crops to be raised in a specified field It cannot stand comparison with the full fledged Crop Insurance scheme of the U S A type which alone can afford the ryot sufficient security from the vicissitudes of nature

LESSONS OF AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The American experiment has clearly demonstrated that only these farms or areas which are subject to *occasional* failures of crops can be insured and not those which are subject to *frequent* failures In the case of the latter schemes of protective irrigation works should precede any scheme of Crop Insurance The failure of the American scheme during the first four years was partly due to indiscriminate insurance

The prime significance of the Crop Insurance system lies in the economic benefits accruing to the Province in general and to the agricultural economy in particular On the agricultural economy it confers the twin boons of stability of income and security of harvests The entire agricultural sector will reap the advantages if it is so arranged that the premium is paid by the landholder and the indemnity when paid is shared between him and the tenant if any So far as the Province of Madras is concerned insurance may first be confined to staple crops like paddy millets cotton tobacco and groundnuts As regards the rate to be charged the American example will be of guidance to us It would be necessary to classify the Province into various regions according to the source of irrigation and fix different rates for each such region But within the region itself there should be no differential rate as between one farm and another The premium may be paid as in America either in kind or in cash The system of progressive coverage adopted in America can also be adopted In the existing state of things the insurance of paddy should be confined to quantity and not to quality In view of the high degree of apathy on the part of the ryots in this country insurance must be made compulsory if it is prove a success

INDIRECT BENEFITS

In addition the indirect benefits of crop insurance deserve a careful study They accrue from two definite channels Firstly under a successful system of Crop Insurance

the necessity for remitting or giving concessions of land revenue would not arise. Under the head " remissions and concessions of land revenue ", the Madras Government have been losing on an average a revenue of Rs. 35.48 lakhs per annum. The bulk of this loss of revenue is attributable to wet crops because the assessment of wet lands is much heavier than that of dry lands; and paddy occupies the major portion of the area under wet crops. A sum of Rs. 30 lakhs may roughly be placed to the credit of a province-wide insurance of paddy crop.

SUITABLE AGENCY—PUBLIC CORPORATION

Next is the question of the choice of a suitable agency for the administration of the Crop Insurance scheme. Crop Insurance to succeed should be undertaken by a single organization covering the whole Province, if not the whole country. The optimum unit in Crop Insurance will be a monopolistic organization extending over an entire Province. Private enterprise is out of the question. Both Government department and private enterprise are not well fitted to administer a Crop Insurance scheme. An organization on the pattern of British Public Corporations seems to be the most appropriate agency. A statutory body called "Madras Crop Insurance Corporation" may be set up with powers to collect the premium from agriculturists, to make use of the services of the Revenue and Agriculture Departments whenever necessary.

DETAILS OF ORGANIZATION

The Madras Crop Insurance Corporation will have a head office at the Provincial Headquarters, presided over by a Provincial Crop Insurance Officer Two Deputy Provincial Crop Insurance officers, one for north and the other for the south, working immediately under him, will have their offices at two regional headquarters. They may be drawn from the ranks of senior Deputy Collectors or Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies. There will be officers at the district and taluk levels for co-ordinating the work of Crop Adjusters one for about 10,000 acres of paddy land or roughly one for a revenue firka.

The establishment of a Crop Insurance Corporation embracing all the major crops of the Province should be the ultimate objective. When it is attained, it will confer many benefits, direct and indirect, not only on the agricultural but also on the entire population of the Province. Famine and failure of crops will lose their terrors.

A long-term budgeting of supply and demand of foodgrains extending over a period of years will be possible; that will adjust the surplus of fat years and the gaps of lean years. Prices of foodgrains and other insured crops will be freed from wild oscillations. When both production and prices are rendered immune from the havoc of natural forces, agricultural economy will be placed on an even keel. Then ensues the prime requisite for expansion and prosperity. The indirect benefits accruing to the numerous industries which depend on agriculture for their raw materials are also substantial. By regulating the flow and prices of essential raw materials, Crop Insurance would prove a boon to the industrial sector as well. In short in the peculiar conditions obtaining in this Province the scheme outlined opens up an ever-widening vista of rising prosperity in the entire national economy.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE."

POETRY AND PROSE

[*Poetry and Prose affect us in different ways. No small part of this difference is played by the diction, the choice and arrangement of words. It is possible to present the outward form, observes Dr. Theodore H. Robinson in his "Poetry and Poets of the Old Testament" (Duckworth) without giving the real spirit which pervades all true poetry.*]

"Suppose, for example, someone were to say to us

> It's getting rather late
> I hear them shouting for me
> I'm going to start at half past eight
> I hope it won't be stormy

The doggerel verse would either annoy or amuse us according to our temperament or mood, but none of us would think of it as poetry. But put the same thought with other words as the real poet (Tennyson) does, and we get

> Sunset and evening star
> And one clear call for me
> And may there be no moaning of the bar
> When I put out to sea

At once we are lifted out of the realm of common things and are transported into something which is indescribable."

[*The words are all familiar and natural yet, as Dr. Robinson points out, the genius of the writer has so handled them that they convey to us a meaning which transcends all power of verbal expression.*]

BEYOND EVERYTHING

He has out-soared the shadow of our night
Envy and calumny, and hate and pain
And that unrest which men miscall delight
Can touch him not and torture not again,
From the contagion of the world's slow stain
He is secure, and now can never mourn
A heart grown cold, a head grown grey in vain.

—*Shelley.*

ON LITTLE THINGS

"Life is mainly a matter of the close at hand, and to be alone during the immediate little things is to have grown up into friendlessness. For those who have eyes to see all the mystery and poignancy and greatness of life are but one remove from the apples and the rates and the new neighbours' frying; the little plays about our very tea-cups but it is in the tea-cups themselves that we mostly find the whole we necessary to fill with our human life. Indeed, the tea-cups are quite a good symbol for that sound, comforting quality of everyday near a quality of which we think very little till it is disturbed. Then, perhaps, we realize how happy we were yesterday evening as we drew the curtains and turned on the light. The ordinariness of life becomes very precious to those who have seen behind the veil. Let us talk of familiar easily apprehended things, for these are the things ninety-nine times out of a hundred about which our company will like best to talk. The hundredth time gives us the opportunity of enlarging our minds but the ninety-nine times give us opportunities of enlarging our hearts."

Maude Harrison—'Alison' in the Daily Chronicle

ALONE

If there is none who comes when you call, walk alone

If there is none who speaks, and they turn aside their pale faces, bear your heart and speak alone.

If there is none to share your journey and they all leave you go, tread upon the thorns of your path and bleed alone

If there is none to light the lamp in the stormy night and they shut their doors against you light your own heart with thunder flame and burn alone

—*Tagore.*

"POLITICAL MASTERS"

"The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, because laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom mis-government means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain, and degradation and risk to their own lives and their children's souls"—*Lord Acton's* "Letters to Mary Gladstone." Page 49.

EUGENIC LAW

[*In pointing out that the first Eugenic law had already been passed, that dealing with the case of the feeble minded, G K C said* :]

"Now, even if I could share the Eugenic contempt for human rights, even if I could start gaily on the Eugenic campaigns, I should not begin by removing feeble-minded persons I have known as many families in as many classes as most men; and I cannot remember meeting any very monstrous human suffering arising out of the presence of such insufficient and negative types The people I should lock up would be the *strong minded* I have known hardly any cases of mere mental weakness making a family a failure; I have known eight or nine cases of violent and exaggerated force of character making a family a hell"

['*What is the good*" *he asks elsewhere "of telling people that if they marry for love they may be punished by being the parents of Keats, or the parents of Stevenson?*"]

'Keats died young, but he had more pleasure in a minute than a Eugenist gets in a month Stevenson had lung-trouble; and it may for all I know have been perceptible to the Eugenic eye even a generation before But who would perform that illegal operation . the stopping of Stevenson?—"

PETER BELL

He roved among the vales and streams,
In the green wood and hollow dell ,
They were his dwellings night and day,—
But nature ne'er could find the way
Into the heart of Peter Bell

In vain, through every changeful year,
Did Nature lead him as before ;
A primrose by the river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more

—*Wordsworth*

THE GARMENT OF PRAISE

"Give me flowers whilst I am living, do not place them on my grave when I have passed on," someone has truly said, and this is a very applicable saying to many lives, especially wives and mothers who cook, mend, work, and do so many things towards making life endurable for their menfolk and children

It is so easy to come home, and speedily demolish a good dinner, which has taken infinite time and patience to prepare, get up and dash off to the theatre or the turf, leaving mother to clear away, wash up, etc You never think how much more happy she would feel if someone offered to help her, or how more joyfully she would go on with her preparations for the comfort of you all if one of you remarked "Mum, the pudding was bonzer" In the old days, little children were taught to thank their "God' and their "parents" for all good gifts of food and clothing, but, nowadays, we are too thoughtless to thank those who toil uncomplainingly for us until they are beyond our reach and then we get remorseful and shower flowers on the narrow grave There are men who would rather die than give one word of praise to wife or family They seem to think it is quite unnecessary Yet life becomes very drab when one toils day after day without the slightest recognition Many a dull, discontented wife would brighten up and almost become the pretty girl of early days if her husband would praise one tiny virtue, or even her hair, or her eyes, as he used to do in bygone days And many an awkward, backward child would gain courage for life's battles if kindly, praiseworthy words were uttered, instead of the usual sneer at its stupidity Let us try to praise wisely and justly It will repay an hundred fold more than all the unkind critics as ever offered —FLORENCE M GANNON

LIFE

Life ! we've been long together
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather·
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear—
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thy own time ;
Say not Good-night—but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good-morning.

—A. Barbauld.

PORTRAIT OF A QUEEN

[Lytton Strachey's portrait of Queen Victoria is one of those pieces likely to survive as among the masterpieces of European literature. Lost, with how charming a book he paints the procession of memories that flit through her mind on her death bed.]

Perhaps her failing mind called up once more the shadows of the past to float before it and retraced for the last time the vanished visions of that long history passing back and back through the cloud of years to older and ever older memories—to the spring woods at Osborne so full of primroses for Lord Beaconsfield to Lord Palmerston's queer clothes and high lean jaw and Albert's face under the green lamp and Albert's first stag at Balmoral and Albert in his blue and silver uniform, and the Baron coming in through a doorway, and Lord M dreaming at Windsor with the rooks cawing in the elm trees and the Archbishop of Canterbury on his knees in the dawn, and the old king's turkey cock ejaculations, and Uncle Leopold's soft voice at Claremont and Lehzen with the globes, and her mother's feathers sweeping down towards her and a great old repeater watch of her father's in its tortoise shell case, and a yellow rug and some friendly flounces of sprigged muslin, and the trees and the grass at Kensington

ONLY A SONG!

We know him only by his song!
In the shadows keeping out of sight,
Unseen by day, he passes by at night,
Chanting o'er the same tune, down the street,
Followed by the patter of his feet.
Softly first, then louder, till he calls
'Neath our window, and a copper falls
Jingling at his feet. A moment now
He stops his song in thankfulness to bow
And say a prayer,—Then up the street
His chanting and the patter of his feet
Recede into the night and fade away
What man is he, not seen by light of day?
We know him only by his song!
For in the shadows ever out of sight,
Unseen, unknown, he passes by at night

—*Padmini Satthianathan.*

EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS

[In August 1850 Truth published the following plaint addressed to the British Nation by the African native.]

"You send your missionaries out
To teach us honest dealing;
They loudly preach to us about
The wickedness of stealing:

To truth and justice inculcate
Is their diurnal labour,
And then, they tell us is the fate
Of those who rob their neighbour.

Yet whilst they urge such points as these
In most impressive sermons
You English with the Portuguese,
And Dutch and French and Germans,

Agree (regardless of laws
Of Him you call your Maker)
To take our land without just cause
And grab our every acre."

THE CRANFORD LADIES

Their dress is very independent of fashion, as they observe "what does it signify how we dress here at Cranford, where everybody knows us?" And if they go from home their reason is equally cogent, "what does it signify how we dress here, where nobody knows us?"

—*Mrs Gaskell*—Cranford.

A POET'S WISH

Families when a child is born,
Want it to be intelligent.
I, through intelligence
Having wrecked my whole life,
Only hope the baby will prove
Ignorant and stupid.
Then he will crown a tranquil life
By becoming a Cabinet Minister.

—*Su Tungp'o*—(*Chinese poet* A.D *1000.*)

THE LORE OF THE FINGER RING

By Mr. U. C. CHOPRA

At all times and among all races, the magic circlet which typifies eternity—no beginning and no end—has been closely associated with the fortunes of mankind. Within its circumference is centred all that is weighty, momentous and solemn, for rings have been in use as insignia of power and command, of union and compact, as badges of rank and honour, as pledges of faith. The little circlet is also a symbol of love and romance.

It is interesting to trace the origin of the ring and the fundamental customs and beliefs associated with it—many of which date back thousands of years. For instance, as symbol of union between man and woman, a ring was in use among the ancient dwellers of the valley of the Nile We read in Mr. Sharpe's Egyptian Mythology that before the introduction of coinage, Egyptian gold was circulated in the form of a ring, and that the Egyptian at his marriage placed one of these rounds of gold on his wife's finger in token of his entrusting her with all his property.

The early Christians followed this custom, which has ever since been rigidly adhered to in their marriage ceremony, when the man places a plain gold ring on the finger of his bride and says, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow".

The earliest existing specimens of rings are those found in the tombs of the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians. They are mostly of gold, some large and massive with deeply cut hieroglyphics, or figures of Assyrian and Egyptian type engraved on an oblong bezel: others are of an elegant serpent form, of which the serpent rings in the jewellers' shops of the present day are facsimiles.

The primary use of the ring was to carry the signet, which before being worn on the finger was suspended by a cord from the neck or wrist. The high priests of the Jews possessed rings of inestimable value, and signet rings are frequently mentioned in the old Testament as badges of authority. The ring that Pharaoh took from his own hand and put on Joseph's was probably set with the King's signet by which the royal instruments were sealed. Hebrew Legends relate of the mystic ring worn by Solomon, which had the power of conveying him into the firmament, where he heard the secrets of the universe.

The Greeks accounted for the custom of wearing rings—as they did for every other ancient usage—by a mythological fable that in removing the sentence of eternal punishment from Prometheus for his theft of the immortal fire from heaven, Zeus commanded him to wear on his finger a link of the chain that bound him to the rock of torture, as penance for his crime and evidence of its penalty. Then there is the story of the magic ring of Gyges, ancestor of the Lydian kings, which rendered its wearer invisible when it was turned round the finger.

Marriage rings were also in use in early Greece for the Lacedæmonians sent rings of iron to their betrothed as evidence that an agreement has been properly entered into by the giver and receiver, which rings were subsequently placed on the third finger of the left hand in the ceremony of marriage.

The right hand is the indicative of power and independence; therefore the left was chosen for the ring, as signifying the subjection of the woman to the man, and the third was the finger assigned to bear

the symbol of union as within it was believed to be a nerve that leads directly to the heart In the maxims of Pythagoras we come across a curious caution Never wear to light a ring, which we can interpret into a warning against hasty matrimony and careless taking of vows that bind for life

A few centuries before the Christian era the Greeks carried the fashion of wearing rings to great extreme The learned Aristotle must have been somewhat of a dandy for we read a reproof by Plato to his illustrious disciple for wearing rings in a profusion unbecoming to a philosopher Other great men were guilty of similar vanity and in consequence drew on themselves the opprobrium of their contemporaries The earliest historic gem on record among the Greeks is the famous gold ring of Polycrates set with a priceless emerald rendered still more precious by the carved intaglio of a lyre from the hand of the celebrated gem engraver Theodorus of Samos

According to Herodotus the Tyrant of Samos was the first of mere human birth who conceived the design of gaining the empire of the sea and so successful were his ambitious schemes that he was exhorted to propitiate the anger of the Gods who were envious of his continued prosperity by depriving himself of his greatest treasure He accordingly threw into the sea his cherished ring which was returned to him a few days afterwards in the body of a fish which proved that his atonement was rejected by the gods who pursued their malignant vengeance till his downfall death and crucifixion

The Romans were very apt in adopting the customs of other nations and during the Republic citizens wore iron rings frequently as testimony to martial courage while Senators had gold ones as distinctive of their order The rings worn by the soldiers were often of bronze inscribed with the number of the centuria to which they belonged

Engraved gems for rings were in great demand by the Romans and the figures and inscriptions on stones were frequently mistaken for the actual mark of nature and regarded as possessing magic powers The daring courage of Pyrrhus king of Epirus and the immunity he enjoyed from danger in warfare were attributed to the talismanic properties of an agate ring he always wore which was engraved with the figures of Apollo and the nine Muses In the Augustan age many valuable collections of antique rings were offered as gifts in the temples of Rome

In classical times and also in the middle ages rings were frequently made with a hollow bazel to contain poison suicide being deemed a perfectly honourable way of getting out of any difficulty or of ending a life no longer desirable Demesthenes one of the greatest and noblest spirits of antiquity orator and statesman availed himself of this means of procuring death after the defeat of Athenians by Antipater

The gem loving Mithridates King of Pontus is another example of one who always carries a ring containing poison On being defeated by his rebellious son Pharnaces there remained for him only two alternatives—captivity or death he chose the latter and broke his ring between his teeth But from fear of being poisoned he had in his youth so accustomed his constitution to antidotes that the poison had no effect and he had recourse to the sword of a Gaulish mercenary

There was a diabolical invention in rings in mediæval times—accredited to the wily brain of a Venetian—called the Annello della Morte (Ring of Death) which was actually in use as a method of assassination In the decoration of the bezel was concealed a hollow point containing a virulent poison which was made to work with a spring in such a manner that the murderer could give the fatel scratch while shaking hands with his enemy

Poison rings employed to rid one's self of an enemy were quite in vogue in the sixteenth century Motley mentions in his Rise of the Dutch Republic that the young Lamoral Egmont intended at his own table to destroy the Prince of Orange by means of poison kept concealed in a ring and a hollow ring filled with the deadly liquid was afterwards found at his lodging The signet ring of Caesar Borgia contained a receptacle for poison which the wearer was in the habit of dropping into the wine of any guest whose death he desired

Rings have also been in request as weapons of defence and among the peasant youths of various parts of Germany it is still customary to don heavy massive brass rings the bezel furnished with sharp projecting points calculated to inflict terrible laceration during a tussle

The ring was also in use as a badge of investiture in the early days of the Church and still retains this character An episcopal ring was solemnly conferred upon the newly made bishop together with his crozier and owing to the custom of burying rings with their owners some were exceedingly massive and were worn on the thumb and others were adorned with an emerald or sapphire from the supposed power of these stones to inspire pure and holy thoughts

Rings were in common use among the British and their Saxon ancestors An interesting relic of the ninth century is a gold ring that belonged to Ethelwulf, King of Wessex father of Alfred the Great It was found in the parish of Laverstock in Hampshire and is a wonderful specimen of the art of enamelling of the Anglo Saxon period

The ring of Frederick the Great King of Prussia was not only valuable from its historic associations but also on account of being typical of the style in vogue in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries This was probably the style of the setting of Sir Walter Raleigh's diamond ring that served him to write on a window pane of an ante room through which Queen Elizabeth daily passed his well known couplet

Fain would I rise
But that I fear to fall

to which the Queen added in encouragement to the handsome young courtier

If thy heart fail thee
Do not rise at all

In the Middle Ages rings were commonly worn as a preventive against disease Those containing a toadstone or an onyx were considered especially efficacious against poison epilepsy and witchcraft For several centuries the Kings of England were wont to bless and to hallow certain rings which were to be worn as of virtue against the cramp and falling sickness This appears to have been a custom in vogue exclusively among the monarchs of England and the last sovereign who wore a blessed cramp ring was Queen Mary The origin was that the ring of Edward the Confessor was kept as a relic in Westminster Abbey and applied for curing the falling sickness and this practice led the succeeding Kings to bless rings on Good Friday against cramp and epilepsy

THE CIVIL SERVICE IN INDIA

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[Addressing the officers of the I A S Training School New Delhi on May 8 Mr N V Gadgil Minister for Works Mines and Power appealed to Civil Servants in India to serve the country faithfully and efficiently —ED *I R*]

THE civil service in this country must be recruited from the widest possible range It is true no doubt that the halo and prestige which were associated with the civil service in good old days will not be available in the future In fact the *dak bungalow* and *bara saheb* mentality must go It is going For quite a long time the civil servants were the originators of policy and they were also administrators Today objectively this is not possible and yet I consider that the role of the civil servant is far more important In the future it will be more important than what it is to day or what it was before The task of the civil servant is to collect raw material for the formulation of policy To ask him to discover facts is to ask him to indicate conclusions The very fact that he states conclusions necessarily indicates a theory of action It is the instinct of workmanship that every good workman shows in order to secure better quality of the job he does The fact that you have surveyed the field of action collected the data impels you to suggest what is the right way of solving any particular thing

WORK OF THE CIVIL SERVANT

The life of a civil servant is passed in dealing with such knowledge and such indications of principles of action and he is therefore bound to advise his political chief on these matters The very fact that the selection of the civil service is through merit and only men of real ability are recruited ensures that nothing will be received without discussion and at somebody s direction A man of ability naturally brings his own views to bear upon any problem presented to him Although the civil servant has lost his power he has gained in influence and perhaps influence is bound to be more effective than the actual exercise of power Do not therefore underrate your role because you have merely to carry out decisions The decisions themselves are your own indications and cannot differ from solutions you yourself have suggested Your business is to tell the Minister what in your judgment are the probable consequences of any policy for which the Minister proposes to be responsible No Minister will initiate a policy widely separated from actual experience If he does so it will be disastrous While the Ministers reign the civil servants rule The civil servants role is to maintain the Government as a going concern Ministers come as a result of popular election by subduing its results to a medium where ascertainable knowledge is the protective envelope of action It oils the machinery of politics as said by Prof Laski by relating the popular will as the party in power reflects the impact of the popular will to what a detached and disinterested experience believes to be practical Its authority is that of influence and not of power it indicates consequences does not impose commands It will merely state the consequences The decision must be of the Minister The business of the civil servant is to provide the material with which in his judgment the best decision can be made

In view of the role the civil service has to play and the functions it will have to discharge it is necessary that it must be manned by men of highest intelligence There is bound to be specialisation but in the initial stage the test should be general intelligence What is needed in the control of administrative process is a general mind A part of the civil servant's work depends upon his judgment common sense and wisdom The qualities often are not found in experts The civil servant has to judge not merely where the material leads but how it is to be wisely related to that public opinion which will be affected by the results of a translation into Law or statute The field of Government being vast the scope of survey and the area for the collection of data is bound to be vast The civil servant will have to select representative facts and will have to carefully judge where he has to lay significant emphasis Here is therefore the need for a man who has a general training with a wider outlook The danger of specialised mind is that it takes the implications of its specialised knowledge to cover a larger field than the facts warrant He works on postulates while the administrator has continually to examine postulates and verify them in social experience

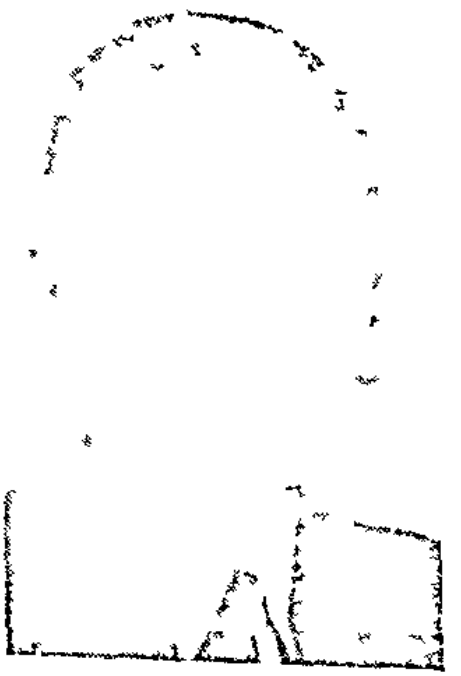
You as civil servants will be the true custodian of the fundamental guarantees in the constitution You will therefore stand for continuity and stability But in a modern State it is expected that the civil servant must be of a flexible mind ready to examine new ideas and innovations A harmonious combination of conservatism with a progressive instinct is necessary That alone will secure ordered progress The problem being large and of a wide nature it is necessary that there must be men with human outlook and broad sympathies You may call Government a machine you cannot forget that those who man the machine are after all human beings with consciousness and with conscience Many problems are solved not merely by formulas but by a sympathetic approach One must remember that it is the human beings that are governed and not things and as society is in continuous progress, more particularly the modern society, a civil servant is not morally adequate if he is merely a routiner He must be an ardent inventor who will try to formulate up to date experience into acceptable course of action The ethics of the civil servant are detachment and neutrality But in a democracy the task is to combine this detachment this neutrality with active co operation of the people at large No civil servant to day can succeed unless he mixes with the people explains them the policy carries their consent to the maximum measure Detachment and neutrality should not be equated with exclusivenes or snobbery It really means that you take a balanced view backed up by experience that there is no factor of self interest entering into your judgment

COURTESY WINS THE BATTLE

In a modern democracy the relation between the governed and the governor is like that of fish and water One cannot live without the other Courtesy shown to every one alike—to the richest to the poorest to the highest and the lowest is what is expected in a state where equality is the current coin Courtesy wins every battle and under writes 50 per cent of your success In

the districts you will find the peasant mind completely unsophisticated and one courteous word one sympathetic gesture will give you a bumper crop of goodwill and co operative action You will find there which is the real university opportunities to verify economic theories and political doctrines which you may have learnt in the ordinary universities The wisdom of the unlettered peasant is bound to be a good guide to you and may even prove corrective to some of your pet ideas Industry integrity and anonymity constitute the high ideals of civil service To day and to morrow more and more you will have to think and suggest new ideas and when they take shape the credit will go to the Ministry or the Minister You will continue to remain anonymous You are just like the cuckoo which lays its eggs in some body elses nest and whose delight is that its chickens are reared up elsewhere I am always delighted to see the officers in the official gallery when replies prepared by them are given out by the Ministers when speeches prepared by them are similarly delivered on the floor of the House To a petty mind this is exasperating to an ordinary mind this is annoying but to a man actuated by a high sense of duty it is indeed exhilarating to see that how what one does is quietly adopted by the other and the interest is not in the actor but in the act That is really *nishkamya karma* But if this anonymity is a disadvantage there is a corresponding advantage in security of service

The Minister gets the credit and the kicks also If the thing goes wrong the public will throw him on the scraps at the next general election but you will continue Ministers may come and Ministers may go the civil service goes on for ever Viewed in this light the career of a civil servant is better than the uncertain career of a politician You have the satisfaction of telling what is right as against what is popular If the Minister does the popular thing and comes to disaster anyway you have the satisfaction of knowing that you had warned him The politician has not got that satisfaction With him popularity is the thing and popularity is a wily mistress who is to be wooed and caressed day in and day out and yet gratitude is not a strong point anywhere India is a democratic and welfare State and you have a great role to play May you all be equal to the task morally and mentally and may the future state of India be as it has been conceived in the constitution!



LORD TEDDER

Former Chief of the Royal Air Force Lord Teller who has been appointed Chairman of the British Joint Services Mission in Washington

TRENDS IN LABOUR MANAGEMENT

By Mr B R MUNSHI

THROUGH ages Man has had to live by the sweat of his brow In the primitive age the rule was each for himself Man had the satisfaction that he was working for himself and his dear ones Soon there came the idea of division of labour and the system of barter was introduced Even here each considered himself his own master and had the vanity of individual independence The exchange of services was on perfectly equal terms As times advanced and man became more ambitious the sphere of activity expanded The relationship of Master and Servant was introduced But then the iron of grabbing had not entered the heart of the master He considered himself lucky that another man was willing to do his bidding The milk of human kindness natural to man had not dried up and the servant or artisan was treated as a member of the family Nay he had good chances of becoming the son in law of his master

This Master and Servant' relationship had a ding dong existence till such time as a class of men grew up who consciously or unconsciously believed that they must not work but live on the labour of others The struggle lasted for centuries and unscrupulous men not only utilised the fruits of labour of another man but also forced them to fight as soldiers for the satisfaction of their vanity or passions These struggles were isolated and the underdog never achieved any fruit It was only when the Machine Age arrived and the exploiter man collected his brothers under the roof of the Factory and practically murdered them that the exploited brother thought it was better to give his exploiter a fight and die rather than die in slow agony after giving his enemy the benefits of his labour

It was an unequal fight The employer entrenched himself behind a castle of money bags and legal licence In this game of exploitation not only the law helped the employer but religion and economics were brought into the picture to interpret the old adage—Man shall live by the sweat of his brow This universal law was not applicable to the favoured few The man of religion said leisure was not good for the poor as idle moments deteriorated their morals The Economist—a new class of professional advisers—declared everything fair and just when it was a question of building up National Wealth and facing foreign competition Millions died under this unholy alliance and the favoured few reaped a rich harvest

Then there came a reaction Reformers Humanitarians and a new class of economists awoke to the brutality of the situation The same trio which at one time combined to oppress the worker consciously or unconsciously took a swing to the left and a hue and cry was raised It was not an easy task for these reformers The exploiters and blood suckers entrenched within their castle gave a furious fight But Democracy sided with the oppressed and several laws were passed which lightened the burden of slavery of the worker It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that the worker in industrialised countries could raise his head For the first time in 1824 Combination Repeal Laws Act was passed in England giving right to the workers to combine for the purpose of regulating wages and conditions of Labour It took 50 years of hard and violent struggle before the English Trade Unions Act could be placed on the Statute Book followed by the Trade Disputes Act in 1906 which laid down that a Union could not be sued for an alleged wrongful act committed by it or on its behalf With the entry of Labour members in Parliament by the year 1906 several questions in the interest of labour were raised and the worker found representatives who could fight for his rights Of course their number was very small

The first attempt to enquire into the relations between employers and employees was the setting up of the Royal Commission in 1891 Its recommendations resulted in the enactment of the Conciliation Act 1896 Under this Act the Board of Trade was to foster voluntary conciliation agreements and had the following powers —

(1) To enquire into the causes and circumstances of a dispute
(2) To take steps towards bringing the parties together
(3) To appoint a conciliator or a board of conciliation on the application of the employer or employees
(4) To appoint an arbitrator on the application of both the parties

This was followed by the Trade Boards Act of 1909 under which Government could fix minimum rates of wages The greatest development took place in 1916 when the Government set up a Committee—the Whitley Committee—to enquire again into employer—employee relations Its recommendations were —

(1) Formation of Joint Industrial Councils
(2) Formation of Works Committees in individual establishments
(3) A permanent Court of Arbitration
(4) The constitution of an Industrial Court

These arrangements received a fillip during the last war when patriotic considerations lifted the employer employee relations to a very high level and production reached its peak by mutual agreement Thereafter a reaction set in sometime after the stoppage of the war Labour all over the world was tired and ex servicemen who went back to industry had a feeling of frustration Production fell and that is one of the major causes of inflation in the world The old hostility between employer and employee manifested itself because the dreams of all groups were shattered after a devastating war Man tended to become a cynic It was only when the Governments of the day placed before the employer employee the national disaster that would follow a slump in production that both parties rallied round their National Governments Typical examples are the National Coal Crisis of 1946 in England when Labour worked for the Nation foregoing even its Sunday holidays for months together In our own country this spirit of sacrifice is evident after the achievement of Independence when rallying to the appeal of the National Government it is found that stoppage of work during last year was significantly low

Can Non-Violence Bring About World Unity ?

By Mr T V RAYALU M A

Lecturer Mahatma Gandhi Memorial College Udupi (S Kanara)

LIFE IS A BIG PARADOX

NON violence in the sense of abstaining from pain or suffering to all sentient beings is impossible even for ascetics since we destroy some life in self defence and some to get our food But life being a choice between the more evil and less evil we must never cause death or suffering beyond what we absolutely must and reduce it to a minimum Human life is full of conflicts and we have to choose the less of the two evils In any concrete situation we must balance good and evil and seek the maximum possible good with the minimum evil Can India or any other nation give up armed resistance and disband her army on one fine morning? No We have to mediate between the supreme ideal of absolute non violence and the actual conditions of life and the existing social situations and realize the highest ideal of non violence by stages by means which are imperfect, like the minimum punishment and not violence (Ref see below for the distinction) Social growth and progress, then is a continually evolving and creative process brought about by the interaction of the absolute ideal and the existing social conditions

NON VIOLENCE BY STAGES

All religions have exalted non violence as the supreme virtue and that violence is the reflection of human imperfection If we have not yet realised such an ideal it does not follow that the ideal is to be abandoned or that it is impracticable or impossible Perfect non violence is undoubtedly the ideal and in a world ruled by love and justice there will be no need for the use of violence and force The saints of the world are believers in absolute non violence and they use

persuasion and passive resistance to evil When man attains the highest pedestal of self hood and becomes 'Atmakama' love and hatred, knowledge and ignorance and such other opposites are no longer evolved but exist side by side in mutual embrace (Mundaka Upanishad) Such a perfected soul cannot use force for all his passions are killed and yet he is able to over power evil Patanjali in his 'Yoga sutras" declares, 'When the heart is full of kindness which seeks no injury to another in thought, word and deed the full love creates an atmosphere of harmony whose benign power touches with healing all who come within its influence The peace that emanates from such a perfected being affects other hearts and they become purged of violence" Such is the true force and love of non violence at its zenith

Since non violence is based on a world of higher values we cannot lift the whole world with undue haste to the higher level Therefore as a policy for a nation, non violent non co operation is justifiable only when the whole nation is well trained on proper and sound lines in the technique of non violence and prepared to act on such a policy The world cannot be transmuted all on a sudden into obedience to the law of love and non violence since it forms the last stage in the evolution of all civilised nations involving change of heart self sacrifice and a new outlook on world problems to the highest possible degree Till then, we must work towards the ideal of non violence by stages, slow and steady degrees

(a) BE ORGANISE THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

Whatever be the nature of the causes for perpetual wars—religious economic political or psychological—it is the duty of all civilised nations to build up institutions through which we can change the society and develop the habits of good government and peace The League of Nations was a part of the movement away from power and force to law based on consent and co operation Indeed! It was an attempt to determine inter national relations by non violent methods of discussion persuasion and compromise But, the League of Nations failed, because those who joined it did not wish to give up the rights acquired by the use of violence and it was used to stabilise an unjust order and the old order of power politics was established Further, it had no effective sanction behind it and with the little power it had, it was shy to take any action and the cynical view taken by the "Senior Judge of the Court of International Justice at the Hague in Bernard Shaw's play "Geneva" is a true representation of the state of affairs that prevailed, in the League of Nations And now we have the UNO and it is the duty of all civilised nations to support it and work for peace, prosperity and progress based on international co operation justice and fairplay in all matters

We must admit that we are lacking in moral courage and social imagination to understand the principles of the new society. The true aim and purpose of all education is not to fit us to the prevailing social environment but to help us to fight against evil things and traditions of the society, and to create a more perfect society We are not so completely at the mercy of the social environment, as the revolutionary view suggests If the League of Nations failed, it is because the will to work the League was not there It is really the failure of man that is reflected in the social failure Man, as he is need not be regarded as the crowning glory of evolution "The next stage of evolution need not necessarily be in man's physique but in his psyche, in his mind and spirit and in the emergence of a large understanding and awareness that the world is one big family and that we are all fellow passengers on this planet, seekers of Truth Beauty and Goodness

(b) WORLD IS ONE BIG FAMILY

We already notice signs of a new society struggling hard to be born, but the old order seeks to prevent it The problem of living as neighbours—as good and peaceful neighbours—controlling our powers of self destruction and using the resources of nature for the greatest happiness and good of all requires the will for peace and the non exploitation of one individual over another or one nation over another To end all wars we must resolve that all men irrespective of caste, creed or colour shall have the basic opportunity to work and earn a living wage The glaring contradictions of economy which is forced

to destroy food while people starve and which supports luxury side by side with the poverty must be ended We are all fellow passengers on the same planet and in order to create a new society we have to work for the transformation of our values and for a spirit of self sacrifice The great politicians and thinkers must help us to develop friendship and fellow feeling among the peoples of the world since the world is for us one big family and love of the world is the ideal end to which love of one's country is the means

(c) JUSTICE WITHOUT FORCE IS POWERLESS

Just as we have for the violence of a robber or a murderer a legal and just application of force so also we must have it for the wanton aggression of a militant nation In principle we are against the use of force but it is a regrettable necessity It is the duty of the state or nation to prevent effectively lawlessness though we must not use more force than what is necessary A similar method will have to be adopted in international matters also Force when used by an international authority like the U N O is not an assertion of power since it is used to liberate the creative capacities of the society for peace and progress Such a force derives ethical sanction from the positive social function Pascal was right when he said Justice without force is powerless We must arm the judge and not the litigant

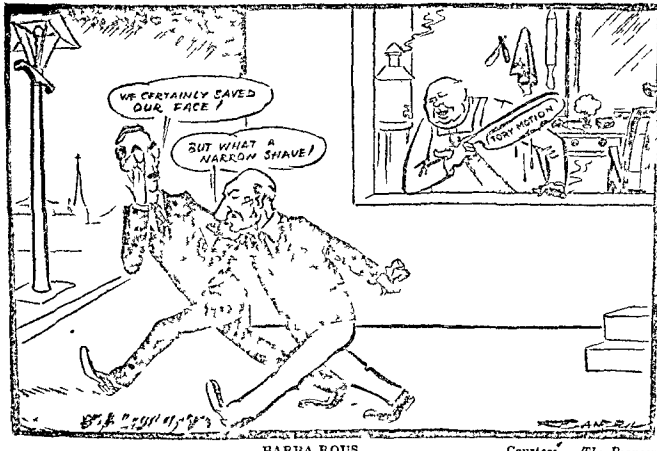
It is always wrong to judge the use of force as good or bad by taking it in isolation The violence of the police aims at social peace and order and its aim is restraint of lawlessness A surgical operation inflicts pain on the patient but can be used to save the patient's life Whether it is the knife of a surgeon or of a murderer makes all the difference Therefore the alternative to violence till we reach the goal of non violence is a system of international relations based on law co operation and understanding and peace backed by an international police force A distinction must be drawn between violence and punishment The former causes injury to an innocent person while the latter is legal and just restraint of the guilty Our scriptures point out that the teacher obtains the reward of virtue by admonishing his pupils the master by doing the same to his servants and the ruler by punishing the aggressors 'Punishment and force then are not the law givers but are the servants of the right law or Dharma which is to be the guiding principle of humanity Therefore the regulative use of force by the World Commonwealth is certainly far better than the unregulated use of force by the states since in human relations the choice is not between good and bad but between what is bad and what is worse

CONCLUSION

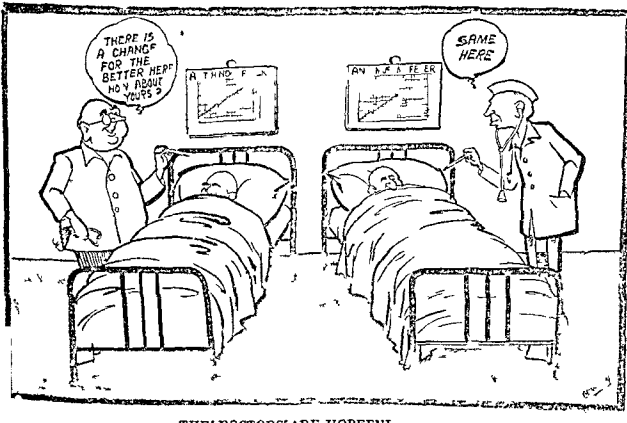
It is interesting to note that in the progress of society and civilization the first stage is marked by the law of the jungle where we have violence and selfishness and where might is right In the second stage we have the rule of the law and impartial justice in the form of courts tribunals police and prisons In the third stage which is yet to come we will have non violence and unselfishness and it will be distinctly marked by law and love being one The last stage is indeed the ideal of all civilised nations The age of machine and the industrial revolution have affected our economic relation so completely that out of necessity there must be a world society with a world economy based on a new world order We all have the same mental processes and science reveals identical cosmic elements as the basis of human life We have the same basic impulses longings and aspirations and religion refers to these common struggles Philosophy visualises universal conciousness behind all nature and humanity General Smuts in Holism and Evolution points out that already in history we find holistic tendencies towards world unity

In the early stages of human evolution expression of group thought and feeling originated and this naturally led to various tribes and groups Later on the idea of the nation came into being and men felt the necessity of a reliable social order and the need to put down tribal feuds and civil wars between one group and another or between one tribe and another It is in fitness of things that we should carry this process a step further and to its logical conclusions to achieve world unity

TOPICAL CARTOONS



BARBA ROUS Courtesy *The Pioneer*



THE DOCTORS ARE HOPEFUL Courtesy *The Leader*

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY AN INDIAN JOURNALIST

Liaqat Ali's Lapse

MR LIAQAT ALI KHAN Prime Minister of Pakistan has good reason to be gratified at the reception accorded to him by the Government and people of the United States of America In fact President Truman had taken care to see that every honour done to Pandit Nehru was equally accorded to Mr Liaqat The parity with India on which Pakistan has been insisting ever since the League claimed it with the Congress has been maintained with scrupulous care Presidential reception University honours and Freedom of Cities have all been lavished on the Prime Minister of Pakistan in full measure

Mr Liaqat in his speeches has on the whole justified these honours But one may question if a signatory to the Delhi agreement so soon after the pact of mutual goodwill had been signed has at all been quite discreet in giving vent to views that must compromise the other side In tracing the genesis of the new country is it necessary to insinuate that old India is caste ridden? To give an example while receiving a Doctorate from the Kansas University the Premier said it was not merely a question of religious differences that made Muslims cut asunder from the Hindus

> It was not merely because Muslims are monotheists and Hindus polytheists or Muslims believed in the Prophet in Christ and the prophets of the Old Testament whereas the Hindus did not It is something more pervasive The Hindus believed in the caste system which made it a sin for those at the top of the hierarchy to eat with the so called lower human beings whereas Muslims believed in the equality of all men. Their economic outlooks are also different Muslims believed in the right of private ownership for everyone and had laws of inheritance and economic institutions which are unlike those of Hindus designed to promote the distribution of wealth instead of encouraging vast unearned accumulations

To an American audience ignorant of the highly metaphysical and spiritual doctrines of the Hindus and the actual working of the caste system it might create an impression altogether wrong and probably to put it mildly it was unintentional However unwittingly done it is a wrong which Mr Liaqat in his calmer and more reflective moments would be well advised to retract or explain Such a gesture will enhance his reputation for veracity and good faith and will make assurance of friendship doubly certain

The Prime Minister of Pakistan knows well that Pandit Nehru stands by his no war declaration It was Liaqat himself who turned down the proposal Yet it is common knowledge he asked Britain to guarantee Pakistan's territorical integrity And now he has repeated the request to America and he asks for supply of arms!

> If there are arms to meet my requirements I should certainly like to buy them As a matter of fact this is not a new desire or a new wish We have been desiring to buy arms for some time

When it was pointed out that in an interview on April 12 he had specially asked for a Commonwealth guarantee of the Durand Line as the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan Mr Liaqat Ali Khan replied that any incursion there would be foolish A violation of the Durand Line would be a matter for the Commonwealth and in any event Pakistan was quite capable of dealing with such an attack

Where then is the danger against which Mr Liaqat Ali wants to defend himself with British and American arms? The Prime Minister leaves us in no doubt

So far as Pakistan was concerned he says only the possibility of aggression from India *Et tu Brute* The ink is not dry

over the Delhi Pact and the Pak Prime Minister wants American guarantees and arms against 'aggression from India"!

This is to say the least not fair

But instances of such lapses can be multiplied A reporter reading Dr. S P Mookherjee's statement giving reasons for his resignation from the Indian Cabinet provoked Mr Liaqat Ali to make an open reference against India at a Press conference Denouncing Dr Mookherjee's statement as nothing but falsehoods and vicious allegations which have no justification whatever,' the Pakistan Premier said

I wish to say now that since the establishment of Pakistan up to the time of the recent trouble there had not been a single incident of a communal nature in East Pakistan despite the fact that in several parts of India Muslims were being killed terrorised etc

Again replying to a question about communications between East and West Pakistan Mr Liaqat Ali said people travelled by air because only then could Pakistanis be sure of reaching the other end

It is easy to buy a train ticket but you won t be alive to hand the ticket over at the other end, he said, India had stopped all trade as a sort of political pressure to make Pakistan devalue the rupee, but we survived it as we have survived so many other things

What will be the position if someone in authority in India should take it in his head to rebutt these statements? The vicious circle would go on and on for ever and there will be no end to recrimina tions We thought we had done with them once for all with the Delhi Pact and started a new chapter

We can quite appreciate Mr Liaqat Ali s concern to prove to his American audiences that Islamic ideals are just no more than what American ideals are—equal citizen ship and equality of opportunity for all demo cracy and brotherhood and tolerance and all that But we cannot understand how this is incompatible with Hindu ideals While praising Islamic ideology he always took care to point out that Hindu ideology is totally different and even opposed to his own

Where is the need for this travesty of truth?

Joint Session of Indo-Pak Editors

By his prompt and sagacious lead to the press the President of the A I N E C took a step further in implementing the Nehru Liaqat pact He realised quickly that even an act of faith and statesmanship would be a dead letter without the active co opera tion of the press Acting on a vague suggestion from the President of the P N E C Mr C R Srinivasan promptly called for a joint session at Delhi and evolved a formula which if implemented with faith and loyalty on either side should go far to fulfil the promises of the goodwill agreement of the two Prime Ministers And what can be a more powerful weapon to forge the peace pact than the wholehearted support of the Press of either countries? The Press can do and undo things What the Press of Pakistan says today will be what the People of Pakistan will think tomorrow

Already we see signs of a whole some change in the attitude of the press to the problems of the hour It is nothing short of a miracle It must do one s heart good to listen to the many speeches that the head of the goodwill mission has made in India during his stay among us Speaking at Lucknow Mr Rashidi said

I have come with a message of goodwill from Pakistan for the people of India The period of gloom and frustration must end now after the Nehru Liaqat agreement

Mr Rashidi appealed to the Muslims of India to be loyal to their State and Government and not to look to Pakistan He asked those who had already migrated to Pakistan to return to their own hearths and homes in India He said

A new era is dawning and Pakistan and India will live henceforth as good neighbours because the policy adopted by both the Governments will go a long way in promoting amity concord and good relationship between the two sovereign States

He repeated his assurance to the Sikhs in India that he would strive his utmost for the restoration of Gurudwaras and their property in Pakistan. Speaking at a reception organised by the Sikh community, Mr. Rashidi said

I will not regard myself a civilised human being and a real follower of Islam if I do not strive for the restoration of your Gurudwaras as well as your houses property and abducted women But we must exercise some patience

The joint session has been a complete success. In fact as Mr Dewakar said the other day it is an event of great significance in the history of journalism in India

Rajaji s Position in the Cabinet

Those who had feared that Rajaji's retirement from office had deprived the country of the services of an elder statesman of undoubted ability must feel gratified at his inclusion in the new Cabinet Pandit Nehru revealed at the recent Press Conference in Delhi that it was at his insistence that C R was requested to join the Government

We look upon him as not only an elder statesman but one of the topmost elder statesman possessing a great deal of ripe wisdom He has always been helpful and u eful in advising We want him here

It was not his intention, he said, to burden Mr. Rajagopalachari with day-to-day executive functions The Prime Minister's idea of Mr. Rajagopalachari was that he should correspond to, what in England was called, the Lord President of the Council, though there was no such post here.

The are many things, the most important of which is the Economy Committee of the Cabinet" he said, "which surveys the whole field A man of Rajaji's position as the Chairman of the Leconomy Committee, can survey a great part of Governmental activities and can give a good deal of time to it Other Ministers cannot give concentrated time to the general approach as a person of Rajaji s position might. Once he is part of the Cabinet, it is for us to consider among ourselves what we feel like and what is generally to public advantage"

Lord Wavell

If ever there was a military man with a sure penchant for letters it was Lord Wavell. There was that in his writings and speeches which marked him out as a man of letters who had strayed into other fields An outstanding British Military personality it was his good fortune to be associated with some historic campaigns in the late war.

Lord Wavell was the first professional soldier to be appointed Viceroy of India Doubtless he brought to his new task as administrator something of the drive and energy of the soldier. But the times were out of joint And neither by training nor by natural aptitude could he be at home in that perplexing situation—the legacy of the war and its aftermath of resurgent nationalism in East Asia. It was time for the white man's domination to cease but few had the imagination to realise the inevitable. The crisis called for a new orientation and political leadership of a different kind and Wavell thought it wise to quit. That historic role was played by his successor Lord Mountbatten, as to the manner born.

Yet Wavell was right in quitting when the authorities thought fit to cut the country in twain against his better judgment. The aftermath proved him right Moulana Azad recalls Wavell's stand:

Lord Wavell was a convinced opponent of partition of the country and saw disaster in such a move. His aim was to find a solution which would set at rest the communal problems in an undivided India.

When, in 1947, the Labour Government decided that the British would leave India whether there was a solution or not, Lord Wavell resigned . . He feared that such a decision would face the country with great risks and as he was not prepared to take the responsibility for such a course of action, he resigned I did not agree with his views and told him so, but have no doubt that he was both sincere and convinced When we look back to day and survey the events which happened since March 1947, we cannot deny that there was a great deal of force in what Lord Wavell had said

The Nilgiris

The Nilgiri Express was packed with passengers from the hot plains of Madras and the hotter regions of the Rock Fort of Trichy Groups of middle aged men were discussing the problems of the day and tried to assess the merits and defects of the old regime, and in striking the balance sheet showed a sense of relief that all told, we are rid of the bondage of alien rule

But there was one legacy for which we should be grateful to British rule, said one—and that was the judicial system Ah but you forget the hill stations said another, with a nostalgic recollection of his previous trips to the Ooty hills And then they ruminated over the long undulating expanse of hills and dales and mighty forests and evergreen shrubs and the sweet half English Nilgiri air that soothed the fevered brains and perspiring brows with the kiss of cooling showers

Yet the reality was disillusioning to a degree The slopes which were once covered with the tall growths of Eucalyptus shining with their silver leaves in the noonday sun had all been mown down to make way for potato plantations And the arid area was parched and the legendary clouds which used to cover the tree tops were nowhere to be seen—and the showers were as scarce as in the plains

No wonder that the Nilgiri hills which were once the paradise of tourists appeared like devastated hillocks The indiscriminate cutting down of all trees had given rise to the serious problem of soil erosion It also had serious repurcussions on the climate rainfall and fertility of the soil

Hence the need for a joint programme of financial assistance from the Central and State Governments for the development of the Nilgiris in general and Ootacamund in particular was stressed by Mr Shanmukham Chetty at a Special Conference in Ooty. Mr Shanmukham added that both Central and State legislatures should enact laws to stop the present promiscuous felling and cutting down of trees on the Nilgiris resulting in soil erosion and reduction of rainfall

India or Bharat

Dawn and the entire press and public of Pakistan have conspired to drop the historic name—India—and persisted in referring to this country as Bharat Part of this mischief is doubtless due to India's vacillation By describing this country as India that is Bharat' in our Constitution we gave a handle to Pakistan to confuse the world Where is the point in insisting to call this country by any name other than the old historic name of India which is the only name by which this fair land is known abroad

Pakistan is a new country little known abroad Hence their anxiety to put it on the map is understandable But why blot India out of the map? To call this country India is a stunt ' says the Pakistan Premier How could the country lose its name if a part of it chooses to get out and call itself Pakistan? It is for us to stick to the name made famous in history and legend and insist on calling this country India and India only

Patel's advice to Congress Workers

Sardar Vallabhai Patel Deputy Prime Minister during his first visit to the United State of Travancore and Cochin told a meeting of Congress workers at Ernakulam that it was his ambition to see during his life time India turned into one solidified whole The Sardar said

With the achievement of independence our duties and responsibilities had not ended but had only just commenced and on our doings in the next four to five years depends the future of India

DIARY OF THE MONTH

May 1 Stalin reviews May day parade —Liaqat Ali in London—meets Mr Attlee

May 2 Pak Press delegation arrives in India

—Chandrannagore merges with Indian Union

May 3 Congress Working Committee withdraws disciplinary notice on Mr Prakasam

—Liaqat Ali arrives in Washington

May 4 Nehru addresses Joint Session of AINTUC and Pakistan NTUC at Delhi

May 5 Thai King crowned

—Nehru and his Cabinet resign New Cabinet formed in the evening

May 6 Blockade against new Republic of South Moluccas

May 7 Up Punjab mail train accident near Lahabim causing heavy casualities

—Deputation urges retention of Pandit Pant's services to U P

May 8 Trygve Lie on way to Moscow appeals for world peace at World Health Congress at Geneva

May 9 Amrit Kaur elected President of World Health organisation

—India accepts invitation to Manila Conference

May 10 Burmese Government offers amnesty to Karen rebels

—U S aid to S E Asia

May 11 India and Pakistan protest against Racial Grouping Bill in South Africa

May 12 Sardar Patel in Cochin

—British Prime Minister supports French plan for Germany

May 13 Indonesia takes military action in South Moluccas

—Indian delegation drafts proposals for Sydney Conference

May 14 Allied London Conference of Foreign ministers declares Policy for re emergence of Germany

May 15 Commonwealth Conference opens at Sydney

—Atlantic powers meet in London

May 16 C R and Sri Prakasha for Central Cabinet

—Trygve Lie meets Stalin in Moscow

May 17 Planning Commission Advisory Board set up

May 18 Minority Ministers meeting in Calcutta resolve on all out effort to restore harmony

—Indo Pakistan Railway Conference at Delhi

May 19 Navy and Air Force joint exercises off West Coast

May 20 Sydney talks conclude Technical aid to Asia promised

—Malan Government defends Incorporation of S W Africa before World Court

May 21 Indian Congress in Ceylon lifts boycott

May 22 Sir Owen Dixen mediator for Kashmir in London

—Sardar Panikkar presents credentials to Chinese President Mao

May 23 Indo Pak agreement on Exchange of Prisoners concluded

—Mr Munshi outlines his plan for self sufficiency in food

May 24 Death of Lord Wavell former Viceroy of India

—In Habeas Corpus petitions argued before Supreme Court

May 25 Mr C D Deshmukh appointed Finance Minister

—Kashmir war prisoners exchanged

May 26 Petrol control ends in U K

—Madras Public Order Act section 9 held *Ultra Vires* by Supreme Court

—Mr Ajit Prasad Jain appointed Minister of State to succeed Mr Saxena

May 27 Sardar Patel inaugurates *Kirti Mandir* Memorial to Gandhiji in his home town Porbundar

—Sir Owen Dixen in Delhi

May 28 Thakin Nu Burmese Premier in Calcutta reiterates autonomy offer to Karens

May 29 Baguio conference decides on joint act on for specific ends

—Sri Prakasa Deshmukh and Ajit Prasad Jain sworn in as new Ministers

May 30 Indo Pakistan joint trade talks at Delhi

—U S not to veto Red China's admission to U N

May 31 The Prime Minister arrives at Trivandrum

IS WAR INEVITABLE?

"Is a Third World War inevitable?" is the title of an article by Bertrand Russell in the March issue of *United Nations' World* magazine

Mr Russell says there is far more cause for anxiety today than there was in the year 1,000 A D, when the end of the world was expected, but, he adds if World War III can be averted for a decade it is quite likely it will never take place

Mr Russell analyses the causes of the threatened holocaust, and the possible ways out In a nutshell the problem is this rich nations and individuals tend to side with America, poor nations and individuals with Russia From this he draws the conclusion that it is to Russia's interest to keep the world poor, and that it is to America's interest to make the world prosperous

'The next war will be the greatest disaster that will have befallen the human race I can think of only one greater disaster—the extension of the Kremlin's power over the whole world"

Weighing tactics on both sides of the cold war, he observes that though the Communists profess that the poverty they promote is only a temporary means to universal prosperity, for the present prosperity is their enemy

He sees the Communist ideology as more radical and more subtle than that of any previous imperialism

'To the discontented everywhere, it offers upheaval and punishment of enemies To victims of injustice, of whatever kind, it offers redress all the more infallible because it professes to have discovered the root of all injustice"

Secondly, he notes the close knit character of Communist organisation with its "capacity for liquidating Trotskyites" This has given it an advantage so far But he believes that the future may see many more rebellions like that of Tito He doubts whether China will for ever submit to orders form Moscow He sees a possible spread of the discontent now existing in the Ukraine

Describing tactics for coping with Communist threat, Mr Russell says·

"I do not believe that any genuine entente with the Kremlin is possible"

Since Russia will in his opinion, show reasonableness only if war seems inoppor tune he thinks the only hope is to remain for the present stronger than Russia

'until new circumstances completely change the situation'

Among these he suggests The death of Stalin the defection of East bloc nations, growing inefficiency and laziness of Russian officials, lack of freedom of Russian scientists, causing a lag in the U S S R war machine over a ten year period

His recipe for western resistance is· War preparations now, including production of the H bomb, aid to the limit to all weaker nations in building prosperity, large scale propaganda to tell people on both sides of the iron curtain about Western economic and social ideals Finally, he urges the free people to stand together, forgetting petty differences

"Whatever we do, we shall be united, but it is better to be united in a common salvation than in a common death"

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

GANDHI MEMORIAL PEACE NUMBER Edited by Kshitri Roy The Visva Bharati quarterly Santiniketan Price Rs 10

What was intended to be published originally as a peace volume on the occasion of the World Pacifist Conference Santiniketan has become a Gandhi Memorial number Emanating as a special supplementary of the *Visva Bharati Quarterly* this beautiful book is an outstanding contribution not only to Gandhian literature but to the establishment of progressive morality in preference to moral expediency

The volume appropriately opens with Gurudev's hymn invoking the spirit of the Buddha and closes with his prophetic Victory to the victim Between the two poems are nearly three hundred and thirty pages of highly stimulating thoughtful and elevating reading matter dealing with all the various aspects of Gandhiji's life activities and principles punctuated here and there with articles on subjects like the problems of establishing enduring peace

Among the contributors are Dr Rajendra Prasad (who has provided the Foreword) Jawaharlal Nehru J B Kripalani Dr Radhakrishnan Maud Royden R R Keithan Aldous Huxley Horace Alexander Louis Renow J H Holmes H S L Polak K G Mashruwalla etc The contributions have been arranged into sections each of which opens with a well known poem indicative of the contents to follow

At the end of the volume there is a very useful section giving small biographical sketches of the various contributors

SPEECHES OF C RAJAGOPALACHARI Governor General of India June 1948—January 1950 Pp 335 Printed by the Superintendent Governor Generals Press Delhi 1950

It is customary for proconsuls and heads of democratic countries to read out speeches made to accepted convention by bureaucratic secretaries and advisers According to constitutional practice and convention it is even necessary for the constitutional head to indulge in colourless platitudes and obtain a Cabinet's approval before delivering them Inheriting all these limitations as he did it is really remarkable how the first Indian Governor General has in spite of them managed to pack every line and page of the present volume with whiffs of ancient wisdom irrefutable logic free thinking untrammelled by narrow considerations and that simplicity of style and expression which have always been his individual characteristic

The Governor General set convention at naught in June 1948 when he began to meet every kind of organisation throughout the length and breadth of the country In some places he had to meet young children or fashionable ladies At other places he had to address University students or a body of experts Merchants industrialists and commercial bodies had to be addressed on many occasions Perhaps the addresses to soldiers Parliaments local bodies Policemen and the like were in accordance with but certainly not the ones to subordinate and ministerial bodies

These speeches form a national treasure and should be in the hands of every Indian

THE INDIAN & PAKISTAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO 1949 Ed. By I. S John, C.I.E. Bennett Coleman & Co., Bombay.

The old *Times of India year Book* which for four and thirty years has retained its hold on the public as an indispensable reference book on India and things Indian is now appearing in an enlarged and much improved form under the name and style of "The Indian and Pakistan year Book and Who's Who 1949." We would have preferred a shorter and more attractive title for a book of such popular interest but then the present title fully conveys the scope and contents of the volume under review. The XXXV Volume fully justifies its claim to be regarded as "a statistical and historical Annual of the Dominions of India and Pakistan". Apart from the wealth of facts and figures touching the population and revenues of the two countries, the Editor has provided special chapters on the principal topics of the day. We have chapters on the background of the recent partition and the history of the struggle between the Congress and the late Government on the one side and the Congress and the Muslim League on the other ending in the establishment of the two Governments at Delhi and Karachi. Details, both personnel and departmental touching the Central and Provincial Governments, are furnished besides a brief history with statistical tables relating to the States and their integration. The Who's Who is, of course, another equally attractive feature, which in the context of recent changes and new appointments must be particularly welcome. Altogether the three column arrangement devised for the present edition, though it makes the book unwieldy, is best designed to cover a vast mass of literature that could not otherwise have been possible.

DEVALUATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE by Prabhat Sarbadhikari.

SALIENT FEATURES OF OUR NEW CONSTITUTION by Sushil Kumar Sen M A.

THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, by Biman Bihari Majumdar M A. Uttarayan Monographs on Current Affairs, Uttarayan Ltd., 170 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price four annas each.

These monographs modelled on the Oxford pamphlets deal with important topics. In the first monograph there is an attempt to elucidate the circumstances which obliged India and England to devalue their currencies, and the consequences which that measure is likely to produce. Devaluation is not an unmixed blessing and cannot be expected to yield straightway beneficial results. Mr. Sarbadikari has analysed the complexity of the situation in all its various aspects.

In the second monograph Mr. Sen summarizes the constitution of India under convenient heads. He believes that it could have been more socialistic, providing for economic equality before political equality. He is not sure the Parliamentary system of government is suited to India. The Fundamental Rights, he believes, have been virtually whittled down by restrictions, and the sovereignty of the people of India has not been given due recognition in the actual working of the government.

The third pamphlet analyses the relations between the Congress party and the Central and Provincial governments in India. The tendency has been towards the independence of the Parliamentary party from the Party organization outside, as in England. Interesting comparisons are made with English and Russian examples. Mr. Mazumdar suggests that the selection of candidates by the Party for Parliament be made on a more democratic basis, by Primary Committees.

THE "CASTE SYSTEM" IN BRITAIN

If you are a barman, you are on the same social scale as a road sweeper, if a reporter, you have the same prestige as a commercial traveller.

These are "caste system" findings of a British survey on how ordinary men and women view each other in the social scale according to occupation

Thirty occupations were chosen from 148 listed by the Labour Minister as of importance in the national social life

A cross section of the public was asked to classify them in seven grades from the highest to the lowest social degree

The survey was carried out by the Social Research Division of the London School of Economics Here is the unanimous verdict

(1) Medical officer, company director country solicitor, chartered accountant

(2) Civil servant, business manager works manager Non conformist minister farmer

(3) Elementary school teacher, job bing master builder, news reporter commercial traveller

(4) Chief Insurance agent, newsagent and tobacconist

(5) Policeman, routine clerk fitter carpenter, shop assistant, bricklayer

(6) Tractor driver coal hewer, agricultural labourer carter railway porter

(7) Barman dock labourer, road sweeper

The caste system' even goes within an occupation For example the typist who works for Mr Winston Churchill was put in class 1 the highly skilled girl in class 2 and the ordinary one in class 5

Teachers were differentiated into 1 private school 2, secondary school, and 3 primary school

It is only a preliminary A thorough one we are told, will be made shortly and focus will be on the middle classes since so little is known about them Until now, most surveys have been confined to the working class

CONTROL OF ATOM

The Royal Institute of International Affairs has brought out a brochure discussing the international implications of atomic Energy.

Experts are sure that there is no technical reason why an efficient system of inspection control and development of the atom should not be set up, says the writer

It is most fortunate that the United Nations came into existence at the same time as the new discovery was first used This body, more completely world wide than any of its predecessors immediately provided the centre where the problem of nuclear energy could be discussed Indeed there was no alternative since the United Nations had been set up to deal with the issues which the discovery of nuclear energy presents, the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of world welfare by international co operation. A centre, agencies, organs of control and organs of opinion were provided at the outset They will have to be adapted to this new force but the United Nations is young and flexible It is designed to enable power to be used inside an ordered constitution with a moral purpose The need of the world was clear, what was in doubt was the ability of its constituent members to put sufficient power at its disposal The control and development of nuclear energy may prove the answer

While many dangers surround the problem it is surely obvious that there is in it the possibility of great contributions to the advancement of mankind

Even if the process of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes goes slowly the creation of an effective international authority will contribute greatly to the welfare of the world It will help to a large extent to solve problems of security which in their aggregate are hardly less dangerous Unless these problems are solved, man may continue to exist but he can hardly enjoy that good life which was so long ago laid down as the ultimate justification of the State Only the creation of an effective international authority commanding world-wide loyalty and adapted to meet the growing problems of a civilization that is being rapidly transformed by technical developments can do that It may be that nuclear energy will be one of the principal agents which will make possible that great triumph of man over his own weaknesses

ATOMIC RAIDS

A recent survey in the *Scientific American* stated that the Atomic Energy Commission owns three billion dollars worth of plant and real estate maintains 1,270 factories, laboratories, offices, etc reaching into nearly every State, has arrangements with 58 Universities and possesses three vast laboratories at Oak Ridge, Argonne and Brookhaven Thus American science has been largely concentrated on working on these huge projects But the secrecy that has been imposed has not been congenial to free discovery, and it is not surprising that many of the famous scientists who did the original work on the bomb have deserted nuclear physics for other less warlike forms of research Though precise information is not available, the present American stockpile of bombs is said to be somewhere between 200 and 300 and the newer types are reported to be more powerful than those used on Hiroshima in the last war American military plans assume that in a war with Russia their long distance bombers of the B 36 type would in a few days drop atomic bombs on the main industrial centres of the Soviet and cripple the warmaking potential of the country It is recognised that on the European mainland the Russian Army could not be stopped from reaching the English Channel but it is supposed that atomic air raids would bring the Kremlin to its knees It is now clear observes a contemporary that the Russians can reply in kind even if they have fewer bombs and it is fairly certain that Britain would not encourage atomic raids on Russia if reprisals were likely to be made on London Nor is the American continent immune, the Russians could send their bombers on the short route over the Arctic circle

WASTEFUL SPENDING

Instances of wasteful spending by Government officials are given by *Pioneer* Writing editorially it says

"An American authoress, Mary Jane Ward, recently brought out an astounding story illustrative of Indian squandermania in the wake of her newly found independence A number of long, sleek and streamlined locomotives was purchased in the United States on behalf of the Indian nationalised railways at the cost of tens of thousands of dollars The engines arrived according to schedule and were landed at the Bombay docks The purchasing officials got a mighty thrill out of it until somebody suddenly discovered that the locos were too tall to pass through the tunnels on Indian railways The story ends there What, if anything, happened to the officials concerned in the transaction is not known nor is it likely to be known

Meanwhile examples of the reckless waste of public funds and no questions asked continue to come to light from all parts of the country In our own State of Uttar Pradesh overpayment of over Rs 7 lakhs was made to a contractor who made away with it to safety and prosperity in Pakistan The reply of Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim that the contractor's security deposit of Rs 2 lakhs has been attached and that the overpayment therefore amounts to a little less than has been alleged reminds us of the maid servant who apologised for her illegitimate baby 'But, Ma'am it is only a leetle one"

The paper further instances the Assam Government's wasteful expenditure of two crores of rupees on a worthless road and the Central Government's pre fab scandal

TIBETAN BUDDHISM

Summarising her studies in "Buddhism of Tibet" Christmas Humphrays writes in the *Theosophist* that Tibetan Buddhism is a unique blend of the noblest Buddhist principles and the most debased sorcery, of the highest and the lowest of man's mind

It belongs if it is not *sui generis*, to the Mahayana School and has much in common with the interrelated principles of Chinese Buddhism But the Tibetans claim to have many 'vehicles or *yanas*, and it is not easy to suggest a collection of principles common to all Yet all seem to agree that in the beginning was THAT the nameless Absolute which all Hindus invoke as Aum contracted to Om the first syllable of the Tibetan formula Om Mani Padme Hung the outer meaning of which is merely Hail to the Jewel in the Lotus, and its inward meaning the meaning of the Universe Within the One their stirs desire the First Cause of which must ever remain unknown and is not in Buddhism even the subject of speculation. The One divides and is two, but two is inconceivable save as Three, hence the Trikaya, the Trinity in all its forms In manifestation there is Mind Only and the appearances of Mind

This relative world then is subject to interrelation or causation and the law of Cause Effect controls all manifested things Morality is the cleansing and development of the vehicles through which the individual expresses the Absolute within, psychology an understanding of the processes of the mind The goal is Nirvana the end of separation, the return to the One, to THAT'

PRIVATE CAPITAL

Two American writers, William Harvey Reeves and Paul D Dickens discuss in the pages of the *Political Science quarterly* at some length the question of private foreign investments as means of world economic development They point out that capital will always perform its function better by inducement than by coercion The willingness to take economic risks, they say, has always provided and still provides, the principal argument in favour of the capitalistic system. "The imposition of rigid controls or fear of seizure is not part of business and economic risks, and there is no way to insure against resulting losses When such fear appears, private capital will fail to foster needed economic developments and this in turn will force the governments to assume these risks" That is the way to Socialism or Communism.

Many of these risks to foreign capital by imposition of controls could be eliminated merely by government fiat

'If it is not feasible to remove all at once, then it can be done by announcement of purpose, by specific policy as to new investment by further relief when announced goals have been reached, until step by step freedom of enterprise is once again realized It should be apparent then that controls are related only to abnormal conditions As economic defence and economic warfare they have been effective as a system of world trade they have failed Capital so controlled has not led to economic abundance"

A survey of world investment opportunities leads to simple and obvious conclusions

The United States is ready, able and willing to supply through private means an incalculably large amount of capital and industrial knowledge Foreign countries need and want this capital. They can expect it only on terms that give enterprises a reasonable opportunity to make profits and reasonable assurance that next year and for years to come the capital will be theirs to risk and gain therefrom It is not necessary nor is it expected that capital will be free of all restraints but the restraints must be reasonable and non discriminatory The private enterprise system has much to offer under developed countries in the way of material advantage—increased national income education a higher standard of living—which are the tangible bases for an intangible development in the dignity of man"

Capital by its very nature, they say, is international, and it flows freely over national boundaries when those seeking it create conditions to attract it Are the foreign countries now desiring American capital they ask, willing to offer these conditions?

OH YOU ENGLISH!

Butler "I have to inform your lordship that there is a burglar downstairs"

Lord Huntington "Very well, Barnsby Bring my gun and sports suit—the heather, mixture'

SOVIET'S MILITARY STRENGTH

The growing military potential of Soviet is stressed by a writer in *Revue de Paris* He says

The war power of the USSR is considerable But it is only terrifying in contrast with the military weakness of the Western peoples It is important not to be intimidated or misled about this No future historian could ever manage to explain how 275 million Western Europeans allied to 160 million Americans and Canadians with their industrial and agricultural potential fully developed could allow themselves to be crushed dominated dispersed or destroyed by Russia as she is now with her potential only just born

In a few months in two years perhaps Soviet Russia will possess all the sinews of war which will allow her—if we continue to do nothing—to carry through the various strategic action in Europe which will allow her to face the final conflict with the American continent

MYSORE UNIVERSITY JOURNAL

The current number of the *Half yearly Journal of the Mysore University*—Section A Arts contains the usual budget of scholarly articles dealing with history literature and philosophy Among articles of interest are The Place of Humanities in University Education by Mr Yamuna charya The Military career of Abdur Rahim by Mr Seshadri and Haidar Ali's first war with Peshwa Madhavrao by Narayana Rao Goudkar Meaning of History and Realism and mind—Dependence are two other articles of deeper philosophical interest by Mr N A Nikam M A (Cantab)

HINDU SHRINES IN PAKISTAN

Hindu and Sikh shrines numbering 695 were reported to have been desecrated in Pakistan according to a press note issued a month ago by the Indian Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation A list of about 600 Hindu and Sikh shrines reported to have been desecrated was forwarded by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, Government of India to the Government of Pakistan in June and July, 1948 Several other cases were reported thereafter In spite of repeated reminders no reply has been received by the Government of India so far Since March 1949 the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan has forwarded to the Pakistan authorities a further list of 95 temples and Gurdwaras of which 71 are situated in Karachi

It is hoped that as a result of the Delhi agreement and the assurances of Pak leaders since then this vexed question will be solved satisfactorily Mr Rashidi President of P E C while in India expressed himself firmly in favour of a decent settlement of this issue

CONSTRUCTIVE PACIFISM OF GANDHI

Gandhiji's doctrine of non violence is a constructive and creative creed says the *Modern Review* He has not merely proclaimed a programme like the visionary but also fashioned a technique Satyagraha *i e* soul force William James called it the moral equivalent of war To a war shattered and nerve racked world the message of non violence has a terrific topicality Gandhiji declared that we can not cast away Satan with the help of Beelzebub Non violence is not negative and it is not cowardice

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

DIFFICULTIES OF INDIANS

Serious complaints are made against the Immigration and Emigration authorities in Ceylon by Indian passengers proceeding to this country on short holiday. They allege that the authorities ask for almost impossible conditions prior to the grant of Temporary Resident Permits without which an Indian resident who goes out of the Island on a holiday will not be permitted to re enter Ceylon

Describing the precise nature of the difficulties and giving details of the way local executives are implementing, the special correspondent of the *Hindu* observes

Temporary Resident Permits are not usually granted to those who are not able to produce documentary evidence to prove that they have been resident here for at least five years prior to November 1, 1948, without any break Thousands of shop assistants, petty traders hawkers, rickshaw pullers, cooks and hotel servants, who have no documentary evidence with them, although they have been resident here for much longer periods than the stipulated five years are being summarily refused Temporary Permits

The greatest difficulty which the majority of the passengers have to face arises from the fact that neither the Controller of Immigration and Emigration nor the Minister of Defence and External Affairs under whom the Immigration department functions, has officially intimated the public the exact nature of the documents that may be admissible for the grant of Temporary Resident Permits As a result, the same document which is admitted by one Assistant Controller is rejected by another and personal appeal to the Chief Controller against the decision of Assistant Controllers is almost impossible

When an employee of a limited liability company which has put in twenty years' standing and is well known all over Ceylon, approached an Assistant Controller with a certificate from one of the Directors of the company, he was asked, it is stated, to produce the attendance register or check roll of the company for the last five years to prove that he was really employed in that company as was stated in the certificate of the Director No registered company will hand over their attendance registers and check rolls to every employee whenever he intends to go on a holiday and it is particularly more difficult in the case of big companies in which 100 to 200 persons are employed and a score of employees go on leave each month In some cases auditor's certificates are asked to be produced and for such certificates auditors charge about Rs. 10 or Rs 20 each

Owing to such severe hardships, an average of 1,500 Indians are leaving the Island each month for good According to the official figures sent to the Indian High Commissioner's office from the Protector of Emigrants at Mandapam and Tuticorin, the number of Indians who were forced to leave the Island permanently in the months of February, March and April are 1,805, 1,676 and 1868 respectively.

He goes on to add that the Indian High Commissioner's office seems to be powerless to stop the great exodus from Ceylon In spite of the representations they are frequently making and in spite of the assurances given by the Prime Minister of Ceylon to the Prime Minister of India in what has now come to be known as the Indo Ceylon correspondence" that Indians who are already in the island will not be prevented from continuing their lawful avocations, administrative practices are such that they are resulting in slowly liquidating the Indian urban population at the rate of 1,500 a month

CITIZENSHIP ACT

A large number of Indians in Ceylon are expected to become Ceylon citizens following a decision by the Ceylon Indian Congress Committee to call off its boycott of the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act, passed last year

At its meeting on May 22 at Colombo, the Committee passed the following resolutions

1 "The Ceylon Indian Congress Committee, having reviewed the position in pursuance of the directive of the 10th annual session of the Congress, resolves to advise that while the Working Committee proceeds with its efforts to secure a modification of the unsatisfactory provisions of the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act, Indians in Ceylon should apply for citizenship under the Act"

2 "The Ceylon Indian Congress Committee directs the Working Committee to follow closely the working of the Act and to submit reports from time to time for its consideration,"

South Africa

GROUP AREAS BILL

The South African Indian Congress, in a cable from Durban has asked the United Nations Organisation to intervene to stop the introduction of the Group Areas Bill in the Union House of Assembly.

Dr. G M Naicker President of the Congress, cabled that the Bill, which provides for the division of the Union into clearly defined racial areas, was designed to confine non whites to "segregated and neglected ghettoes, locations, and reserves" He said

"The action of the Union Government in agreeing at the request of the United Nations to hold a Round Table Conference with the Governments of India and Pakistan and almost simultaneously introducing the most devastating racial Bill of all times is reminiscent of Japan's foul tactics at the time of pearl Harbour

On Apr. 1, South Africa's Minister of the Interior, Dr T E Donges said the only way to achieve racial harmony in in the Union was to have separate areas for Europeans, Indians, Coloured people, and Africans On April 21 he gave notice in the Union Parliament of the Group Areas Bill

The Governments of India and Pakistan are understood to have requested the Union Government to defer the Bill until after the Round Table Conference.

RACIAL POLICY OF MALAN GOVT.

Mr Mohanlal R. Parekh, a South African Indian leader, now on a visit to India, warned the South African Government that unless they gave up the *Apartheid*, disaster would overtake the Union.

Addressing a Press Conference at Nagpur Mr. Parekh said, "*Apartheid* has reduced the country to pre Boer war days. Each day new insults, new forms of antagonism are being hurled at non European peoples. Bearing the brunt of the attack are the Indians and the seething mass of discontent is slowly reaching the boiling point. When the lid blows up, then will come disaster to South Africa."

South West Africa

STATUS OF S. W. AFRICA

The United States has submitted to the International Court of Justice that the status of South West Africa can be altered only by joint action of the South African Government and the United Nations General Assembly.

The United States arguments were set out in a written brief submitted to the court for the hearings due to open on May 16 India, Egypt and Poland will also submit written briefs

The court has been asked by the United Nations for an opinion on the international status of South West Africa and the obligations of the South African Government under its League

Malaya

CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

Indian comment on the communities liaison committee's proposal in regard to Malayan federal citizenship has not yet crystallised, writes P T I. correspondent in Singapore It has been pointed out that under these proposals there can be no dual citizenship At present the Indian, Chinese and European or any other national, can be citizen of his own country and a federal citizen of Malaya.

A Malayan nationality has still to be created Meanwhile federal citizenship will accord as nearly as possible to nationality.

It is also stressed that nationals of India who desire to become federal citizens of Malaya will first have to renounce their Indian citizenship, acquire U.K. or colonial citizenship and then apply for federal citizenship. Since they must have had 10 years' continuous residence in the Federation to qualify for federal citizenship, it would not be difficult for them to acquire U.K. or colonial citizenship, it is said.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

WORKING OF THE DELHI AGREEMENT

'Looking at the working of the Delhi Agreement entirely objectively, one can adopt a tone of restrained optimism" said the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawahar lal Nehru, at a Press conference in Delhi

The Prime Minister categorically denied there was any American pressure or pressure from any foreign country in connection with the Indo Pakistan Minorities Agreement He said 'There has not been even a hint Of course whether it was America or any other country they were greatly interested in the agreement But this is a different matter"

Reviewing the progress achieved in the implementation of the Agreement the Prime Minister cited two significant developments in support of this claim one is the psychological change which the Agreement has produced throughout the country, and the general relief which people all over the country more particularly in Bengal and Assam felt at the thought that the danger of some catastrophic, happening has been removed The second is the progressive decline in the exodus of minorities from the two countries and the steady increase in the number of migrants returning to their own homes He quoted figures for the movement of refugees between the two Bengals on May 20 and said that while these encouraging figures revealed that the number of migrants returning to their homes was more than those who are leaving the fact that women and children were to be found in increasing proportion among the migrants returning home must be taken as an indication that people were returning to settle in their own homes and not merely for the purpose of removing their cattle and chattels.

JOINT APPEAL BY INDO PAK PRESS PRESIDENTS

Mr C R Srinivasan and Pir Ali Mahomed Rashidi Presidents, respectively of the Indian and Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference, appealed to the Press in both the countries to propagate that the foundations of freedom lay "not in hate but in love, not on passions and prejudices but on truth and tolerance' A joint statement issued by Mr Srinivasan and Mr Rashidi on May 8 said

Our hearts are full We put our hands to a great task By Divine grace our expectations were amply fulfilled Faint hearts found fresh hopes Those who came to scoff remained to pray Truly it was a magnificent exhibition of faith in the future By all tokens, it was a representative gathering of the Press of India and Pakistan that met at Delhi and those who were unable to come sent their prayers for success The speeches that were delivered the resolutions that were passed and the machinery that has been created to safeguard the future—all of them betokened a new approach to the problems that have baffled us these three years The Prime Minister of India has himself said that the key to the riddle lay not in the letter of the agreement he entered into with the Prime Minister of Pakistan but in the spirit behind it It is in the spirit that we approached our problems and every hurdle that blocked the way to good faiths and fellowship We cleared in that spirit Miracle indeed it was but not by any means the first miracle we have witnessed in the century The freedom that we achieved was itself a miracle It took us three years of hard going and heavy sacrifices however to discover that the enduring foundations of this freedom lay not in hate but in love not on passions and prejudices but on truth and tolerance and freedom will last only so long as it rests on moral sanctions and not material strength It is this psychology that the Press must propagate if it is to serve as the guardian and guarantor of freedom Fear must yield place to confidence

Fellowship must prevail over fanaticism This is our new approach and at Delhi in the unparalleled fraternisation between the Press of both countries that marked our conference We recovered our faith and recharged ourselves with hope for the future We look to the Press of both countries to maintain this spirit in all that is published Let the past bury its dead Let us take charge of the future and lead our people to the promised land where all live in peace and happiness each finding his strength in the service of others

EDUCATIONAL

SIR MAURICE GWYER

President Rajendra Prasad on May 16 conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters on Sir Maurice Gwyer who had resigned the Vice Chancellorship of the Delhi University

Sir Maurice was the first Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India and held the office of the Vice Chancellor for 12 years In his letter of resignation to the Executive Council of the University which he is reported to have submitted mainly for reasons of ill health Sir Maurice said I have loved this place this tiny world of teachers and students where the future leaders of India are bred and nourished and I leave a part of myself behind me here when I say good bye

Sir Maurice was leaving for the United Kingdom after nearly 20 years stay in India

Dr Rajendra Prasad said Sir Maurice could serve as a good model for retired people in India After his retirement as the Chief Justice Sir Maurice served the cause of education for twelve years in an honorary capacity and was rightly described as the Maker of Delhi University

EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

The first meeting of the Board of United States Educational Foundation in India which met at Delhi last month discussed a programme of educational exchange under the Fulbright Agreement between the two countries

Dr Tara Chand Secretary Ministry of Education and Mr Loy W Henderson American Ambassador told the meeting that the programme of exchange would promote mutual understanding and good will between the peoples of India and United States

Mr Henderson is honorary Chairman of the Board which is composed of four Indian and four American members

Expressing the Government of India's appreciation of the generosity and wisdom of the U S Government in making the programme possible Dr Tara Chand told the Board of the widespread admiration in India for the American nation its love of liberty and equality and faith in the absolute worth of the individual

Under the Fulbright programme Dr Tara Chand hoped India would be able to take advantage of the talents so abundant in the United States But we hope it will not be one way traffic In our culture are enshrined ideas of human values which may be of service to humanity which may help in the advancement of peace tranquility and happiness and our scholars and students who will visit your shores may be missionaries of some of these ideas he added

DIPLOMA COURSE IN ARCHIVES KEEPING

The next course of the Diploma Course in Archives Keeping for (i) two years' full course in five subjects (ii) one year's short course on two subjects and (iii) six months course in Preservation methods only will commence in the National Archives of India from July 1 1950 A candidate must be an M A in History for the two years full course graduate in history for the one year's course and graduate in Chemistry for the six months course Women are eligible for training

Two stipends of Rs 100 each per month will be awarded to the best candidates selected by a written test after they have joined the training classes

The training is imparted free of charge and after completion of the courses Diplomas are awarded by the Government of India to the successful candidates

PREVENTIVE DETENTION

The Supreme Court of India declared by a majority of four to two the Central Preventive Detention Act as valid All the Judges however held that Section 14 of the Act which prohibits a detenu from disclosing his grounds of detention to a court was invalid but severable

The judgment was delivered by the court while dismissing the *habeas corpus* petition of the Madras Red detenu Mr A K Gopalan All the judges delivered separate judgments The Chief Justice Sir Harilal J Kania Mr Justice Patanjali Sastri Mr Justice B K Mookherjee and Mr Justice S R Das delivered the majority judgment

Mr Justice Fazl Ali and Mr Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan who delivered the minority judgment held that besides Section 14 Section 12 of the Preventive Detention Act was also *ultra vires* of the Constitution They accordingly ordered the release of Mr A K Gopalan

The court also dismissed two other *habeas corpus* petitions

The judgments which are the first to be delivered under Article 32 of the Constitution collectively runs into hundreds of pages and elaborately deals with the various interpretations of the articles in the fundamental rights chapter During the course of arguments in the case American and English authorities were profusely quoted while Constitutions of America United Kingdom Japan the Free City of Danzig and Australia were frequently compared in an effort to get at the true import of the wordings in the Constitution

Some of the sections of the Preventive Detention Act have been the subject of varying interpretations by different High Courts in the country and a large number of *habeas corpus* petitions are at present pending before different courts awaiting the verdict of the highest tribunal of the land on its validity

The Chief Justice Sir Harilal Kania in his judgment dealt at the outset with the broad scheme of the constitution the fundamental rights chapter and its provisions Dealing with the contention of the counsel for A K Gopalan that the court could go into the reasonableness or otherwise of the Preventive Detention Act on the ground that it took away the right of free movement and thus came under the scope of Article 19 (1) Mr Justice Kania said that Article 19 has to be read without pre conceived notions The concept of right to move freely through the territory of India provided for under Article 19 was entirely different from personal liberty The true construction of Article 19 it seems to me is that both preventive and punitive detention are outside the scope of the Article 19 Article 19 he said did not purport to cover all aspects of liberty If Article 19 was to be construed that it was the only article safeguarding personal liberty other well established rights like right to eat drink etc will not be deemed protected under the constitution

Referring to Article 21 which provides for deprivation of life or liberty only according to procedure established by law the Chief Justice held that the phrase could only mean a procedure established by State made law The only right given by Article 21 the Chief Justice said is that no person shall be deprived of his life or liberty except according to procedure established by law One may like that right to cover a larger area but to give such a right is not the function of the court It is the function of the Constitution

THE NEW CABINET

Prime Minister Nehru tendered on May 5 his resignation and those of his colleagues to the President who accepted them and at the same time appointed the Pandit as the Prime Minister of the new Council of Ministers, asking him to advise him as to the other Ministers to be appointed by him.

The new cabinet which was announced the same evening has two new members, namely, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. Hare Krishna Mehtab.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has also been invited to join the cabinet and he has agreed to do so.

The present Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers continue to hold office

Dr. John Matthai has agreed to remain in office till the end of May.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram and Mr Mohanlal Saxena have agreed to remain in office till alternative arrangements are made.

PERSONNEL OF CABINET

The President, on the advice of the Prime Minister, has appointed the following persons to be the other Ministers in the Council of Ministers:

CABINET MINISTERS

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel.
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
3. Dr. John Matthai.
4. Sardar Baldev Singh.
5. Shri Jagjivan Ram.
6. Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai.
7. Shrimati Amrit Kaur.
8. Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
9. Shri Narhar Vishnu Gadgil.
10. Shri Narasimha Gopalaswami Ayyangar.
11. Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.
12. Shri Hare Krishna Mehtab.
13. Shri Kanialal Maneki Munshi.
14. Mr. Shri Prakasa (who takes the place of Mr. S. P. Mukerji).

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh has since been appointed Finance Member in place of Dr. John Matthai.

MINISTERS OF STATE

1. Shri Charu Chandra Biswas.
2. Shri Mohanlal Saksena.
3. Shri Kasthuriranga Santhanam.
4. Shri Ranganath Ramchandra Diwakar.
5. Shri Satya Narayan Sinha.

The Prime Minister has appointed Shri Khurshed Lal and Dr. B. V. Keskar as Deputy Ministers.

INDIAN ELECTED METROPOLITAN

For the first time in the history of the Anglican Church an Indian has been elected Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon. He is the Right Reverend Aurobindo Nath Mukerji, Bishop of Delhi, who has been acting Metropolitan since May 1, when Dr. George Hubback retired and left India.

Rev. Mukerji, says a Calcutta correspondent, was unanimously elected at a joint meeting of the House of Bishops and the electoral body of the Diocese of Calcutta held at St. Paul's Cathedral.

The House of Bishops comprises Bishops of Delhi, Rangoon, Colombo, Bombay, Nagpur, Chotanagpur, Nasik, Lahore, Bhagalpore Assam and Kurunegala. The electoral body consists of nine clergy and nine laity.

THE PRAKASAM CONTROVERSY

The three month-old controversy in the Madras Congress was brought practically to an end on May 3, when the Congress Working Committee decided that the notices of disciplinary action against the former Premier of Madras, Mr. T. Prakasam and his fourteen associates in the Madras Legislature might be withdrawn.

The decision follows Mr. Prakasam's assurance to "abide by the advice tendered by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel."

TRADE AND FINANCE

NEW FINANCE MINISTER

The appointment of Sir Chintaman Deshmukh as Finance Minister in succession to Dr John Matthai has been well received Business circles in Bombay and the Stock Exchange in particular have expressed satisfaction that he would not try with ideas of nationalisation or follow a policy which would drive the investor into despair

Sir Chintaman they say has clear cut views on questions of foreign exchange sterling balances and controls with which circles in the City and Stock Exchange are in full agreement The general feeling is that the finances of the country are in safe hand

Cambridge educated 54 year old Sir Chintaman is universally accepted as one of the topmost experts in finance in the country He was known to have greatly impressed Sir Otto Niemeyer during his enquiry into the allocation of the income tax divisible pool in 1935

As the first Indian Governor of the Reserve Bank of India he introduced numerous reforms in the Bank's working Finding the need for a body of experts he developed the present Department of Research and Statistics and also initiated the practice of giving a full picture of the country's economy at the Reserve Bank's annual meetings

INDIA'S TRADE WITH DOLLAR AREA

Indian High Commissioner Mr Krishna Menon speaking at a banquet by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce in connection with the British Industries Fair said that India now had a favourable balance of trade with the dollar area and added I think we shall continue to have it

Pointing out that despite all the difficulties the Sterling Area was the most extensive and the strongest fiscal group in the world he declared that while our bounden duty is to raise the standard of life of our people we have sufficient wisdom to realise that we cannot live improvidently We have, therefore performed in the last three years our duty to the Sterling Area '

Britain and India were both members of the Sterling Area and the ability to bridge the dollar gap and the balance of payments was equally India's problem in relation to its capacity

We have kept faith with you on the problem of devaluation without asking any questions We believe we did that in your interests as in ours and in the interests of the economic stability of the world ' he said

Sir Cecil Weir Chairman and Chief Executive of the British Dollar Exports Board said Britain had almost entirely filled the new dollar gap created by devaluation

NATIONAL SAVINGS

Mr N V Gadgil India's Minister for Works Mines and Power warned people that if enough savings did not come forth through their voluntary efforts the Government would have to use compulsion just as during the war they resorted to conscription when enough recruits did not volunteer to join the armed forces

Mr Gadgil who was inaugurating the National Savings Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition at Sangli said that the national savings movement was a front in the fight against poverty shortages of essential commodities and illiteracy which the Government had launched with the object of changing the economic structure of society He made it clear that the Government aimed at reducing the present economic inequality and were against the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few

If every one decided to save one day's pay in a month Mr Gadgil added the problem of capital would be solved to a great extent

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Britain has informed the International Labour Office that the present circumstances made it impossible to apply an international convention, designed to guarantee equal pay for men and women for work of equal value.

The British Government was replying to a questionnaire sent out by the International Labour Organisation, in which the Organisation had asked the Governments of the 60 member States to make known their views on the question of equal pay for women, which is to be discussed at the forthcoming I.L.O General Conference in June.

Eleven countries, Austria, Belgium Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Israel, Mexico, Philippines, Poland and Turkey have informed the I.L.O. that they would support the adoption of such a convention.

Nine other Governments, Argentina, Canada, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands Pakistan, Sweden, Switzerland and Syria, have expressed themselves in favour of adopting a less binding recommendation.

A PRINCESS' DOWRY

Fortyseven favourite maid servants who accompany the bride according to Marwari custom formed part of the dowry given by the Maharaja of Jodhpur on the occasion of the marriage of his sister Princess Rajendra Kunwar Bai to the Yuvraj of Baroda.

Other items in the dowry were an elephant, 17 horses, five motor cars, an ice factory, armoury, huge silver bath tubs and jewellery, all worth some 15 lakhs of rupees.

The Maharaja's mother showered Rs. 10,000 in cash when the groom alighted at the main fort entrance. The groom's arrival was heralded by a 31-gun salute.

ABOLITION OF DOWRY

The Bihar Dowry Restraint Bill, a non-official one, which was moved by Srimati Sundari Devi (Congress), seeks to provide for restraining the taking or giving of dowry in marriages in the State of Bihar and was adopted by the Bihar Assembly.

One provision of the Bill, as amended by the select Committee, laid down that the Act would apply in the first instance to Hindus, Jains, and Sikhs, but that 'the State Government may by notification, direct that it will apply to members of any other community.'

The penal provision of the Bill lays down that any person who takes dowry will, on conviction, be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine, which may extend to the amount or value of the dowry taken, or with both.

Any person, who gives dowry or abets the taking or giving of dowry, will, on conviction, be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine, which may extend to Rs. 1,000 or both.

The offence of taking, giving or abetting the taking or giving of dowry have been made non-cognisable under the Bill.

AMRIT KAUR

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Minister of Health, has been unanimously elected President of the World Health Organisation for the coming year.

MRS. HANNAH SEN

Mrs. Hannah Sen, (India) was elected one of the two vice-chairmen of the U.N. Women's Status Commission. The chairman of the commission is Mrs. Isabel de Urdaneta of Venezuela elected.

GENERAL

PENSION INSURANCE P F SCHEME

The combined Pension cum Provident Fund cum Insurance Scheme for superior Government servants in lieu of the existing Pension System, has been introduced by the Madras Government with effect from April 1, 1950 Government servants who have put in 10 years of permanent service and above will continue under the existing pension system The new scheme will be compulsory for all new entrants

The salient features of the new scheme are

Pension for persons coming under the new scheme will be one half of the present scale (i e, one fourth of the average emoluments as defined under Article 467 Civil Service Regulations) and the reduction in pension (as compared with the existing scale) will be made up by Government contribution to a contributory fund at the rate of 9 pies in the rupee of the actual pay drawn by Government servants from time to time Government servants should contribute at least one anna in the rupee to the Provident Fund

Government servants under the new scheme should insure their lives with Postal Life Insurance or with private Companies for the minimum amounts specified below

Superior Government servants on a pay of less than Rs 45—Rs 500, those on a pay of Rs 45 and above, but not exceeding Rs 90—Rs 1 000, those on a pay of Rs 90 and above, but not exceeding Rs 150—Rs 2 000, Those drawing Rs 150 and above but not exceeding Rs 250—Rs 3 000, Those drawing Rs 250 and upto Rs 500—Rs 5 000

"The question of introducing a suitable scheme on somewhat similar lines for inferior Government servants the Government Order states, will be considered in due course after sufficient experience has been gained in the working of the new scheme"

A CODE FOR JOURNALISTS

The United Nations Sub Commission on Freedom of Information and the Press meeting at Montevideo has approved a four point code of professional ethics for journalists

It condemns the taking of bribes, publication of false news, defamation and the publication of news about the private lives of individuals which may prejudice their reputation except when the public interest demands"

The text of the code itself is as follows

(1) Every person entrusted with obtaining transmitting diffusing or commenting on news must endeavour to secure that news received by the public is accurate corresponding to facts and objective Doubtful news must be verified and must not be twisted in any fact, nor must any fundamental fact be omitted

No news item must be published which is known to be false, nor must any part be taken in its publication'

(2) (*a*) Personal interest must not alter professional conduct It is forbidden to suborn by publishing or suppressing news which constitutes one of the most serious professional crimes,

(*b*) Calumny, libel, defamation, unfounded accusations and plagiarism are also grave crimes

(*c*) When published information proves to be inaccurate it must be rectified voluntarily and at once

(*d*) Rumours and unconfirmed news must be presented and treated as such

(3) (*a*) Every person entrusted with obtaining transmitting diffusing or commenting on news must so act as to preserve public confidence and the integrity and dignity of his profession and must so act that his professional capacity may not be exploited for bad ends

(*b*) He assumes full responsibility for all information and commentaries which are published

(*c*) He must respect the reputation of every individual, and must not publish news relating to their private lives which may prejudice their reputation, except when the public interest so demands

(*d*) He will observe the greatest discretion in respect of sources of origin, and news disclosed in confidence Professional secrecy must be respected

(4) 'Every person entrusted with obtaining news about a country other than his own or with expressing opinions of news must so act as to gain the necessary knowledge for accuracy and objectivity in such news'

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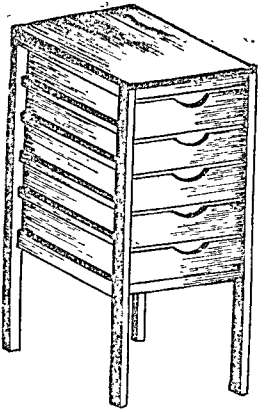
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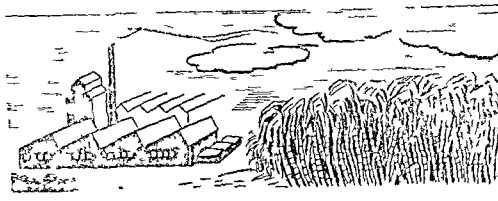
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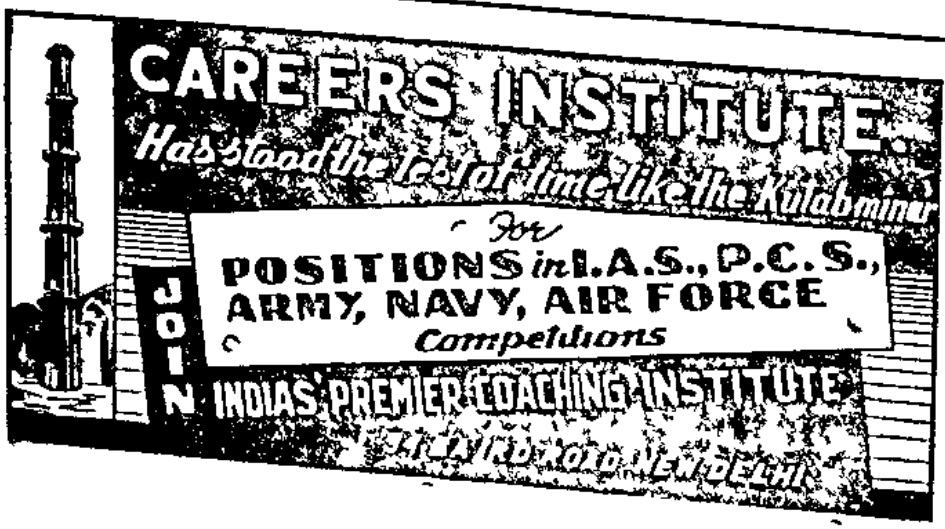
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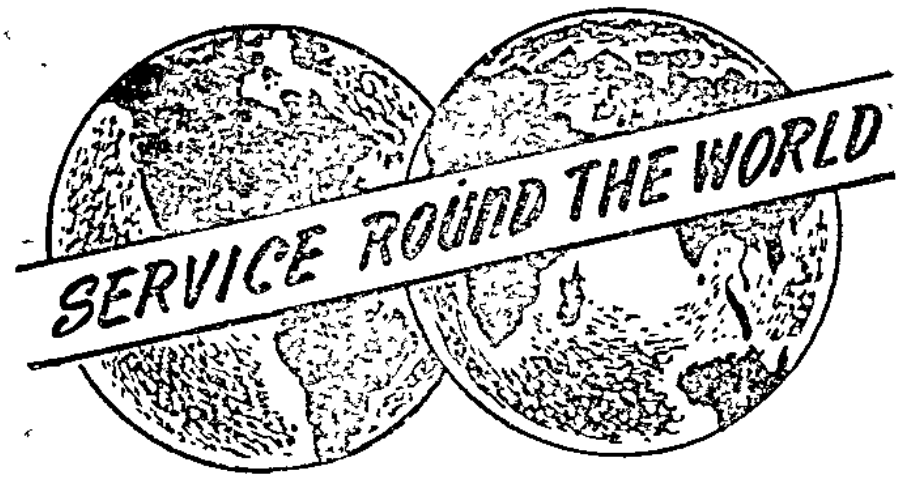
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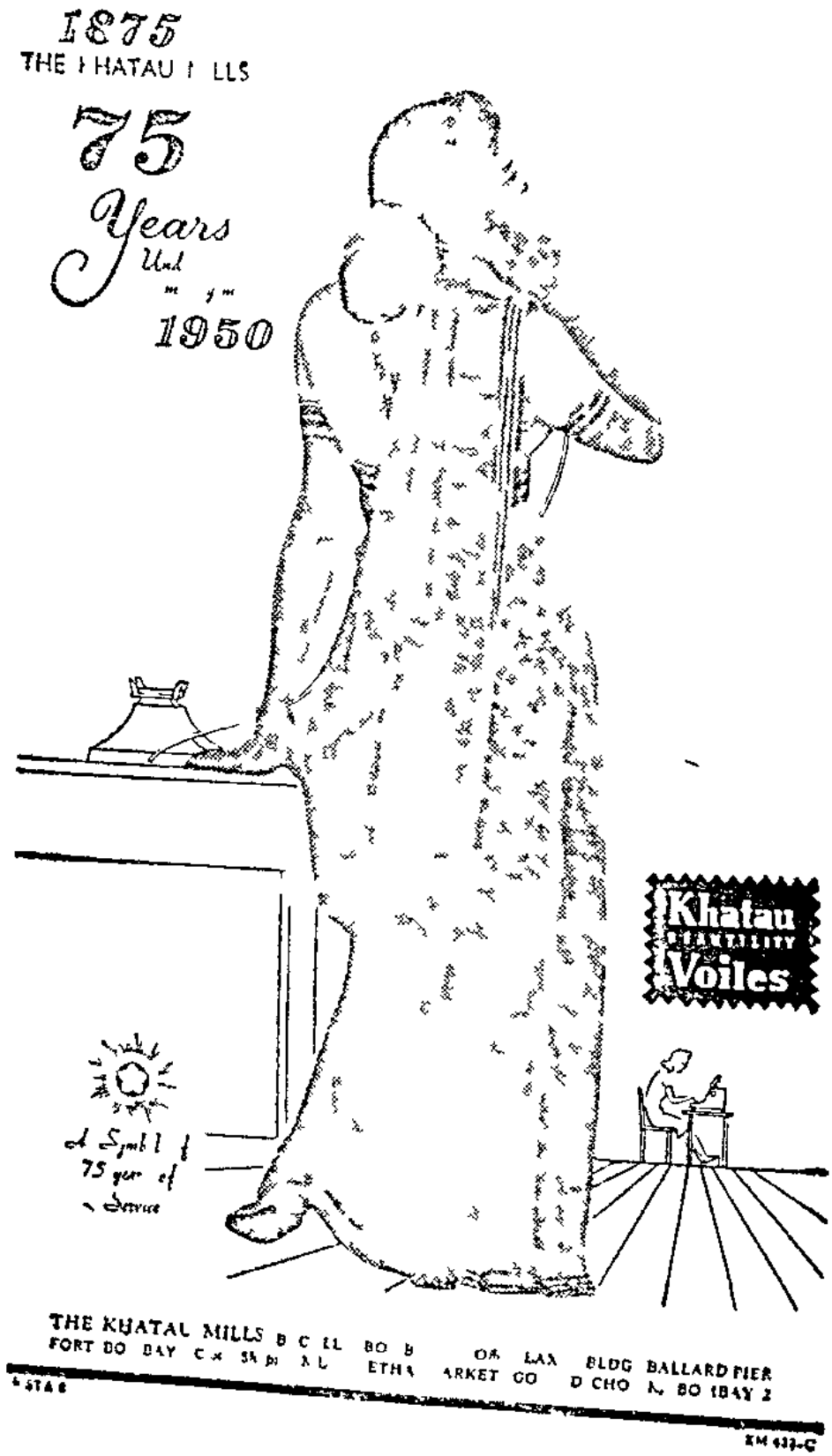
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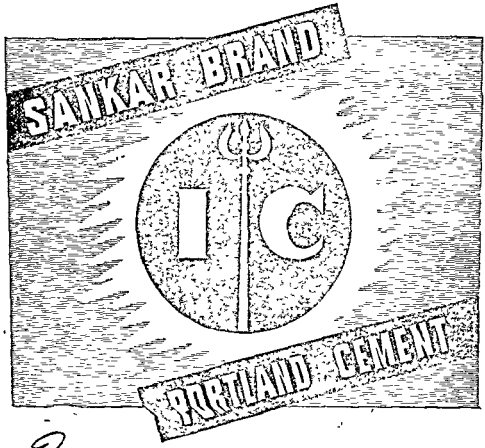
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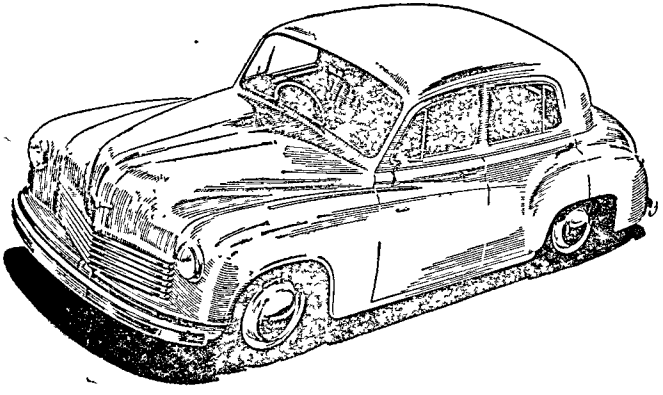
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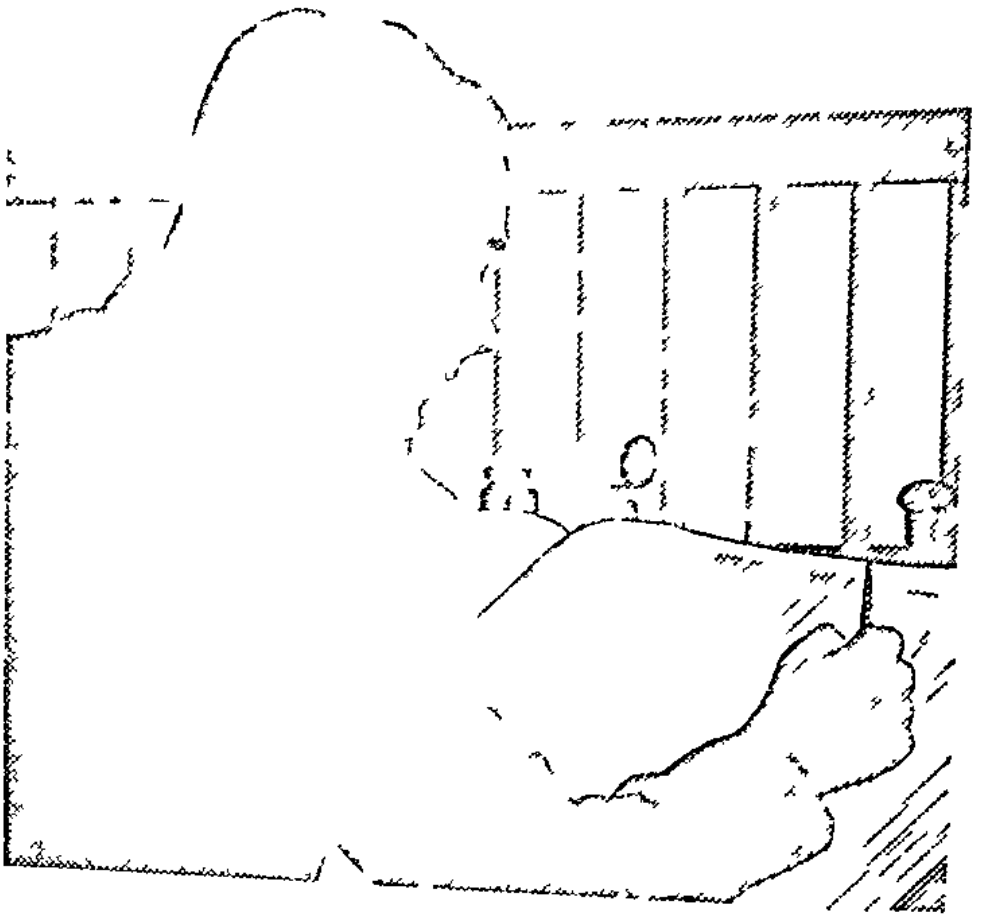
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A PEEP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

EVEN before I left Delhi, I had tried very hard to obtain the necessary visa for the U.S.S.R. An approach to the Russian Embassy through the Government of India was not at all found to be helpful. Under the circumstances, I decided to approach the Russian officers directly through the Travel Agency. On filling up the required application form which was in the nature of a long questionnaire, the Russian Consul wanted me and my wife to submit detailed biographies together with the complete set of books which I had written. This order was also complied with, although quite reluctantly. But I would suggest that those friends who require an occasion to write their autobiographies could easily get one by sending an application to the Soviet Embassy for a visa.

The Russian authorities at Delhi assured me that our application would be considered sympathetically, although the ultimate decision lay in the hands of Moscow. They asked for a copy of our itinerary of the world tour and promised to send the reply as early as possible, if possible by cable. And so we kept on enquiring throughout the tour at different centres of the Russian Embassy, first in Washington, then in London and subsequently at Paris, Berne, Berlin, Prague and Rome. But to no avail. The Russian Consuls would neither say 'yes' nor 'no'. So one has to wait endlessly, for the reply never comes. Only hundred per cent 'safe' persons are allowed to cross the Iron Curtain.

Although it was, after all, not possible to visit the U. S. S. R, we were fortunate in being able to obtain the visa for Czechoslovakia which is now completely behind the Iron Curtain. The existing Government at Prague is still called a Coalition or National government, but the fact remains that it is fully in the hands of the Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Klement Gottwald, the President of the Republic. In every office, public institution or even a shop, one would almost inevitably notice the twin photographs of Stalin and Gottwald on the walls side by side. All the book-shops are full of "red" literature; the picture houses and theatres can display hardly anything that is not red. The price of evincing any difference with the "red" regime is persecution, imprisonment and finally death.

Ever since the enactment of the new Constitution of May 9, 1948, the Communist Government in Czechoslovakia has been systematically following its "red" policy with an iron hand. All the palaces

castles of dukes and millionaires have been confiscated, or in the Communist phraseology, 'nationalised', they have been handed over either to Trade Unions or to the Writers' Associations or are being used as Government offices Art Galleries or Museums All the important factories in the countries have been 'nationalised' without any compensation whatever The big shops are being taken over gradually according to a definite schedule The capitalists and moneyed persons have no place in social life many of them have escaped to the neighbouring countries leaving all their immovable property behind To give a pathetic example the person who was working as a chauffeur of the Indian Ambassador in Prague was in the previous regime a successful businessman possessing seven or eight cars himself As they say, even walls have ears and if you talk ill of Communists even in your private room, the 'Reds' would suddenly come down on you the next morning But I must admit I was allowed to talk quite freely in Czechoslovakia and my public lectures in Prague, despite the summer vacations, were quite well attended I discussed Capitalism, Communism and Gandhism without any fear or favour and even the officers of the Government showed great interest in Indian culture particularly the Gandhian ideals

Whatever we might say against the Communists, we have to admit the fact that they are very systematic and thorough in their work and administration As soon as they capture power their set programme is launched immediately on all fronts They are specially careful in overhauling the entire educational system from top to bottom After the Cottwald regime the children of Czechoslovakia receive a 'unified education in state schools and technical institutions All the schools are run directly by the State there is no room for private institutions The curriculum is uniform the text books are prescribed by the Department of Education no variations of any sort are permitted I could see how text books on even mathematics and science were being censored by the Education Ministry with dark and black ink It was evident that Communist regime did not like to take any risks I was informed that about 8 000 young students had been thrown out of the schools and colleges because they were supposed to belong to the bourgeois class About 100 professors had been 'chucked off' for the same reason 'Political education', which is another name for Communism had been made compulsory for all students and even professors besides the writers novelists artists and editors

The policy of economic planning was being enthusiastically implemented in the form of a Five Year Plan which was being displayed in the form of Posters at almost every street corner The aim of the Plan was 'to raise the standard of living of all sections of the working population" The means to achieve this objective lay in 'raising the productivity of labour' The consequences of the Plan will be 'the restriction of remaining capitalist elements and their elimination from all sectors of national economy" The Plan made it clear to all the people that 'to accept American loans means, in effect to become a vassal of American capital, and of American capitalists' Therefore the only path open to them was 'to finance the expansion of our economy with our own labour, our own financial resources, that is our own savings, and sacrifices,"

As regards the organization of labour, on May 16, 1946, the United Trade Union Organization Act was issued under which the Czechoslovakian working people were to have one, unified Trade Union without any rivals. The function of this Organization was "to guide its members in such a way as to enable them best to fulfil their tasks in the people's democracy and to ensure to workers a share in the construction and management of cultural and social facilities." It was claimed that 75 per cent of all employed persons in the country were associated in the Unified Trade Union movement. The Government claims to have wiped out the curse of unemployment and abolished the sight of beggars or tramps. I was given to understand that, in the beginning, the workers in industry were very enthusiastic about the new Communist regime because they received a number of facilities in the factories in addition to a certain amount of share in profits and the management. But, gradually, a brake had naturally to be applied to their unlimited demands because the new Government had to lower costs of production in order to be able to complete in the international markets. At present, the Secretary-General of the Trade Unions is also the Minister for Labour so that he, as the Trade Union leader, would forward no proposals to the Government for acceptance about the urgent need and propriety of which he himself was not fully convinced. According to the Act, it is illegal to go on a strike; any indiscipline is rigorously dealt with by the police and the military. Despite all these strict provisions in the industrial organization of the country, it is very significant to know that the volume of production in the nationalised industries had a tendency to go down: the cost of production was slowly going up. The plans of International Trade, therefore, were being seriously dislocated and this was a source of constant headache to the Cottwald Government. Recently a number of state managers of factories had to be turned out as corrupt and incompetent.

Communism, in this manner, ultimately leads to totalitarianism and regimentation of the masses in order to survive. The profit motive in industry is replaced by the fear complex and individual freedom or initiative evaporates into thin air. It is difficult to answer the question whether the ordinary people in Czechoslovakia were satisfied with the existing Government. In fact, nobody is prepared to speak out his mind to any body else for fear of being persecuted and harassed. So the Communist regime has turned into a huge steam-roller relentlessly crushing down all elements of opposition.

The above is a peep behind the Iron Curtain. Although we could not pierce the Curtain, we had the real satisfaction of witnessing Communism in action in this land of the Czechs. I have no love for the capitalistic system; it is a monstrous economic organization in which there is respect for money and not for man. But, I frankly admit that the Communist system based on violence and extreme regimentation is also not worthy of respect and admiration. Between the two 'isms' Mahatma Gandhi's ideology of decentralization and bread-labour offers the most satisfactory solution of our present day economic ills.

Sydney Conference and Spender Plan

By Mr KAILASH CHANDRA

At the Conference of Colombo in January Mr Percy Spender the Australian External Affairs Minister had thrown out a suggestion that for peace and orderly conditions in South and South East Asia substantial economic aid to proverty stricken backward tracts of those regions was a condition precedent It was then suggested that a Commonwealth body should be established to work out a plan for South and South East Asia to prevent it from falling into chaos and extending a tempting invitation to Communist imperialism The Colombo Conference had ultimately to recognise that merely armed assistance could ill afford to check the onslaught of the Communist tide The political storm that had eclipsed many vast Asian countries and the resultant revolution in one of the most extensive countries of the Far East made them painfully conscious of the alarming situation That sooner or later the smaller south eastern countries of Asia might fall in the intri guing meshes of the Communist net did not seem to them a very distant probability Earth has been slipping under their feet since then and in desperation they have once again clung to the same experiment of economic aid which has proved its worth in the Continental Countries of Europe The Spender Plan is nothing more or less than Marshal Plan for the East the only distinction of significance being that the United States is not a direct participant in its deliberations which is technically speaking restricted to the Commonwealth Countries But the new world has vital economic stakes in the problems of the South and South East Asia Disruption in the East is fraught with sinister consequences for the West Western statesmen have come to realise that defeat on one front is defeat on entire front They know that the triumph of Communist Imperialism in South and South East Asia shall be driving last but one if not the last nail in the coffin of western Capitalistic system

In his Francisco speech Mr Dean Acheson the United States Foreign Secretary made it therefore clear that the Commonwealth Countries might reckon upon American participation in any large scale aid which would help to rehabilitate Asian economy Only yesterday The Big Three Foreign Ministers meeting at London declared in unequivocal terms that they would encourage and support the emerging independent nations of South East Asia They showed anxious concern for the abysmally low standard of living in South eastern regions and decided to coordinate their efforts to prevent the smuggling of arms into the area and to take every opportunity of exposing the aims and methods of Communist Imperialism which whilst pretending to encourage nationalist movements is in fact seeking only to control and exploit them for expansionist policies The Colombo Conference therefore had resulted in a loan to Burma of £6 Millions subscribed to by the Commonwealth countries The Commonwealth Conference at Sydney which had at first shown signs of dissensions on the question of immediate or long range aid agreed at last on a compromise plan for a fund of about 8 million sterling to give technical aid to needy countries But from what agencies the aid is to emanate and what proportion has been

assigned to each participant nation, remain still as vague and unexplained as ever. The object, with which the Sydney Conference has been called is an open secret. The political reason is too clear to need any explanation. The cold war in Europe and the Foreign Ministers Conferences, speak for themselves the strained condition of international politics. The economic reason was clearly placed before the world by the leader of the Indian Delegation, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who told the conference that in an interdependent world like the present, the abysmally low standard of living of such neighbouring regions as in South and South east Asia, was likely to drag the economies of other countries down to the same level. Starvation and poverty to day are the biggest problems of Asian Countries. The South and South east Asia is not only threatened with political disruption but also an economic collapse. Fear is gaining ground every day that this infection might not permeate the neighbouring regions of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. The standard of living in these countries is already alarmingly low and the germs of this infection have all possibilities of getting a nourishing diet there to spread death and devastation all around. When once the cycle of this economic malaise begins, it shall be impossible to stop it. Matters have already reached such a head that any further complacency might hasten the impending catastrophe. The Spender Plan is merely a recognition of this impending crisis. The postwar world has unleased forces, which have been consistently increasing the degree of economic chaos. The strains of war have left scars, which have shown no signs of recovery. And when the scratch becomes septic, the ointment cure has to be discarded for a surgical operation. The condition in South and South East Asia has deteriorated in the intervening years beyond all proportions. The urgency of task therefore has become all the more pronounced. The progress of the Sydney Conference cannot be said to be satisfactory in proportion to the vastness of the problems, which stare in its face for an immediate solution. Signs are wanting that the world has embarked on its way to prosperity. The dreadful poverty and rapidly sinking economy of the major portion of the globe, has put the prosperity of prosperous nations in jeopardy. The days of the stage coach and the candle light, when every country was a world unto herself have long flown away. Probably that is the inevitable curse of an interdependent world.

On the problem of finances, there hangs a huge question mark. At the conference in Sydney another long-term aid plan of £15 million has been discussed in addition to the £8 million which the conference agreed to devote to immediate technical aid, but a decision has been deferred, until the next conference of the Commonwealth consultative Committee in London in September. But from what channels are the finances to be accumulated to feed the starving populations of the unhappy regions? The aid envisaged by the conference is likely to fall far short of the huge amount necessary for raising the living standard of South East Asian peoples to a level high enough to meet the challenge of the Communist appeal. Communism is presently knocking at their doors, while the aid cannot be expected

to be given before June 6th, when the seven countries would be able to say, how much they could each contribute to the long term scheme It looks as funny as the tragic condition of a bedridden patient taking his last gasps of breath and the physician sending medicines a fortnight afterwards when all is finished

India Pakistan and Ceylon none of them are capable of providing substantial economic assistance Man thinks of charity when his own stomach is full and even when he is free from anxieties of tomorrow It is as much true of the nations as of individuals India and Pakistan have stupendous problems to tackle The standard of living in the two countries is dreadfully low Poverty there has made a skeleton of an average man Ceylon's resources are extremely limited Heavy capital commitments would be a great strain on these countries There is a view that this would eventually be more than 'offset' by an enormously increased flow of trade and greater productivity as a result of the development of mechanised agriculture hydro electric schemes and improved irrigation transport and communication facilities under the long term plan But little consideration has been given that all these wild cat schemes shall take at least a quarter of a century to materialise and whether these countries shall be able to withstand the strains of their sinking economy during that long period is filled with serious misgivings The smaller countries of South and South East Asia have limited scope of mischief But if once the economy of India or Pakistan collapses it shall be extremely difficult even for the enormous resources of all the world combined to avoid chaos and confusion in the East Turmoil in east shall have dire repercussions on the west which might imperil world stability once again It is unfortunate that the conference has made no attempt to assess the total cost of such undertakings, which would obviously involve 'huge outlays' The response of other countries has not been very encouraging The New Zealand delegate agreed that if Communist encroachment is to be halted by other than military means all the countries of the world must concentrate on lifting the standard of living and putting an end to poverty which exists on a mass scale in so many parts of Asia But New Zealand's heavy financial commitments for defence, told the delegate, made it impossible for her to do more than offer technical and skilled assistance in seeking to solve the problem The New Zealand Government's attitude cannot be better described than a lip sympathy Canada is equally indifferent to the urgency of the problem in South and South East Asia The plea that Canada has important obligations under the Atlantic Pact, but that it does not intend to overlook her responsibilities in other portions of the globe, shows no more than a half hearted desire to help the poverty ridden regions It is clear that it is only the dread of Communism that has huddled them together and not a sincere yearning to improve the lot of a suffering humanity

Economic planning in South and South East Asia is no holiday undertaking The delegates at Sydney are happily alive to this problem 'It will be quickly recognised said the Australian External Affairs Minister that 'planning for a region so diverse as South and South

East Asia will not be easy." The leader of the British delegation, Lord Macdonald, also voiced the same view, when he told the conference that economic planning, in South East Asia will be a very difficult task. The South and the South East Asian countries have constantly been backward, raw material producing regions untouched by scientific civilisation, they have not the ghost of an experience of industrialisation. They have never been given lessons in the virtues of self dependence by colonising powers for reasons both political and economic In a world making rapid strides they had been forced to live in days reminiscent of the middle ages. The difficulties, which are now mocking in their face are in a way of their own making. They have now to pay for the sins they had committed in the past. The success of the Marshall Plan in Western Europe was ensured for similar reasons. With the exception of a temporary dislocation in their industrial system, when the world war intervened, the west European Countries had an unbroken tradition of industrialisation, and a considerable knowledge of its problems. Their recovery therefore was a short-term affair. Things are hopelessly and entirely different in other portions of the Globe.

The Sydney Conference has failed to realise that orderly and peaceful conditions are a condition precedent for any economic aid to be effective. Financial help in a state of political turmoil is apt to give stimulus to disruptive forces, that are constantly at work, and channel these resources to ends for which they had never been meant. Instances of this kind have not been wanting. Millions of dollars in the shape of Marshall Aid to Holland and France were wantonly squandered for successive years on the fields of Indonesia and Indo China. Malaya and Indo China happen to be the pivot of the Communist strategy to-day. Nothing can be more unrealistic and fantastic than the belief that development work can be carried on, while the country is torn with political chaos and a precarious economy. It is as if putting the cart before the horse.

It is a sad commentary on the work of the Sydney Conference that it has wantonly ignored these vital factors and has failed to take warning from problems which it knows shall ultimately wreck its work. The buoyancy and optimism with which the conference has carried on its work has been laudable. The magnitude of the task has been realised by every participant country but little practical work has been done which might have gone in removing the obstacles. An undercurrent of scepticism is gaining ground everywhere. It remains a painful truth that the chances of the success of the Spender Plan are only slender. But it may be premature to prophesy at this stage Hope is pinned on the Commonwealth Conference scheduled to be held at London, where finally finishing touches are to be given to the talks begun at Colombo and carried on at Sydney. The Asian people are anxious meanwhile as to what cat comes out of the Commonwealth bag this time, when they meet next at the United Kingdom capital. Their destiny hangs on the outcome of the London Conference.

The Constitution of the Indian Republic

By Pri Ghat Sri Ram Sharma

o

THE constitution of India took more than three years in its formation As finally published it runs into 251 pages as against 211 pages of the first draft and 229 pages of the revised draft Compared with certain other constitutions it seems to be a very comprehensive document The constitution of the United States would run to only 50 such pages that of Ireland covers about the same the most recent of the written constitution that of Ceylon does not exceed 150 pages

The reason is not far to seek Neither Ceylon nor Ireland are federations The United States was the first of the modern federations but its constitution concerns itself only with the federal government and leaves the constitutions of the state severely alone Further the United States took over a going concern and along with it the English common law and English constitutional precedents as well Rather fortunately it was laconic in many of its provisions making it possible for the seven good men and true—judges of the Supreme Court—later on to graft on to it their own ideas of social needs It left many important questions undecided The constitution did not entrust the task of its interpretation to the Supreme Court It did not originally contain the Bill of Rights and even when it did the rights were supposed to be secured against the federal *government* alone If the constitution of the United States runs to only 50 pages the annotated edition published under the authority of the Senate covers over 2500 pages

But it will have to be admitted that the of India does not only cover the distribution of powers and the organization of various supreme authorities in the State it makes detailed arrangements in several matters of lesser importance as well It may be argued that it would have been possible for the Constituent Assembly to draft several documents including a Constitution of India Organic Laws of the Republic Constitutions of its member states and one or more measures on organization of the various sides of the administration The splitting up of the present document into several would not have made much difference except to make some of its provisions easily amendable This the constitution does prevent by making most of its provisions of this nature subject to change by a two third vote of both the houses of Parliament Of course it may be argued that there are certain provisions in the constitution which as ordinary laws elsewhere are subject to change by a bare majority Only the actual working of the constitution would reveal whether here in India as well these matters should have been better left to be decided by a similar majority As things stand at present it cannot be asserted that the inclusion of such matters as the election of the Speaker the taking of oath by the members of the legislatures the organization of the Public Service Commissions or of subordinate judiciary will result in making the working of the Government any the more difficult than it need otherwise have been

But there are historical reasons which account for the inordinate length of the constitution The constituent Assembly

was called to enact the constitution only If it had made a distinction between the constitution of India proper and other matters now covered by the Constitution its right to determine what was not a part of the Constitution of India could have been easily questioned In including these matters it does not perpetuate a fraud on the people It simply continues the tradition set up by the Government of India Act 1915 and followed later on in 1919 and 1935 Nobody expected it to leave those matters alone for the simple reason that no Government could have been called to assume office in republican India unless other relevant matters had been decided India could ill afford to be preoccupied by the constitutional problem for years to come deciding administrative principles leisurely For another thing India has tried to learn from the experience of other countries If today the President of the United States is not elected in the way the founding fathers believed he should be elected the framers of India's constitution left the obsolete fiction and tried to tread on the more solid ground of fact The constitution of the United States has been growing because the Supreme Court has almost by a fiction used certain phrases in it in a way the framers never dreamt they could be used The constitution in certain respects is just the opposite of what it says it is The members of the Constituent Assembly saw no reason to borrow fictions from elsewhere when it was not clear that the attempt to square them with facts would take the same course it did elsewhere They straightway decided that the constitutions elsewhere should be taken to be what *in fact* they are They were setting up a constitution in 1950 and saw no reason to copy the language of a past age

But as it is the constitution of India does not make provision for all matters it deals with The acts of the British parliament dealing with distribution of seats are usually supposed to be a part of the British constitution The constitution of India contains no such provisions The privileges of the members of the legislature have again formed the bulwark of the English constitution it has thrived on them The Constitution of India declares that the privileges of members of the legislature in India are what they happen to be in Great Britain till Indian Legislatures make provision otherwise Reverting to Indian practices the Supreme Court has inherited all the functions of the Federal Court set up under the Government of India Act 1935 The existing rights and privileges of the Public Servants belonging to All India Services are guaranteed These will have to be searched for not only in the Government of India Act of 1919 and 1935 but also in the several decisions rendered by the Secretary of State in Council The agreements concluded with the rulers of princely India about their own status their privy purse and other sundry matters are all parts of the constitution The legislatures work under the old standing orders and rules of business as modified by the Speakers of the various Assemblies and Presidents of the Legislative Councils The adoptation of Legislation order passed by the President is a substantial part of the constitution Allowances to Governors have been laid down by another notification The Deshmukh award on the division of Income Tax between various states governs the resources of the v

states as much as the clauses of the constitution laying down the sources of income of the states of the Union The Preventive Detention Act passed by Parliament defines fundamental rights by delimiting them but secures those that are left in fact The Supreme Court has by its recent ruling opened a new chapter in the history of India by taking charge of the liberties of the people

No constitution is a static thing least of all the Indian constitution wherein many lacuna have yet to be filled The people here as in other countries are true guardians of the constitution What use they make of their stewardship will ultimately decide what form the constitution of India ultimately takes It establishes a liberal democracy to day Let us hope that democracy will become a live thing of faith in India and liberty will grow from more to more with every new precedent

The Indian constitution like the constitution of most other countries of the world with a written constitution cannot be traced in one document alone The process of judicial interpretation has already started and the judges may in India, as in the United States in the guise of interpreting it import their own meanings into the written document An attempt has been made in India to restrict the scope of judicial interpretation by providing for various types of contingencies in the constitution

Though written, the Indian constitution is not as rigid as the constitution of the United States Amendment of the constitution can be effected in various ways A resolution of the Council of States passed by a majority of two thirds of members present and voting can temporarily transfer in national interest, a subject from the jurisdiction of the states to that of the Union The relations between the Union and the states, the allocation of subjects between the two, the organization or powers of the Supreme Court and the High Court the method of election of the President the representation of states in Parliament and the methods of amending the constitution can only be modified if the proposals for amendment are first accepted by two thirds of the members of the two houses of parliament present voting and are subsequently ratified by at least the legislatures of one half of the states Amendment of other provisions of the Constitution has only to receive the approval of two thirds of the members of both the houses of legislature Certain other changes in the present organization of the government may be carried into effect by Acts of the Union The territories of a state can be thus added to or reduced, new units of the federation can thus be created The power given to the Union to take over the administration of a state by a fiat of the executive of the Union is almost tantamount to an amendment of the constitution—the state will be governed during the emergency thus proclaimed in a way radically different from the one prevailing in other units Thus the constitution is in parts highly flexible more flexible in fact than even the English constitution In other parts it is almost as rigid as the constitution of the United States

The constitution sets up a parliamentary form of government under a President This makes some of its provisions unreal, the constitution using some of the fictions which have served the English Constitution so well All orders of the Union Government would run in the name of the President that of the Governments of the states

would emanate from the governors or the Raja-pramukhs.

The Indian Constitution is federal though its federalism does not follow the United States pattern. But in a rapidly expanding world heading towards total destruction or a world state, federalism of the United States type is already obsolete even in the United States. The Indian Constitution splits a unitary state into a federation in a country where particularist danger has always been very real and very much present. No wonder then that it clothes the federal government with all the powers which federal governments elsewhere have enjoyed in practice, notwithstanding the constitution. In fact it endows the central government with powers which a federal government one day may need under the rapidly changing circumstances of to day.

The Indian Constitution follows the English precedent in establishing the rule of law rather than set up administrative law and administrative tribunals as in France. It makes no distinction between an ordinary citizen and a public servant in their accountability at law. The public servants are granted no immunities as such though the citizens are placed at a disadvantage against them by its being criminal, as in Great Britain, to thwart a public servant in the execution of his duties

The Indian Constitution sets up a full-blooded democracy giving every adult of both sexes the vote. In distributing representation it follows a coherent pattern by relating representation to population. The constituencies will be usually single-members, the elections will be decided by a majority vote as in Great Britain. Most of the legislatures in the states have only one house, the federal legislature at present is unicameral though ultimately as the legislature of a federation it will consist of two houses. The legislative councils in the Uttra Pradesh, Bengal, Madras and Bombay have not served any useful purpose during the last thirteen years and may disappear soon after the first general election under the new constitution.

The directive principles enunciated in the constitution if and when followed should turn India into a social democracy. Steps towards diminishing class differences have already been taken by abolishing the princely order, out-lawing untouchability, banning titles and in several states terminating zamindaries and jagirs. Not much headway has been made towards Nationalizing means of production. The constitution recognizes a mixed economy in existence with salt, opium, railway, telegraph, telephones and broad-casting already as state concern. The example of Mysore may soon be followed in setting up several other industries with the state as a substantial partner.

It is a brave experiment India has embarked on. She lacks experience. Her 'new masters' have still to be educated. Her voters, legislators and ministers are all new to the immense task which they have assumed. Her hopes lie in her leaders most of whom possess a living faith in the democratic way of life. Therein lies hope for democracy.

RELATIVE TALK

A young woman was extremely vain of the honours conferred upon two distant male relatives. She talked on the subject to all and sundry: "I have two relatives in the House of Lords. Have you any?"

"No," replied one of her acquaintances, "but I have three maiden aunts in the Kingdom of Heaven."

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW*

By Mr V KRISHNA RAO

A fury was let loose in Ireland in 1856 The world christened him Bernard Shaw He has since grown into a legend He has been hailed as super man He has been denounced as a curse he has been tolerated as a freak Any way he has filled the world with the presence for the best part of a century, and has been demonstrative in every field of intellectual activity He has been volcanic in his eruptions and many are the persons and institutions that have been scorched by his lava The crater is not yet extinct You hear the rumblings of it yet at Ayot St Lawrence Herts

Shaw was born at Dublin on the 26th of July 1856 His father George Carr Shaw, was for sometime employed in the Dublin Corn Exchange where he does not appear to have come by any prosperity His mother Lucinda Elizabeth Gurly was the daughter of a landed proprietor in County Carlow Three children were born of them—two daughters and a son—Lucinda Frances, Elinor Agnes and Bernard Shaw Shaw has always felt that he had no celebrated ancestry Once Sir Arthur Jones had the temerity to refer to Shaw as "a freakish homunculus germinated outside lawful procreation' In resenting the suggestion, Shaw traces his family descent from one Shaegh, the third son of Macduff immortalised by Shakespeare as 'having been from his mother's womb untimely ripped"

Whatever the ancestry, the family does not seem to have been in affluent circumstances Poor Shaw was sent to the local Wesley College, where he gave no evidence of his future brilliance It is recorded of him that he was generally near or at the bottom of his classes He had an aversion for the schooling, which prejudice he carries up to this day He stayed at home and absorbed much music from his accomplished uncle

While yet 15 years of age, he got into a job as a land agent at Dublin on a magnificent salary of £18 per annum His penury made him persist there for a year when he was promoted to the place of a cashier on £48 per year Feeling that he could not go passing rich with £18 a year, he resigned the job and joined his mother in London where she had set herself up as a professional teacher of music And this is what he said of his plight

> 'I did not throw myself into the struggle for life I threw my mother into it I was not a staff to my father's old age I hung to my father's coat tails Callous as comes to moral babble I steadily wrote my five pages a day and made a man of myself (at my mother's expense) instead of a slave"

Again in 1896 he refers to his early days

> "When people reproach me with the unfashionableness of my attire they forget that to me it seems like the raiment of Solomon in all his glory by contrast with the indescribable seediness of these days When I trimmed my cuffs to the quick with scissors and wore a tall hat and soi distant black coat *green with decay*"

Suffering is the badge of the literary tribe and Shaw had quite a decade of it In a later preface to an earlier novel, CASHEL BYRON'S PROFESSION, he gives a moving account of the trials Between 1879 and 1893, he had a budget of five

* Shaw is 94 on July 26 Ed *I R*

unpublished novels which went their weary round from publisher to publisher, and did not put a single penny in his pocket. He had not with him the six pence to pay the postman or parveyer He secured the patrounge of a 'Citerie' journal in which his CASHEL BYRON appeared as a serial. It drew some attention and Shaw came into public notice.

Meanwhile he had interested himself in socialistic literature and joined Henry Hyde, Champion, Morris, Besant, Carpenter and the Webbs. He had an enthusiastic time of it, and wrote some effective tracts for the Fabian Society. He was also doing some hack work. He reviewed books for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and was a critic of pictures for *The world* and musical critic for the *Star*. It is a bit comical to note that he then used a sobriquet "Corno di Bassetto." He announced himself under the famous initials G.B.S., when he became dramatic critic for the *Saturday Review* He managed to secure the sympathies of William Archer, who pushed him into the literary world. He later collaborated with him in the dramatic art.

Being of a dynamic cast, he had absorbed a good deal by reading and observation and perhaps felt like bursting. It is said of him that at this time he took to public speaking and addressed audiences of every description from 'University dons' to London 'washer-women.' He had by this time drawn some public attention and was lucky enough to be co-opted as a member of the Vestry of St. Pancreas Borough Council with which he was associated for six years, and the experience therefrom resulted in the publication of his book COMMONSENSE OF MUNICIPAL TRADING.

Shaw came under the influence of Sidney Webb and his wife—the later Lord and Lady Passfield. They laid the foundation of socialism in England and their influence on Shaw seems to be considerable. It is pleasing to note that a man of Shaw's vitriolic temper and literary antagonism has nowhere a harsh word to say of the Webbs. His references to them are always respectful and reverential. Shaw had much of their hospitality. During this period, a well-to-do but unmarried woman of some culture, Charlotte Payne Townshend, was a frequent visitor at the Webbs.' Bernard Shaw came by a nasty cycle accident one day and had to be put up in the hospital at London. Miss Townshend seems to have attended upon him throughout the period of his illness and conceived an attachment for him which resulted in their marriage. She appears to have spent much devotion and money upon him and procured him decent quarters in the famous Adelphi Square.

The sternness and severity of his bearded mien and his austerities give little suspicion of any amour or eroticism on his part. Ellen Terry and Mrs. Patrick Campbell were the most famous actresses of his time. His numerous and persistent love letters to them give us a glimpse of his mind. He was however jilted in favour of others and his distemper is evident.

Fortune now began to smile upon him and led him to a series of literary successes. He began new experiments. He turned from a novelist to a playwright, for that suited his dramatic mind.

MR. WARREN'S CONFESSION, CANDIDA, MAN AND SUPERMAN, THE DOCTOR'S DIF

JOHN BULL'S OTHER ISLAND—MAJOR BARBARA BACK TO METHUSELAH HEART BREAK HOUSE ST JOAN it came in succession

Each created a first class sensation The literary world was taken by storm not merely by the novelty of expression and method but also the boldness and bravado of the themes In the eyes of this superman the world about him is a sorry scheme of things and things are awry Our laws make law impossible Our liberty destroys all freedom our property is organised robbery Our morality is an impudent hypocrisy our wisdom is administered by inexperienced or mal experienced dupes Our power is wielded by cowards and weaklings and our honour is false in all its points This he says set him on a revolutionary career He began a reassessment of values Men and institutions came under his lash He laid his hands on literature art science politics religion and every other interest that the mind of man had fashioned so far and has left us only a wreckage In this view he is the greatest iconoclast of the day It is hard to find out the constructive side of his achievement There have been others of his contemporaries who have indulged in the carricature of the times They too have protested against the present order of things but they told us what would make them happy G K Chesterton and Hilare Belloc beckoned us to the middle ages That great intellectual H G Wells had an utopia of his own and diverted himself with anticipating the shape of things to come But no page of the past has a charm for Shaw and the future is only for supermen like himself His theory of God and man only leads us to a bleakness in the future God according to him is a finite force which has not yet realised itself It is in the course of progressive perfection It is creating instruments for the realisation of its purposes Where the instruments fail it, they are destroyed as witness the mammoths of old Man is not the last but only the latest of its creations and if he does not subserve his purposes he too will be destroyed and a better instrument created Man must therefore behave better How? What a destiny for man and how comforting the doctrine But Shaw is vehement in his exhortation that man must so live that when he dies God must be in his debt How are we to know the mind of this God? Where are his revelation? Shaw does not vouchsafe as any.

With this caprice or uncertainty at the centre of things no stable synthesis is possible in any field of human endeavour His achievements therefore, in Art Politics Science, Religion and Philosophy and other spheres are mere pyrotechnics exciting for the moment and blank in the sequel The value of his critical profession lies in the provocation it offers to the mind and set it a thinking on all things that matter

Erratic as his mind appears to be, his life gives evidence of a discipline, which is remarkable His persistence of dashing at least 5 pages a day has led him to an amazing literary fecundity and won for him the Nobel prize for literature in 1926 His habit of munching every morsel of food 86 times before he sent it down the throat has so far endowed him with 94 years of mortal life His vegetarianism and teetotalism which has abstained from meat drink and smoke,

keeps him in a sanity which is enviable at his age and senility is as far as over. Chesterton may call them fads—they may appear as oddities to many. But the facts are there and speak for themselves. There are others of a similar kind. He sleeps with his windows open in all weather, he wears woollen close to his heart; he uses a French bathing powder daily in his bath tub These have given him his health and his vigour of mind, he says, and who can disprove him?

There are two passages where Shaw sums himself up.

"I am a bachelor by heart, but a married man by ring and book; an atheist, a tee-totaller, a fanatic, a humourist, a playwright, a social democrat and a *fluent liar.*" (whatever the last may mean!)

"I have played my game with a conscience I have never pretended that G. B. S was real. I have and overagain taken him to pieces before the audience to show the trick of him. And even those who inspite of that cannot escape from the illusion regard G. B. Shaw as a freak. The whole point of the creature is that he is unique, fantastic, unrepresentative, inimitable, impossible, undesirable on any large scale, totally unlike anybody that ever existed before, hopelessly unnatural and void of real passion Clearly such a monster could do no harm were his example real (which it never is)

Can you improve upon this?

THE SEED OF LIGHT

BY MR. R. L COOK

O peace come tumbling like a seed of light
Out of the whirlwind on her furrowed head,
Take root and grow, forging a mesh of leaves.
To armour her against the locust dread.

That blights the fading flowers in her eyes,
That withers all her garden to forlorn
Tangles of derelict and broken roots
And blasts each hope as soon as it is born.

Across the simple acres of her mind
Let no black wisps of terror writhe like tares,
But peace come tumbling like a seed of light—
Come gently peace to take her unawares.

That she may wonder at the frost born flowers
And wander down a hidden avenue
Of bird-bright branches, carolling to her
That there are other trees than musty yew,

And since she is my pasture I shall plant
Kernels of love amongst the clay's desire
That from the sapling passion there may rise
A tree whose leaves are light, whose roots are fire.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

CROSSING THE BAR

Tennyson's farewell song Crossing the Bar, was written in his eighty first year on a day in October when he travelled from Aldworth to Farringford His son tells us that 'before reaching Farringford he had 'the morning of the bar in his mind and after dinner he showed me this poem written out I said that is the crown of your life's work' He answered 'It came in a moment He explained the Pilot as That Divine and Unseen who is always guiding us A few days before my father's death he said to me Mind you put 'Crossing the Bar' at the end of all editions of my work

Sunset and evening star
And one clear call for me
And may there be no moaning of the bar
When I put to sea

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound or foam
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell
When I embark

For though from out the bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar

REQUIEM

While serenity is the mark of Tennyson's farewell song there is a touch even of cheerfulness in Stevenson's farewell to a life of unrelieved pain wedded to a spirit of almost boyish adventure Mark the reference to the sailor and hunter—both so full of the joy of living and the wholesome contact with earth and sea and sky

Under the wide and starry sky,
Dig the grave and let me lie
Glad did I live and gladly die
And lay me down with a will

This be the verse you gave for me
Here he lies where he longed to be
Home is the sailor home from sea
And the hunter home from the hill

HAPPY PASSING

Henley strikes a new note in his Happy Passing There is no room for Christian hope in his farewell song, neither is it the despair of one who sees nothing but a void after death Henley's is the mood of serene acceptance, and even of exaltation in the beauty of death And there is breath taking loveliness in his vision and words

A late lark twitters from the quiet skies
And from the west,
Where the sun his day's work ended,
Lingers as in content,
There falls on the old grey city
An influence luminous and serene,
A shining peace

The smoke ascends
In a rosy and golden haze The spires
Shine and are changed In the valley
Shadows rise The lark sings on The sun,
Closing his benediction
Sinks and the darkening air
Thrills with a sense of the triumphing night—
Night and her train of stars
And her great gift of sleep

So be my passing!
My task accomplished and the long day done
My wages taken and in my heart
Some late lark singing
Let me be gathered to the quiet west,
The sundown splendid and serene,
Death

"LAST JOURNEY"

A few months before his death, our own poet Tagore wrote some verses reflecting his final attitude to life and death By his own direction these were sung at the Memorial Service held at the Santiniketan Mandir even as the last rites were going on at the burning ghat Doubtless the image of the Pilot must have been suggested by the lines of the English Laureate

O Pilot of my life,
cast loose the moorings
of this frail vessel,
for before me
lies the vast ocean of Peace

Comrade of mine for ever,
take me and hold me close
The lode star will shed
its steadfast glow
on the never ending path to eternity

O Saviour,
Your mercy and forgiveness
are the inexhaustible wealth
on which I draw
for this my last journey

May the bonds of mortality melt away,
may the vast universe take me in its arms,
and may it be given me
fearlessly to stand face to face
before the Great Unknown

CYNICS OF LOVE

Love matches are made by people who are content, for a month of honey, to condemn themselves to a life of vinegar —*Countess of Blessington.*

* * *

People marry through a variety of other reasons and with varying results , but to marry for love is to invite inevitable tragedy —*F B Cabell*

* * *

If they only married when they fell in love most people would die unwed— *R L Stevenson*

* *

One should always be in love That is the reason why one should never marry — *Oscar Wilde*

* * *

In matters of religion and matrimony I never give any advice , because I will not have anybody s torments in this world or the next laid to my charge —*Lord Chesterfield*

THE BUSINESSMAN

'Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasures" says Milton, "he has yet one jewel left, Ye can not deprive him of his covetousness" And so I would say of a modern man of business you may do what you will for him, put him in Eden, give him the Elixir of life— he has still a flaw at heart—he has still his business habits

And all these polish pilgrims would each bring his own misery along with him, in a watch pocket R L S

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STINGY LINCOLN !

Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves and made America more democratic than he found it He was an impulsive politician and a generous general But in private life he was tight fisted The following is a letter he wrote to an impecunious stepbrother —

Dec 24, 1848.

Dear Johnston,

Your request for eighty dollars, I do not think it best to comply with now At various times when I have helped you a little, you have said, "We can get along very well now," but in a short time I find you in the same difficulty again, Now this can only happen by some defect in your conduct What that defect is I think, I know You are not lazy, and still you are an idler I doubt whether, since I saw you you have done a good whole day's work in any one day

This habit of wasting time is the whole difficulty, it is vastly important to you, and to your children that you should break this habit it is more important to them because they have longer to live and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it, easier than they can get out after they are in

What I propose is that you shall go to work 'tooth and nail," for the best money wages you can get And to secure you a fair reward, I now promise you that for every dollar you will, between this and the first of May, get for your own labour, I will then give you one other dollar I do not mean you shall go off to St Louis, or the lead mines or the gold mines in California, but I mean for you to go at it close to home—in Coles County

Now if you will do this you will soon be out of debt, and what is better you will have a habit that will keep you from getting in debt again But if I should now clear you, next year, you will be just as deep in as ever You say you would almost give your place in Heaven for $70 or $80 Then you value your place in Heaven very cheaply for I am sure you can with the offer I make get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work. You say if I furnish you the money you will deed me the land, and if you don't pay the money back, you will deliver possession—

Nonsense ! If you can t now live with the land, how will you then live without it? You have always been kind to me, and I do not now mean to be unkind to you. On the contrary if you will but follow my advice, you will find it worth more than eighty times eighty dollars to you

Affectionately, your brother,
A LINCOLN.

GENERAL GORDON

Lytton Strachey had made biography, as Macaulay had made history, the rival of fiction Who can forget this picture of Gordon?

During the year 1883 a solitary English gentleman was to be seen wandering with a stick boldly under his arm in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem His unassuming figure, short and slight with its half gliding half tripping motion gave him a boyish aspect which contrasted oddly but not unpleasantly with the touch of grey on his hair and whiskers There was the same contrast—enigmatic and attractive—between the sunburnt brick red and complexion—the hue of the seasoned traveller and the large blue eyes with their look of almost childish sincerity To the friendly inquirer he would explain in a low soft and very distinct voice that he was engaged in elucidating four questions—the site of the crucifixion the line of division between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah the identification of Gibeon and the position of the Garden of Eden He was also he would add most anxious to discover the spot where the Ark first touched ground after the subsidence of the Flood he believed indeed that he had solved that problem as a reference to some pages of the book which he was carrying would show

The singular person was General Gordon and his book was the Holy Bible

SACRAMANTUM SUPREMUM

Draw near my friends, and let your thoughts be high
Great hearts are glad when it is time to give
Life is no life to him that dares not die
And death no death to him that dares to live

Draw near together none be last or first
We are no longer names but one desire
With the same burning of the soul we thirst
And the same wine tonight shall quench our fire

—*Henry Newbolt*

THE ALPS

A wilderness of jagged peaks, cast in passionate and fierce profusion of the clouds which roll up against them out of the vast Italian plain forced together by the narrowing crescent and breaking up at last against the Alpine wall in towers of spectral spray or swooping up its ravines with long moans of complaining thunder

—*Ruskin*

WALKING TOURS

A walking tour should be gone upon alone, because freedom is of the essence, because you should be able to stop and go on and follow this way or that as the freak takes you and because you must have your own pace, and neither trot alongside a champion walker, nor mince in time with a girl And then you must be open to all impressions and let your thoughts take colour from what you see You should be as a pipe for any wind to play upon "I cannot see the wit" says Hazlitt "of walking and talking at the same time When I am in the country I wish to vegetate, like the country"—which is the gist of all that can be said upon the matter. There should be no cackle of noises at your elbow to jar on the meditative silence of the morning And so long as a man is reasoning he cannot surrender himself to that fine intoxication that comes of much motion in the open air, that begins in a sort of dazzle and sluggishness of the brain and ends in a peace that passes comprehension —*R L S.*

ARNOLD ON WORDSWORTH

Time may restore us in his course
Goethe's sage mind and Byron's force,
But where will Europe's latter hour
Again find Wordsworth's healing power?

Keep fresh the grass upon his grave
O Rotha with thy living wave!
Sing him thy best! for few or none
Hears the voice right, now he is gone

THE LIFE PASSIONATE

Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the very brilliancy of their gifts some tragic dividing of forces in their ways, is in this short day of frost and sun to sleep before evening —*Walter Pater*

Sinkiang and Soviet-Chinese Agreement

By Mr. ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

In order to step up diplomatic manœuvre in Iran and Afghanistan Soviet Russia with the co-operation of communist China is trying to build up a oil concession bloc in Western Asia. The recently concluded Russo-Chinese agreements on Sinkiang undoubtedly give the danger signal to the whole of the Middle East. It may be recalled here that the then Sultani Ministry aided and influenced by Britain and the U.S.A. caused the Iranian Parliament on 22nd October 1947 to pass a bill which illegalized the granting of new oil privileges to the foreign powers and ruled out all possibilities of the provisions of the Soviet—Iranian oil agreements of 1946 being carried out. It was alleged by Soviet Russia that Iran was being forced by Britain and the U.S.A. to join the Western bloc. Hence the Soviet policy-makers to-day want to use Sinkiang as a bastion against Western politics in the Middle East. Specially they consider it wise to use Sinkiang against the concerted move of the Western Powers to influence political developments in Iran. The Western Powers have criticised bitterly the economic treaties which have recently been concluded between Russia and communist China regarding Sinkiang. They maintain that as a result of these treaties Chinese sovereignty over Sinkiang will be jeopardised and Russia will succeed ultimately in side-tracking Chinese claims to the border countries.

The provisions of the Sinkiang oil treaty state that no foreign power will be granted oil privileges except Soviet Russia. The Soviet Chinese Joint Stock Company will decide, according to this treaty, how the questions relating to oil privileges should be settled. It has been stated clearly that both China and Russia will enjoy equal rights in the company and will share the output, expenses, and profit equally. For the first three years the Chairman and the General Manager of the Soviet-Chinese Joint Stock Company will be Russian and China will select the Deputy Chairman and Deputy General Manager of the Company. After this period the posts will be reversed. In this way the alternate system will continue to remain in force, and Russia and communist China will be able to manage jointly the affairs of the Soviet-Chinese Joint Stock Company.

As Sinkiang is closely related to Soviet Turkestan, Russia will find it easy to determine the fate of this province comprising Kulja, Kashgaria, and Chinese Turkestan. There is every possibility of this province being economically prosperous if its mineral and oil resources are properly tapped. Sinkiang is rich in gold, silver, lead, uranium and has large deposits of petroleum. It is quite likely that Russia will supply her with modern skill. She will use the greater portion of Sinkiang's economic wealth to strengthen her own economy. Moreover a provision has been made in the Sinkiang Oil treaty to establish Soviet-Chinese Mineral Exploitation Company on the lines of the projected Soviet-Chinese Joint Stock Company.

Here it may be recalled that when negotiations were being carried on in February last regarding conclusion of the Soviet-Chinese Pact, the Sinkiang Government Delegation had been negotiating separately with Russia on economic matters with the aid of the Peking Delegation which was led by Mao-Tse-Tung, the Chinese communist leader. There was no reference to Sinkiang in the terms of the Soviet—Chinese Pact of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual

Assistance Consequently the political observers were led to believe that Sino Soviet relation in respect of the North Western Province would be defined separately The provisions made in the Sinkiang oil treaty for establishing two joint stock companies seem to justify their belief

The area of Sinkiang is six hundred and thirty four thousand square miles and its population numbers about forty four lakhs The political observers maintain that the Sinkiang oil treaty recently concluded between Russia and Communist China follows the pattern of similar treaties which Russia has already concluded with the states of eastern Europe But the provisions of this treaty indicate improvement on those of the Moscow Tehran Oil Pact concluded in 1946 The Moscow Tehran Pact did not grant any oil concessions to the foreign companies in Northern Iran It was stated that Iran would have rights to buy out Russian shares in the Joint Company on expiry of the period of fifty years In the first twenty five years forty nine per cent and fifty one per cent of the shares of the joint Iran Soviet oil company would belong to Iran and Russia respectively On expiry of this period all the shares of the company would be equally divided between the two countries Moreover the profits of the company would be divided according to the shares of each country

If Soviet Russia with the co operation of Communist China succeeds in imposing her own economic system on Sinkiang it will be advantageous for her to adopt diplomatic tactics in order to intensify her policy toward Iran Turkey Saudi Arabia Jordan Iraq the Lebanon Egypt and Israel Moreover the possible emergence in the Middle East of a Russian influenced communist bloc encourages Russia to make efforts to secure oil concessions in those regions which fall within the orbit of Western influence

In the opinion of the Western political observers the Sinkiang oil treaty enables Russia to determine the course of the Far Eastern politics But whether the Peking Government under this treaty will be given rights to use the economic wealth of Sinkiang for the industrial development of Communist China seems to be doubtful As Russia is stronger than Communist China she will use this wealth to strengthen her own economy and to make her middle east policy successful It may be recalled here that Russia aided the Ili faction in 1948 to influence political developments in North Western Sinkiang This faction started rebellion against the provincial government In September 1949 an autonomous communist regime was established in Tihwa capital of Sinkiang Hence as a result of the recently concluded oil treaty there is every possibility of the whole province being turned into a strong Soviet base against Anglo American politics in the Middle East apart from the fact that its economic resources are being exploited by Russia

The two Irishmen newly arrived in America had put up in a small room in Hoboken

One night pestered with mosquitoes they kept slapping at their faces and arms trying to keep the pests off so that they could get to sleep

Finally about two o'clock in the morning when they were both more than weary from their efforts a firefly happened to sail through the open window

It's no use Pat me lad said one Here comes O the critters a searchin for us wid a lantern

Electoral System Best Suited to India

BY MR. T. S. RAJAGOPALA IYENGAR

—:o:—

GENERAL Elections all over India are promised to be held before April next year. And one of the measures now undertaken to expedite the work in this behalf is the passing of the Representation of the People Bill by the Parliament. It is also said that at the near future another complimentary Bill would be introduced in the Parliament dealing with all other aspects of election.

Allocation of seats in the House of the People to the different States and the fixation of the total number of seats in the Legislative Assemblies of the different States have been made on the basis of population of each State. But what is now to be determined is the delimitation of the constituencies and the system of voting to be adopted. The Constitution provides that these measures must be undertaken by the Parliament. The Union Government has also called for the opinion of the States in this behalf. It is, therefore, necessary that we should try to know *which system is best suited for India.*

There may be Functional representation or Regional representation. In England and the U. S. A., for instance, we have the regional or the territorial representation in contra-distinction to the functional representation in existence in Italy and the U.S.S.R., If we prefer to delimit the Constituencies on a territorial basis, then the next question that would arise would be whether these should be multi-member or single member Constituencies and what system of voting should be adopted—distributive or cumulative and so on.

The system of multi-member Constituencies with simple majority vote has obvious defects and it is being abandoned in all advanced countries. To illustrate it, let us assume that such a constituency has four seats and each of the two parties *viz.*, the Congress and the Socialists, put up candidates for all the seats. Let us also assume that the Constituency has 1000 voters and that all of them vote.

4 Congress candidates get 600 votes each.
4 Socialist candidates get 400 votes each.

The result would be that all the four congress candidates succeed with 600 votes, whereas the Socialists fail to get even a single seat with 400 votes. We have not succeeded in securing the return of candidates in proportion to their voting strength. In other words, the result of the election does not reflect public opinion correctly.

The single-member Constituency too has obvious defects.

We may also illustrate it thus. Say the a Constituency has 1000 voters and for seats to contest and that A.B.C.D. a the four candidates contesting the election They secure votes as follows:—

A — 400 votes
B — 300 votes
C — 200 votes
D — 100 votes

A gets elected as he secures the maximu votes. But 600 voters have voted against A He is elected only by a relative majority an not by an absolute majority of votes.

Take another instance: In three adjoin ing Constituencies, we will assume ther are 1000 voters each.

	X Constituency	Y Constituency	Z Constituency
Con.	900 Votes	400	400
Soc.	100 ,,	600	600

Congress gets only one seat whereas Socialists secure two seats But what are their aggregate votes Congress gets 1700 votes and Socialists only 1 00 votes This result is not just if the respective voting strength is considered

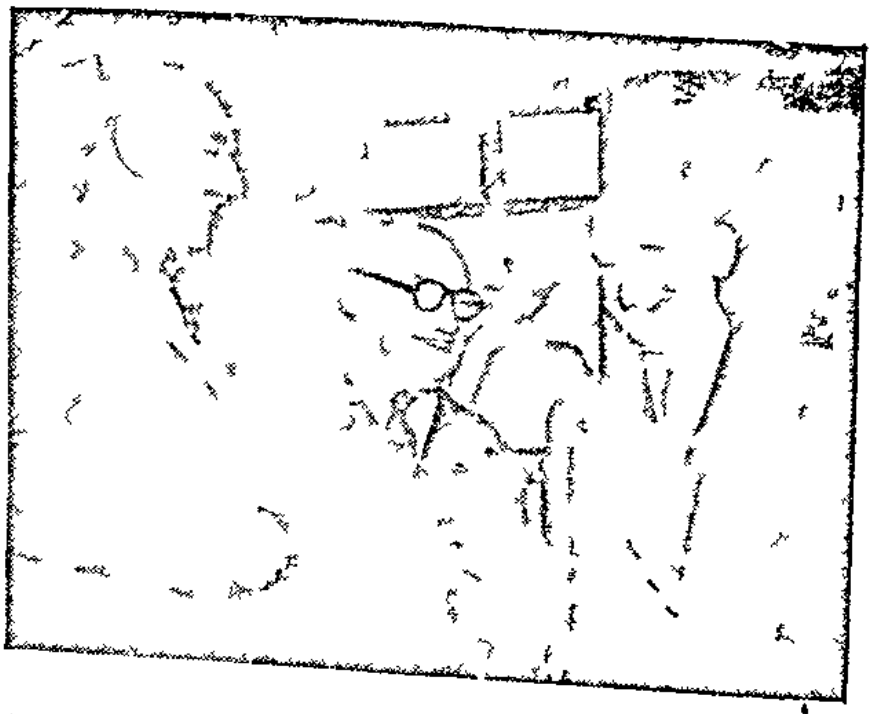
The alternative vote and the second ballot are not much in vogue anywhere The only alternatives therefore left are the Cumulative Voting and the Proportional Representation with the Single Transferable vote—both requiring Multi member Constituencies

I would prefer the Proportional Representation with Single Transferable vote as best suited for India where there are different shades of opinion which need representation

The formulae is $\frac{\text{Total number of valid votes polled}}{\text{Number of seats}+1}+1$

Let us say a Constituency has 1000 voters and that 700 are Congressmen and 200 Socialists and that it has four seats Under ordinary majority vote all the four seats will have been captured by the Congress But under Proportional Representation with Single Transferable Vote Congress will get 3 and the Socialists 1 seat This is in proportion to their voting strength

I therefore recommend the adoption of multi member Constituencies and also the adoption of Proportional Representation with Single Transferable Vote for India



THREE POWER CONFERENCE AT LANCASTER HOUSE LONDON

(L to R) Mr Dean Acheson the United States Secretary of State Mr Ernest Bevin Britains Foreign Minister and the Foreign Minister of France Mr Robert Schuman at the Three Power Conference held recently at Lancaster House London

EAST AND WEST

By DR. V. RAGHAVAN

AFTER a period of academic textual scholarship in oriental literature, the West became alive to a new kind of interest in Indian wisdom. Pursuit of knowledge has never been a mere intellectual game in India; Indian philosophy is primarily *Darsana*, intuition or vision of Truth, and all ratiocination (*Manana*) has been assigned the complimentary place of reinforcing and stabilising the intuition. In the midst of its incessant intellectual ferment, some of the minds in the West began to feel a thirst for something beyond intellect, something productive of more abiding solace and satisfaction, consequently interest developed in the practical side of Indian philosophy, its yogic, esoteric and initatory disciplines; living representatives and realised souls came to be sought after, rather than professors of Indian systems; the young Frenchman Alain Danielou who has chosen to live Indian life in India, has sought a living *guru* directly and undergoes orthodox disciplines in Benares tells the writer that there is nothing at all in the scholarship of the so-called orientalists of the West! In the spread and deepening of this new practical interest, the new religious leaders and movements of India, and most notably the votaries of the Ramakrishna Mission, have played a great part. To-day Jesting Pilates have turned ardent exponents of *Sanatana Dharma*, the Perennial Philosophy; the expanding kingdom of spirit is rendering the Kipling-dichotomy of East and West an outmoded cliche; the *Atma-vidya* of the *Rishis* counts *chelas* in both hemispheres and ancient Hindu *Vedanta* is fast becoming the only truly satisfying religion and philosophy of the whole modern world.

II

While, under the impact of the conflicting literary, social and religious ideologies from the West, the apparently bewildering material of Indian religious and philosophical literature is being ignored or laughed at in India itself, it is gratifying to note that in the West, an increasing number of ardent aspirants after understanding have begun to attach high value to the myth-complex of India and to glean out for the modern mind the ideas which these legendary data illustrate. Among these, the French savant Jean Herbert who has published a number of papers in *France Asie* of Saigon and a number of booklets bringing out the significance of Indian mythology takes a prominent place. His publications number more than twenty-five; they have appeared in many European languages, and in Chinese, Siamese and Indonesian translations too, his contacts are wide and interest genuine; ancient literature as well as the teachings and interpretations of the great leaders of modern India, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Mahatmaji and Aravindo have found in him a devoted student; "the worshipful study" that he has given in his booklets is bound not only to help understanding among western readers but also to kindle a fresh earnestness in the minds of modern Indians themselves towards their mythological and cultural heritage.

III

Steering clear of both the scholastic scepticism of the West which brushes aside Indian mythology and the Pandit's preoccupation with academic details, prevalent in India, which throws the background the fundamental idea, the author

attempts in this series of booklets* What the West can learn from the East', 'The Ten Avataras of Vishnu Sri Ganesa' and 'Devarshi Narada' at a critical analysis ideological evaluation and disentanglement from the story elements of the basic concepts

In his pamphlet on East and West the author emphasises that the mutual relationship of these two halves of humanity now dangerously set one against the other should improve and become constructive and not destructive the West is out to conquer the outer world the East the inner world the West stresses quantity the East quality the West concentrates on compartmentation the East on synthesis unity and totality the West should understand that if the East surrenders itself too often to Providence it also in the same act bits off with God's Will derives an inner peace that the West so sadly lacks and obliterates completely the fear of death and the notion of death being an end of the Being

In the pamphlet on the *Avataras* of Vishnu J Herbert tries to explain how the ten manifestations of the divine easily fall into three groups each signifying an aspect of the unfolding of the cosmos and man The first three connected with the ocean which symbolises the undifferentiated *avyakta* or *pradhana* represent the rescue of the three essential planes of the mental vital material The fourth half animal half lion incarnation is the turning point the beginning of the triumph of the spiritual over the material Vamana Parasurama and Rama signify the sway of ethics in different departments of human activity in society and family The eighth Krishna 'perfect' and 'complete' incarnation, leads man to spiritual realisation

To the conception of Ganesa which the West finds most difficult to understand but which to Hindus 'is a source of spiritual inspiration and daily guidance . the author devotes an essay in which he explains that this Godhead signifies the inward psychological activity of overcoming obstacles to spiritual growth and reaching perfection accordingly he is consorted by two goddesses called *Buddhi* and *Siddhi* understanding and success the sweets *modaka* with which his big belly is full represents spiritual food and joy

In Narada the author sees 'the perfection of self conscious invidiuation" or the individual soul (*Jiva*) in the essential perfection The author very aptly says that his main characteristic may be said to be the search for and manifestation of harmony which he constantly expresses not by monotonous uniformity but through a subtle full and complex orchestration He is indeed the 'instrument of Divine intention' and messenger between God and man The author is also right when he draws attention to the fact that legends constantly grow round him and Narada is eternal 'and since the mission of Narada seems to be co extensive with the continued existence of creation and *dvandvas* it is only natural that even to the present day the great devarshi should reveal himself to those who have become worthy recipients of a higher wisdom

IV

In choosing Ganesa and Narada for interpretation Jean Herbert had chosen

* Published by G A Natesan & Co Madras and Paul Derain Lyon (France) As 6 each

two subjects most involved in legend-complexes of even obscure and conflicting elements. Of the two studies Narada is a clear success; the material on Ganesa is such that it will not yield a satisfactory analysis: iconography of this god, the history of his translation from an obstacle maker to an obstacle-remover and his doubtful parentage, in fact everything about him is so fraught with uncertainty that it is well-nigh impossible to draw out any homogenous idea underlying his conception. The explanation of the rat-vehicle, for instance, can never be convincing. Ganesa's association with learning (p. 12) cannot also be so easily disposed of*. It is wrong to say as Herbert does on p 14 that Ganesa is comparatively seldom the main Ishta-devata of a sect and that there are not very many temples exclusively devoted to him. In Hindu myth-complex, it is always possible and justifiable to relate separate phases and anecdotes to certain ideas, the task of throwing into the pot the whole mass of stories of one deity or figure and attempt to boil out a synthetic idea is both impossible and futile; such a thing was not contemplated by the myth-makers; deities and characters with a loose nebulae of characteristics round them formed motifs with which, to illustrate certain religion, spiritual, ethical or cosmological ideas, epic themes, in short story style, were fashioned, the same rough material being handled elsewhere in a different manner and for a different idea; therefore each myth-part is true so far as it goes. Hence Herbert is correct when he says (p.4, Narada) that these are "all of them spiritually true, even if they seem contradictory when judged with the criteria of human history."

Of conceptions of various forms of Godhead too, Herbert is right in emphasising in the midst of his essay at interpreting the difficult Ganesa that, whatever the variety of the ideas which might give rise to correspondingly peculiar image-varieties, to the Hindu, all deities are only images of the one Godhead and each (p. 12) deity represents one of the innumerable aspects of the supreme God (p 13).

The ten *Avataras* have frequently been interpreted and in the progression from the water, the water-land, and the land-animal incarnations to the animal-man, dwarf-man and perfect man incarnations, students have always seen the process of evolution or the stages of the gradual unfoldment of the spiritual personality. In Herbert's scheme, as in many others, perfection is reached in Krishna, and the epilogue of the Buddha and Kalki stand as a palpable superfluity. The survival-idea of the Buddha has always been held by Brahminical writers as the emphasis on compassion and service to suffering humanity, *Bhuta-daya*. The indigenous Hindu scheme on which all *Avataras* get comprehensively explained is the resurrection of the submerged, perverted or destroyed values, compendiously called *Dharma* The need for this in the future is, as we realise today poignantly, greater than even in the past, and Kalki as an idea represents only the future Avatara potential. It may not be possible to interpret closely the white horse etc., of his would-be iconography, but is it not true we are all looking forward to such a saviour, who will destroy the *Mlecha* or the barbarous in man and resurrect the *Arya* or the noble in him? The seers of modern India are only intimations of the advent of this Great Deliverer from the international *Matesya-nyaya* operating through the modern *Trivarga* of politics, economics and militarism.

*It is also in this Ganesa pamphlet that one finds slips like the following (p 10) Angusapachamindi? P. 12 the buffalo meaning of Heramba has nothing to do with the deity. P. 13 Rishi Pranita's Ganesa-stava seems to be a mistake.

The True Greatness of Karl Marx

By Mr RAYMOND POSTGATE

KARL Marx who was born on May 5 1818 is one of the three philosophers responsible—or partly responsible—for great changes in history There are plenty of lesser philosophers responsible for keeping things as they are that is indeed the best and most remunerative way of becoming an important philosopher But apart from Marx there are only two inspirers of revolutions Rousseau and Iambulus Whether you count Rousseau as more effective than Marx depends I suppose on whether you think the French revolution or the Russian will ultimately be more important As for Iambulus the Roman slaves and dispossessed Greek citizens whom he inspired lost their revolution and in the end fell back on the religious consolations of Mithraism and Christianity nobody therefore knows much about what he said

In any case for us today neither of them is as important as Marx

THREE HANDICAPS

This is so in spite of the fact that he has the three most discouraging defects that a candidate for immortality can have Firstly he never completed any of his work secondly he completely misunderstood the relative importance of the various parts of it thirdly when he allowed himself to predict the probable results of what he had observed he was usually wrong

It is natural that we should find defects in the work of an economist and philosopher who wrote a hundred years ago it is only necessary to underline them because in this case some of the Social Democrats and all of the Communists have attempted to ascribe a sort of omniscience to him To disagree with Marx to be a revisionist is indeed to be in physical danger in some countries to day But those three of him are true

Take the first the majority of his finished works are either brief propaganda pamphlets (such as *Wage Labour and Capital* or *The Communist Manifesto*) attacks on other people like Proudhon or Napoleon III or books like the *Critique of Political Economy* which were admittedly first sketches of the theories he was going to work out later

GLUT OF MATERIAL

They are all that is either ephemeral or introductory they are examples of or leading up to the great work he was going to do and he never finished that work

Only one volume of *Capital* was published while he was alive when he died Engels found an immense amount of unfinished studies sufficient to fill two more volumes (Kautsky published even more afterwards) But they were so chaotic that even after Engels patient sorting there is a direct contradiction on a quite important point between Volumes I and III of *Capital* Something had gone wrong with Marx it is a common failing in academic circles to accumulate great masses of knowledge and not be able to use it—to begin important excursuses and never be able to finish them

OUT OF DATE THEORY

Now there are three main sections of Marx's philosophy the Labour Theory of Value the theory of Dialectical Materialism and the Materialist Conception of History Of these he believed the first to be most important This was not an error of adoring disciples but of himself

Aveling his son in law reprinted the first nine chapters of *Capital* as essential reading for new students they are the most arid and abstract section dealing exclusively with the theory of value and

were selected because Marx considered his philosophy was founded upon the mathematical exposition in them. But not only are they very difficult to read: they are most entirely obsolete. It is just possible to describe modern economic phenomena in terms of Labour Value—Professor Cole has done it, and a fantastic feat of ingenuity it is—but even the orthodox Communists have ceased to insist on it. The thing has practically disappeared; and in going has done no harm to Marxism.

Dialectical Materialism (it is true) has vitality enough left to cause confusion and dissension; but its damage is chiefly done in academic circles, and Marx's continuing reputation certainly would not rest upon it even if it were true. (It is not; it is mere myth making, but I have no room in so short an article to discuss this)

SOURCE OF MARX'S FAME

Marx's fame rests on what is called the Materialist Conception of History. There is, as usual, no complete and full description and discussion of this in Marx's work. But, in brief, it is a demonstration that the motive power in history is economic. It is the methods of production, and the class relations that these involve, that have dominated and directed past history, which in consequence has always been a history of class struggles.

This theory has had an immense clarifying effect upon the writing and understanding of past and contemporary history; it is as important, in its sphere, as the theory of evolution, and puts Marx himself in the same category as Darwin. Practically no competent historian nowadays puts forward the "great man" theory of history, or offers truth, virtue, the love of liberty, divine intervention or racial characteristics as a *causa causans*—or even, as once everyone did, writes about the surface of politics without ever looking beneath.

PROPHECY FALSIFIED

As a historian and interpreter of the past, Marx was unequalled. But as a prophet and guide to the future he was a failure. System-making—unfinished—was his delight, and he composed for the materialist conception of history, the economics of Labour Value, and the mysticism of dialectical materialism a system which proved that the class struggle which was then going on would proceed in a certain way. The employers would get fewer and fewer in number, and their wealth would get greater and greater. The workers would get poorer and poorer and as industrial development progressed the factories would get more and more enormous. Commercial crises would become more and more violent until the last somehow (how was left unclear) provoked a conflict in which the regiments of workers in the most developed countries destroyed their tiny group of oppressors. Then the classless society would begin.

In many ways, most of which everyone can see, this prophecy has gone wrong. The upper and middle classes have not dwindled to a tiny handful, nor has a commercial crisis set off the tiniest revolution. (Revolutions have been caused only by wars). But what is most interesting to the historian is to note that in studying the working class, Marx predicted the exact opposite of the truth.

It is where the workers are least organised and least important that Communist revolutions succeed, it is where they are most advanced, best organised and most thoroughly industrialized that the Parties meet with humiliating disasters. The first Marxist revolution came in Russia, with a ninety per cent peasant population: the second in China with an even tinier proportion of industrial workers. It is in Scandinavia, Belgium, Britain and the United States that no progress is made. And there, by Marx's demonstration, the revolution should have started.

TURKISH ELECTIONS:

A TRIUMPH FOR DEMOCRACY

By Mr R J VENKATESWARAN M A

THE resounding victory of the Democratic Party in the general elections to the Turkish Grand National Assembly constitutes a triumph for parliamentary democracy The Democratic Party came into existence only four years ago and the fact that it was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the People's Party which had been in office for twenty seven years in succession is highly significant It shows that when a single party wields absolute authority in a country it is possible to break its power through the ballot box and not necessarily through bullets It also shows that no political party however powerful can hope to remain in office permanently and that sooner or later the ultimate masters in a democracy are bound to seek a change and give a chance to the other side

Founded by Kamal Ataturk the Republican People's Party came into power in 1923 But it was only in 1946 that opposition parties were permitted to be formed General elections were held in that year but they were neither free nor fair Nevertheless opposition parties managed to secure a few seats in the National Assembly Thus the Democratic Party got 64 seats the National Party 21 and Independents 7 as against 403 secured by the People's Party However public opinion strongly criticised the defective features of the electoral law and compelled the government to introduce the necessary changes Accordingly secret ballot proportional representation and many other healthy reforms were introduced The result was that in the recent general elections 85 per cent of the electorate which included a substantial number of women were able to cast their vote without let or hindrance The People's Party suffered a severe rout Twelve ministers lost their seats and the Party's strength in the National Assembly which has a total strength of 487 is only 52 as against 434 of the Democratic Party

The gravaman of the charge against the party in power during the electoral campaign was that it had failed to tackle the post war economic problems satisfactorily The heavy defence expenditure and the inefficiency of the administration also came in for strong criticism The Democrats have promised that they will overhaul the administration reduce defence expenditure and devote substantial sums to nation building activities The Party stands for the active encouragement of private enterprise As one of its spokesmen remarked 'We want no more Statism than is absolutely necessary We admit State enterprise in public services such as roads railways and telephones but outside such clearly limited fields we would do away with Statism altogether' So far as foreign affairs are concerned there does not appear to be any fundamental difference between the two parties Both are strongly opposed to Communism and are determined to stand by the Atlantic Powers and resist any Russian threat regarding the cession of frontier territory or the revision of the Dardenelle convention

The Turkish elections provide an important lesson or two for India They emphasise the need for a well organised opposition for the proper working of

democracy. In India today although the Congress has a number of powerful opponents there is no opposition party strong enough to defeat the party in power and assume charge of the country's administration. The absence of an effective opposition however is not due to any attempt on the part of the Congress to stifle criticism as is wrongly alleged in certain quarters. It is, on the other hand, due to the absence of sufficient initiative and organising capacity on the part of the various sections which are opposed to the Congress. Most of them waste their time and talent in indulging in frivolous criticism of the Congress regime. It is time they organised themselves seriously, drew up a practical and constructive programme and educated the masses, in the best interests of democracy.

To the Congress, the Turkish elections ought to provide a warning against assuming a complex of complacency. It should soon set its house in order and concentrate its attention, with vigour and speed, on the great task of improving the economic condition of the people. It was the vote of the much-harassed middle class of Turkey that was chiefly responsible for the rout of the People's Party in the recent elections.

President Truman and his Foreign Policy

BY MR. M. S. SRINIVASAN M.A.

CIRCUMSTANCE has made President Truman the Man of Destiny. The world can be made one or shattered into smithereens by the foreign policy of the U.S.A., the Leviathan among nations, and its President is invested with as great and fateful a prophetic role as that of his predecessor, even though to compare Mr. Roosevelt with Mr. Truman is like comparing Pitt to Addington. "He who seizes on the moment," exclaims Goethe, "is the right man." Is President Truman the right man of destiny? Will his foreign policy untie the knot of war, or entangle it still more until man becomes the architect of his own ruin?

Mr. Harry S. Truman is a Missourian and was born in 1884. His parents were very poor and had not recovered from the indigence which drove their own parents from Kentucky. He studied in a high school and was too poor to pursue his collegiate course. He had to earn his living, and for ten years together he worked on a large farm. Later he served in a drug-store and a bank, and during World War I was a commander of a field artillery battery. Of the various employments chosen by him for the next one decade and a half the most noted is that of a county commissioner. Extensive travel in his country gave him business knowledge and opportunities for studying men and affairs. Meanwhile, he had married Bess Wallace whom he met in his school when she was five years of age.

From 1934 to '44 he was the most popular Senator and one of the ten important men in Washington. He was an expert organiser of committee-work and a skilful chairman of committees. He made quick decisions, delegated authority, extracted valuable work from colleagues and learnt the art of co ordinating minds of different moulds. It was a real labour

by Senator Austin before Security Council: First—It has stimulated and encouraged those in this country who argue that we must fight the U. S. S. R. some day and that we had better do it now while we have a monopoly of atomic bombs even though this would be a blatant violation of our pledged word; Second—It has weakened the United Nations at a time when all our effort should be devoted to strengthening it." Mr. K. Zilliacus in his 'I CHOOSE PEACE' writes: "For this purpose Article 12 of the Charter was violated, in spirit if not in letter, by transferring the issue to the Assembly (General) and using the Assembly to send a United Nations Commission of Enquiry of eleven members to Greece, with a safe Anglo-American majority and with terms of reference that prevented it examining the whole situation, and instructed it to confine itself to ascertaining whether or not any help had come to the Greek partisans from Greece's neighbours in the North."

This 'Get Tough' policy against the U. S. S. R. was continued in the Middle and the Far East, in Eastern, Southern and Western Europe where the Communists and the Socialists were attempted to be relegated to the background from the established governments as a condition preceding American aid. This was followed by the Marshall Plan or the ERP, which was refused to be accepted by Russia and which led to Europe being cut up into two camps—the Cominform and the Western European Union. The Plan instead of helping Europe to stand on its own feet economically has sharpened the rivalry between industrial western Europe under the democratic powers and agricultural eastern Europe under Russia, thus disturbing the free play of economic forces. Thus American free enterprise is pitted against international communism.

On March 17, 1948, President Truman addressed another joint session of Congress pleading for prompt enactment of universal training legislation, for "until the free nations of Europe have regained their strength and so long as Communism threatens the very existence of democracy the United States must remain strong enough to support those countries of Europe which are threatened with Communist control and police state rule". He asked for, further legislation to maintain the American armed forces "at their authorised strength" and added —

> These recommendations to Congress has one fundamental purpose That purpose is to prevent war. . The adoption of universal training by the United States at this time would be unmistakable evidence to all the world of our determination to back up the will to peace with the strength for peace . We have found that a sound military system is necessary in time of peace if we are to remain at peace.

This historic speech contributed in no small measure to Mr. Truman's triumph in the presidential election and his Doctrine thenceforward found extended scope everywhere, in the West and the East. The Western European Union became the North Atlantic Council, and the military defences of the former have passed into the Hands of the U. S. Combined Forces General Staff, which, it is revealed, has prepared a "master plan to protect America against the Russian threats". China's alignment with the U. S. S. R, the unwillingness of the U.S.A. to recognise the government of Mao Tse-tung, the resultant walk-outs in the meetings of the UNO, and American intentions of making the East safe for her economically and militarily—

all these have complicated the international situation

The Truman Doctrine is the very antithesis of the policy of the U S A between 1919 and 1939 It has turned its back on isolationism It is based on the principles that Soviet expansion as is revealed by Walter Lippmann's COLD WAR must stop when it confronts American capitalism and military strength and that in the race for armaments like the atomic secrets Russia must always be miles behind the U S A Recent events have proved the fallacy of these principles Russian expansion is as much pronounced even on a conservative estimate as America's and she is not far behind her rival in the making of destructive weapons The possession of financial and scientific resources for producing deadly weapons need not make a country proud and hypertrophic For Prof Blackett in his book THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF ATOMIC ENERGY explodes the theory that the atom bomb can end a war swiftly and Prof Einstein warns a nervous world thus the H bomb appears on the public horizon as a probably attainable goal In the end there beckons more and more clearly general annihilation

The Truman Doctrine instead of leading humanity to the haven of peace may lead it on like the siren to the rocks The lessons of history are against its success

First the formation of European blocs in the past has always led to armed conflict—Protestant Union *vs* Catholic League Jacobites *vs* Anti Jacobites Napoleonic France *vs* Pitt's Coalitions Triple Alliance *vs* Triple Entente Nazis *vs* Anti Nazis

Secondly the inventions of the weapons of war can never be a secret for a long time more so when they are in the hands of pure scientists It would be difficult to forecast *who* would invent *what* in *which* laboratory

Thirdly even in an age of crude warfare Thucydides realised that 'war is the last thing that goes by calculation History more than once has demonstrated the validity of this truism Prudence moreover would warn us against belittling the strength of the opponents or over rating our own

Lastly a policy of discreet coalition may be a means to an end it cannot be an end in itself it can fetch peace but it cannot be called peace

The Truman Doctrine is no doubt a logical sequence to the Soviet expansion a needed countervailing force Nevertheless it has arrived at a stage when American leadership at the head of the North Atlantic Union backed by American free enterprise may supersede the collective deliberation of the Security Council when Article 1 of the Charter is almost violated and nullified It is travelling along the beaten track which led to 1914 and 1939 President Truman should cry halt to it place it at the parting of the ways add enable it to travel on a new road of peace and amity He can achieve this only by ironing out difference with Russia through a heart to heart talk with Marshal Stalin by the dissolution of all these regional councils which are a negation of the spirit and letter of the Charter and by strengthening the UNO which is what the members *make* it It is for the experts and heads of governments to suggest the ways and means by which these three aims can be achieved

more for his recreation than the urban tippler whose shoulders are broad enough to bear the relatively smaller weight of the revenue duty on imported *whisky and brandy* If that is the vital aspect in the pursuit of an aim conceded as being desirable by the citizenry the first remedy would be so to readjust the incidence of duties on different beverages as to minimize hardships and to throw the bulk of the weight turned on those who could better afford it Financial victimization does not seem to be the last word on the subject when the purpose of Prohibition is to turn wet into dry In America they conducted the classical experiment of suppressing the trade and consumption of liquor by a regular amendment to the Constitution but after a few years of experimentation nearly all the States were convinced that the balance of advantage lay in licensing saloons and reverting to non coercionist methods of educating and keeping the innocent away from cultivation of the habit State law can make a particular act into an offence but they cannot define 'sin' which comes under a different category of moral and religious sanctions We should ask if in the totality of effects a law we enact is enforceable just as it is a simple pedagogic law that no rule should be imposed in the class room that is incapable of being enforced

When the first instalment of Prohibition law was brought into Madras people were chary of opposing it partly on the ground that in those highly sensitive days of spiritualised politics an advocacy of minor measures like local option might expose them to the taunt of being drunkards themselves Similarly in the twenties when legislation against 'social vice' was introduced in Bombay by pious busybodies critics dare not oppose them through apprehension of their being mistaken for the defenders of mercenary profligacy if not suspected as habitual rakes themselves When measures to make people good by legislation are mooted calculations of probable success are not particularly palatable to the pioneers who are loth to entertain doubts in the perfectibility of the human race During the debate on the Bill in Madras Legislature, the Minister in charge made the round statement that if there was any country in the world where Prohibition must succeed it was India and if there was any province in India where it would be a conspicuous success it was Madras I do admit that Indians do not share with American youth an equal degree of animal spirits and the thirst for adventure in defiance of schoolmarmish restrictions imposed by the State We are by instinct law abiding and there is enough of tropical langnour in our composition to make efforts at opposition into a groaning ordeal Comparatively sheepish I found no difficulty then that the region of India nearest the Equator would be particularly amenable to the practice of bowing before the Law without energetic attempts to turn it into a mockery and to knock down the helmet of the policeman who interferes On that assumption, many anticipated that people will acquiesce and villagers and toddy tappers would find compensation in spinning which had been originally recommended as the alternative to economic privation in the wake of Prohibition What followed to persuade

people originally fanatic about Prohibition like Mr. Mahatab, to discover that it is an impracticable proposition?

In America bootlegging was accompanied by increase of violence, but with the cultivation of non-violence for a generation to deepen our natural passivity there is an artful orientation in our methods of getting the better of the law. When they say that in the dry areas of Madras, including the Madras City itself, it is possible to get drinks if only you knew the right contacts, I infer that the genius of the South for sly movements is expressing itself in operations that are conclusive about Prohibition being an impracticable proposition. Such statements have been repeatedly made in the press and in the legislature so that there is a species of silent traffic in uncertified spirits, the State losing the money and the addicts being served with denatured substitutes. Though taverns have existed from the days of Lot and fermented juice drunk from the age of the Vedas, it is surprising that the best distillers have not produced libations devoid of alchoholic odour; the result is that the offender smells, and many a suspicious spouse at home does not require to be told as to how the money goes. Recently, a holiday-maker from Bombay returning from Goa was arrested for being tipsy on the ground that his breath betrayed him as a son of Bacchus, but then if he had spent his time as a son of Belial, no policeman could have smelled him and made out any case in respect of dissolute nights. Considering the number of breaches of the peace traceable to tavern brawls, and subsequent arrest, many people the world over would vote that the Nobel Prize for Peace be granted to some benevolent scientist who invents a specific for deodorizing drinks and leaving it with the look of soda water, care being taken, however, that there is no loss of strength in the substance. The malodorous offender who had arrived from Goa was charged before the Court for breach of Prohibition law, but he was acquitted on the ruling that a drink taken outside the sacred precincts of a dry State does not incriminate a tourist.

As for the financial losses consequent on the spread of illicit drink without licensing control, we have now the cheap jack device of making up deficits through extortionate sales-taxes. The question is whether the assumptions on which Congress Ministries started in their campaign against publicans and sinners are not being disproved by experience. Who would answer Minister Mahatab with facts and figures when he asserts that Prohibition has proved to be an impracticable proposition? If he is right, then what is it except moral snobbery, that holds national leadership pinned down to a puerile pre-conception.

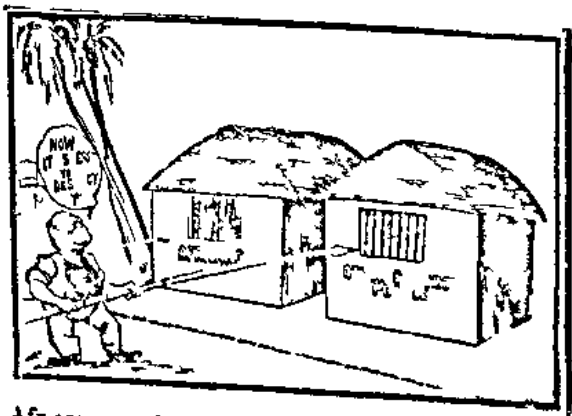
On June 19 the Madras Minister of Prohibition remarked in the course of a press interview that the Government were considering the question of imposing collective fines on any area where illicit distillation and other Prohibition offences are reported. Reference to the Union Government for such a drastic policy seems essential because the rule of collective fines is reserved for war-time operations when the inhabitants of an occupied area indulge in sabotage. Resort to such indiscriminate measures for the enforcement of Prohibition is an index of the responsiveness of the people at large brought under the yoke of well-intentioned measures that die of inanition.

TOPICAL CARTOONS



NEW DYNASTY IN CHINA

China represented by the figure in the foreground watches as a huge earth moving machine labeled Soviet Culture and driven by Stalin uproots age old symbols of Chinese culture.—*Detroit News*



Africans and Indians in S Africa passed a resolution recently lescribing the Group Areas and Unlawful Organization Bills as a direct attack on the remaining vestiges of the liberties of South Africans

Courtesy *The Leader*



THE WHITE HOPE

Courtesy *The Pioneer*

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Prime Minister

THE Prime Minister returned home after a three-week triumphal tour of the far Eastern countries—Indonesia, Malaya and Burma. He is no stranger to these regions as he has had intimate and frequent contacts with some of their leaders and peoples while they were yet under foreign yoke. Leader of a subject country himself Pandit Nehru had in those days a warm appreciation of their freedom struggle. He had extended to them the moral support of his countrymen and himself in their fight for freedom. And now that they have come into their own the ties between India and the Far Eastern countries must be strengthened. These contiguous territories have many things in common. They have just emerged from subjection into the light of freedom. Having won the first and toughest hurdle they have yet many more to negotiate. They must redouble their vigilance and energy and guard that freedom from disruption and decay—from external attacks and internal disorder. In fact the enemies within are more troublesome and dangerous than those without. It is up to them to preserve their hard won independence from Communist aggression as from the revolt of the insurgents. In a sense the problems facing Indonesia, Malaya and Burma are not dissimilar to those facing India. For purposes of defence and economic stability the Far Eastern countries must be taken as a single unit, a well knit unit, determined to conserve and develop their resources and become a source of strength and support one to the other. Strong in themselves and united with their neighbours by ties economic and social, they must be prepared to play a by no means insignificant part in stabilising peace in Eastern waters.

The New Voters

Now that the privilege of voting is thrown open to all adults irrespective of caste, sex, economic or social status the task of preparing a complete register of all such adults is a tremendous job. Armies of enumerators are now busy checking and re-checking the 170 million adults (roughly) who are eligible to vote at the ensuing General Elections. The Government of India have instructed the State Governments to seek out every such person wherever he may be or whatever his calling—not forgetting the beggars and Sadhus who have no home of their own and pass their days in the streets or on pavements.

In the course of instructions issued to enumerators, the Government of India have stated that

> even homeless persons can claim residential qualification in a local area if only they had slept in the area for 180 days during the qualifying period, as for instance, beggars, pavement dwellers, Sadhus and people who sleep under the arches of bridges.

If the job of seeking out all such persons and putting them on the electoral rolls with any degree of accuracy is a colossal task for any Government it is needless to emphasise the need for vigilant, public co-operation in this great work fraught with tremendous possibilities for the future.

Whether such a vast and multitudinous electorate, mostly illiterate, will pull their weight with any discrimination or intelligence in public affairs is a different question but the Indian Republic has started bravely and with a courage and faith worthy of its high destiny launched on a full democratic mission which must be justified by the result.

It is true that there is vast scope for blundering in a democratic move on such a vast scale but compact and exclusive oligarchies who have ruled in the past have not been a particularly shining success in history They have tended to fascism or Nazism of the worst type and bitter experience of dictatorship has definitely turned the tide in favour of widely popular rule with all its incidental defects of immaturism and inefficency It will at least be a training ground for a more stable and workable democratic polity in the future It is in this faith that Republican India has embarked on this great adventure

Plebiscite in Kashmir

Sir Owen Dixon the U N Kashmir Mediator is doing his job with commendable earnestness and a will to do the right thing in the right way The Australian Jurist has spared no pains to make himself acquainted with the sentiments of the parties concerned by first hand contact with Delhi and Karachi and Srinagar As a jurist of eminence he may be expected to bring a judicial mind and temper to the disentangling of this tangled web From his long and searching examination of this vexed question on the spot he must be in a position to sense the rights and wrongs of the belligerants But the question is will he dare follow up his judicial findings or try the diplomatic way of attempting the soothing syrup?

The U N has always been at pains to reconcile differences—for obvious reasons—and urge the parties in dispute to make some settlement that will minimise the chances of friction and open conflict While this is good to a certain extent such half measures seldom justify themselves in the long run The U N method is somethi like this If a gangster walks away with y property the U N approaches the gar and persuades him to give up a bit of his booty and the victim is asked to be satisfied that he had not lost all Though this patch work—done with the best of intentions—may do the trick for a time it is no solution and cannot satisfy either party for all time Hence the plea for a clear Judicial verdict Stating the conditions for solving the Kashmir dispute Shaikh Abdullah the Premier of Kashmir says

> I have often said in the past and I repeat that the irredu ible minimum conditions for settlement of the dispute are Firstly restoration of the territory of the State to the lawful Government and consequent liquidation of the so called Azad Kashmir Government and its forces and secondly rehabilitation of those who have left their places or residence after the raids and consequent disturbances These two factors are the key note of the whole problem and any denial of their fulfilment would mean a departure from the fundamental principles on which the people of the State have taken their stand

But this is not acceptable to Sir Zafrullah the Foreign Minister of Pakistan who also shouts for a fair Plebescite

Expressing surprise at Sir Zafrullah Khan's recent statement that Sheikh Abdullah's demand for the restoration of the entire territory to the lawful authority was not acceptable to Pakistan the Premier of Kashmir says

> In view of the categorial denial of the basic demand of the people how a free and impartial plebiscite can be held in the State passes one's comprehension. The force of a free and impartial plebiscite wears thin in view of this reservation

S V V

South India may have produced many a distinguished statesman, brilliant lawyers and others who have made their mark in the world of science or business There have been scholars too deeply read and reputed for their learning But S V V's genius was unique Thousands of readers

turned to him as the sunflower turns towards the sun. Such was the warmth and geniality of his writings, that week after week readers of *Ananda Vikatan* were breathlessly following the fortunes of the children of his vivid imagination. S. V. V. had had a long and chequered career, had seen life at all points, lived and loved and suffered and he had the glory of words to portray his feelings and emotions with a realism and fidelity that made his writings racy of the soil. He was humorous without being bitter, and alike in the range and depth of his sympathies he had few equals. At a time when English was the rage he wisely chose Tamil for his medium and proved himself a master craftsman. He wrote a pleasing popular style which at once attracted his readers by its simplicity and humour. It will be long before we have a writer of such charm, so wise, so charming, so persuasive. Indeed he set a standard of writing which was the envy of the pandit as of the journalist—thoughtful without pedantry and popular without being vulgar.

Sinha Memorial number

The April—May Number of the *Hindustan Review* is a double number fittingly styled the "Sachchidananda Sinha Memorial Number," with numerous articles and illustrations in appreciation of the long life and fruitful career of its founder and first Editor—the late Mr. Sinha. Among those whose contributions are included in the issue are President Rajendra Prasad, H. E. Mr. Aney, St. Nihal Singh, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Mr. P.R Das, Dr. Amarnath Jha, Dr. Hafiz Syed, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and others. The late Mr. Sinha distinguished himself as journalist, legislator and statesman and was reputed for his amiable character. The volume under review is a fitting memorial to the life and character of one who played an important role in the public life of the first half of this century.

The Korean Flare-up

Korea has been a hot bed of intrigue for some time past. As a sequel to the defeat of the Japs in the last war Russian troops occupied the north and American troops took possession of the south. It was later decided at the Moscow Conference to hold democratic elections under the auspices of the United Nations and restore unity and independence to the long suffering people of Korea. But those hopes were never realised and the wartime boundary of the 38th Parallel became the frontier between two rival Governments each unwilling to enter into negotiations with the other.

On the night of June 25 North Korean troops with 90 tanks stormed across the Imjin River to attack the main defence line covering Seoul, capital of South Korea.

Russian-backed North Korea declared war in the early morning, after claiming South Koreans had attacked three places along the border between the two States, the 38th Parallel—one of the "flashpoints" in the cold war in the Far East.

President Truman ordered American air and sea forces into action and took steps to safeguard the security of non-communist States in Asia—a step which has been welcomed by Mr. Attlee and the British Government. Gen. MacArthur has rushed American aid to S. Korea.—

Meanwhile the U. N. Security Council which is in Session under its Indian President Sir B, N, Rau has called on the aggressor to withdraw. The American resolution before the Council brands the Northern Korean attack as a "breach of the peace" and asks the Council to recommend to members of the United Nations that they

"furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area".

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SMOKE By Ivan S Turgenev J M Dent & Sons Ltd London

SMOKE one of the best known of Turgenev s novels is an ironic portrayal of both the decadent traditionalists and the ineffective theorists whose talk always ends in smoke The Russian writer spent most of his life abroad and the setting of this story is Baden—then the favourite resort of Russian nobility Turgenev was one of nature s great gentlemen—and he chose the attractive vehicle of the story form to give colour and emphasis to his ideas SMOKE deals with the squabbles of the governing officials and the subversive intellectuals with vivid individual characters in the foreground In between there is a passionate and poignant love story—Litvinov s infatuation for Irina giving colour and life to his thesis

Turgenev was too much of an artist to forget his true role as creator though he was criticised by left wingers and conservatives alike for not going the whole hog with them But he remained true to his artistic conscience and SMOKE like VIRGIN SOIL and FATHERS AND CHILDREN showed his spiritual integrity and ultimately crowned his efforts with public recognition

Turgenev depicted a world now long past in Russian history but in his canvas it is a world as vivid and real as imagination and sympathy and skilful art could create In SMOKE he gave us Irina one of the most seductive and complex of women characters in any literature It is a fine story told with charming ease by a master craftsman It is a welcome addition to Everyman s Library

TIRUKKURAL With English Translation By V R Ramachandra Dikshitar Adyar, Library Adyar Rs 3

Tirukkural is a classic as sacred to the Tamils as the Gita is to the country as a whole Its author Tiruvalluvar is supposed to have flourished in the first or second century B C and for twenty centuries the Kural has maintained its position as the literature *par excellence* of the Tamil people

It is surprising that there are so few translations of this important work Some years ago Rajaji published a selection under suitable headings but it is left to Mr Dikshitar to furnish an English version of the whole work The text comprising 1330 stanzas in 133 Chapters is printed on the left with its appropriate English rendering in the opposite page The translation is simple and lucid English appearing side by side with the original Tamil must render this ancient classic more popular among the English knowing public

The maxims of Tiruvalluvar are racy of the soil truly reflecting the genius of the Tamil land its wholesome commonsense its piety and universal goodwill One is struck with the variety of the Topics dealt with by the poet saint of Tamil Nad and the spice of commonsense pervading the rules of life embracing every occupation—from the farmer and householder to the prince Statesman or warrior Mr Dikshitar has done a distinct service to Tamil literature in his admirable effort to bring one of the world s classics within reach of the English reading public

THIS ENGLAND—1946-49. Selected by Audrey Hilton and Illustrated by Ronald Searle. Turnstile Press, London. 2s.

Here is yet another delightful bunch of items from the "This England" columns of the *New Statesman and Nation*. Previous selections were published in 1937, 1939 and 1946, and reflected the stimulating eccentricity and whimsicality, the rugged conservatism, the subdued grumbling at foreigners, the massive complacency over national character and achievement, the prejudices, the frivoli of feeling and thought of the many-voiced English public, from time to time So does this latest collection. Only as Searle's illustration on the cover page shows, postwar shortages and controls impose privations which evoke a somewhat less restrained and therefore, a more authentic, natural and unguarded expression of the public mind. The Lion s rather wrapt in gloom as it paws an almost meatless bone, its share in the severe rationing of all that can be eaten at all. And the upholders of Privilege and Empire, the Lord still in his tophat and striped trousers, and the Lady with her pearls round her neck and feathers in her head, look rather cheerless and woe begone. But the things they all say—and which the papers publish, all their thoughtlessness and triviality and engaging variety thus excerpted and viewed in detached isolation provide exceedingly amusing fare indeed. We look forward to more and yet more of the same delightful stuff in the years to come.

American Tourist to Butler. "We've made a stupid mistake. I'm afraid I must have tipped his lordship instead of you."

Butler: "That's most unfortunate, sir. I'll never get it now."

EPITAPHS AND OCCASIONS. By Roy Fuller, Lehmann, London. 6s.

In his Dedicatory Poem, Mr. Fuller asserts

> The treason of the clerks is when
> They make a fetish of the pen,
> Forget that art has dues to—
> As well as to the 'I'—the 'you',
> And that its source must always be
> What presses most, most constantly.

That sense of the artist's duty to himself, to his art, to life and to the world, that all-comprehending 'awareness' united to a fine and delicately managed technique, accounts for the stimulating freshness, vitality and power of these poems, Mr. Fuller's first collection for over five years now. There is an unhesitating sureness and directness of statement of the issues of our time, 'in language which has no evasions' and an extremely enjoyable note of unstudied and gay informality He moves easily, and effortlessly through varied themes and though Mr. Fuller delivers no final message herein, he speaks boldly and forcefully of the need to think act with courage, faith and truth in the crisis of our time.

A SORT OF TRAITORS Nigel Balchin—Collins, London. 9s 6d.

Balchin has attempted a study of the psychological conflict between narrow nationalism and international interests. A small group of scientists discovers a formula to suppress an epidemic. The Government, represented by a minor scientist cum politician, oppose the publication of the formula for fear that it might help the enemy in war. Should the Scientists revolt? Two of them decide to, but don't. Why not? The incipient traitors are not quite clear about it themselves and the detective does not reveal his methods.

THE WORLD IN FLAMES BY K K PRADHAN B A L L B PADMA PUBLICATIONS LTD — BOMBAY—Price Rs 5

The author feels that the third world war is somewhere round the corner and his soul is in agonies at the prospect of a dismal carnage In the midst of his preoccupations as an incometax practioner he has been doing some loud thinking and the book under review is the outcome of it

He attempts to evolve what he calls a social and individual philosophy based on the Vedantic doctrine of One in many and many in one He is in no hurry to offer a hasty solution and goes with the fundamentals He traces the evolution of society from feudalism to capitalism and discusses dialectical materialism of Marx consequent in the clash and conflict of the rival ideologies the world is in flames to day Incidentally he gives us a picture of an ideal society as he conceives it based not on money but on the development of creative faculties in mankind and plead for a harmony of *Sat Chit* and *Ananda* wisdom action and feeling which synthesis will flood the world with joy happiness and bliss It is pleasing to follow the Author s mind and the time spent upon the book is not wasted

HOW GOVERNMENTS TREAT BOOKS Sir Stanley Unwin—George Allen and Unwin Ltd London

This is a publisher s protest against the imposition of the iniquitous import duties on books—which in other words is a tax on knowledge All post war publications are not knowledge and while everyone would agree that books of knowledge should be freely disseminated it is not infrequently that we feel that some books are not sufficiently taxed

MODERN ARMS AND FREE MEN A Discussion of the Role of Science in preserving Democracy By Vannevar Bush With Heinemann Ltd , London

The author Dr Bush, an ex President of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and Chairman of the American National Defence Research Committee declares his conviction that the principles of democracy will remain the same despite the changes in the scientific technique of weapons and warfare though mechanised war has come to stay He holds that the prospect of an invasion in the future need not produce a sense of terror now and that sea borne commerce cannot be torn and destroyed by a merely landpower however strong it be Deadlock on land is possible but the clash of great fleets may be affected by yet new methods of naval warfare technique Conventional mass bombing may become obsolete soon Submarine war has developed into a race between techniques and it is likely that the days of mass bombing may be approaching its end

Atomic Bombs are as expensive as high explosives and the application of atomic energy to peaceful industrial pursuits is still far off The destruction by the atom bomb is effected in three ways Toxic, biological and radiological materials and methods of warfare will remain as an alternative

Total war will be ultimately determined on the basis of victory for that power which has got the better staying strength and the better system of government and industry The future total war would easily set back civilisation but could not destroy it and what is a significant possibility a future war need not come at all Subversive and cold wars are possible and easy, and the latter me

ness for war is actively sought for There is also the duty incumbent on all countries within the framework of the United Nations including America, to become broader in their outlook as to possible friends The growth of science has thrown into vivid relief the differences between the philosophies and the ideals of the two differentiated parts of the present day world But one should remember that democracy can always be altered to suit the changing desires of the people, and that planning and building are ultimately dependent upon the vitality of faith

POEMS OF LOVE AND AFFAIRS By David Hardman Allan Wingate, London Price 5s net

Mr Hardman modestly claims that his verse is merely an attempt to express his reaction to experiences such as the loss of a child a walk through Sussex snow, the marvels of happy domesticity pity for the oppressed and passionate hatred of the mighty forces of evil that are today massing for the destruction of our kind But the highest poetry itself but attempts little more Indeed its quality derives from the success which attends such an attempt Mr Hardman's technique is quite adequate to his theme and feeling and his poetry is informed by a fine sincerity Grave and gay as occasion demands Mr Hardman can, these poems show, write with ease and precision in verse No trace of the immaturity Mr Hardman fears afflicts his expression We should welcome more from his pen

'And there, my son' said father complacently, concluding a two hour discourse. "you have the story of your old dad in the last war'

'But daddy," asked the boy wonderingly, 'why did they need all the other soldiers?

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE RELIGION OF TAGORE IN THE LIGHT OF THE GOSPEL By Sigrid Estborn B A, B D, Christian Literature Society for India Madras

THE STORY OF ART By E H Gomrich, The Phaidon Press Ltd 1 Cromwell Place, London S W 7

AFTER THE BOMBING Poems by Edmund Blunden Macmillan & Co, Ltd, St Martin's St London

A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE By Pyarilal Navjivan Publishing House Ahmedabad

A SURVEY OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONALISM By P Rajeswara Rao, Advocate, Eluru

THE PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE OF VEDANTA AND RAJA YOGA By Sabhapathy Swami Ed by Siris Chandra Vasu Chaitanya Prabha Mandali, Bombay

THE WAY TO PEACE POWER AND LONG LIFE By Swami Narayanananda N K Prasad & Co, Rishikesh

A DECADE OF LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA 1937-48 International Labour Office Indian Branch New Delhi

SINEWS OF AMERICA United States Information Service Madras

PARAMARTHA PRASANGA Towards the Goal Supreme, By Swami Virajananda Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati Almora, Himalayas

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CO OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN ASIA—International Labour Office Indian Branch New Delhi

GLAMOUR AND OTHER STORIES By A V Rao, Arrow Enterprises 87 Lakshmi Buildings, Sir P M Road Bombay

THE HUMAN CYCLE By Sri Aurobindo, Sri Aurobindo Asram, Pondicherry

THEORY OF INDIAN MUSIC By Rai Bahadur Bishan Swarup Swarup Brothers, 7A Hamilton Road Allahabad

GURUKULA UNIVERSITY KANGRI Golden Jubilee, P O Gurukula Kangri, Saharanpur, U P

SHORT STUDIES ON CHINA AND INDIA By V G Nair Sino Indian Cultural Society of India, Santiniketan, Bengal

THE BEGINNING OF THE END By Harikrishna Mahtab The Book Company Ltd, College square, Calcutta

THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE By Dewan Bahadur C S Srinivasachari (Short studies in Indian History) The National Information and Publications Ltd, Bombay

THE CASE FOR THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATION By Prof Kamal Jani Book Depot Connaught Place, New Delhi

OUTLINES OF WORLD PEACE By Shiv Narain Saroyer Prakashan, 338 Krishna Kutir, Tehvara, Delhi

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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June 1 Pandit Nehru speaking at Trivandrum explains differences with Dr John Matthai leading to latter's resignation from Cabinet

June 2 Sir B N Rau elected President of the Security Council

—Nehru sails for Indonesia

June 3 Dr Matthai explains his differences with Nehru to P T I correspondent

June 4 Government plan for regrouping Railways announced

June 5 Bihar Estates Act held invalid by Patna High Court

June 6 Indian delegation arrives in Rangoon

June 7 Pandit Nehru addresses Union Parliament in Jagarta

June 8 India declines participation in R T C as a sequel to S Africa's attitude in respect of Group Areas Bill

June 9 Rioting in Patiala Jail

—Texas university admits Negro students

June 10 Gen K M Cariappa C in C of the Indian Army leaves London for India

June 11 Kerala P C C meeting at Ernakulam decides to bifurcate Malabar District

June 12 Popular Ministers take office in Hyderabad

—British Labour Party rejects Europe Union plans (Schuman Plan)

June 13 Jagjivan Ram is elected President of the I L O

—Pakistan Muslim League decides to send a goodwill mission to India

June 14 Pak Brigadier expresses regret over Kashmir Border incident

—Western German Parliament votes for entry into the Council of Europe

June 15 Bali chieftains honour Nehru by presenting a golden sword

June 16 Egypt Saudi Arabia Syria Lebanon and Yemen sign an Arab collective security pact

June 17 Indo Pakistan Agreement amending the schedule of the Interim Trade agreement of April 21 ratified

—Imperial Press Conference meets at Ottawa

June 18 Government of India declare Patna Rail workers strike as illegal

June 19 S African Senate passes Group Areas Bill by a majority of one vote

—President Truman asks the U S A Congress for 300 million dollars for speeding up H Bomb

June 20 Pt Nehru in Rangoon receives Municipal Address

—Swiss Federal Council ratifies the new Commercial Agreement with India

June 21 Government of India announces the personnel of the working party for Cotton Textiles Industry

June 22 The Fakir of Ipi is reported to be directing the Pakhtoonistan movement

June 23 The President issues an ordinance deleting section 14 from the Preventive Detention Act of 1950

—South African Senate passes the Anti Red Bill

June 24 Controls on Patrol and paper lifted

June 25 North Korean forces advance on Seoul South Korea appeals for U S arms aid

—Karachi's request to postpone enforcement of Group Areas Bill turned down by S Africa

June 26 Pandit Nehru back in Delhi

—U N Security Council brands invasion of S Korea as an act of aggression and orders northern forces to withdraw

June 27 Fierce battle around Seoul

—U S forces go into action

June 28 Seoul Capital of S Korea falls

—Agreement on Evacuee property reached at Delhi

PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

The difference between reduction and abandonment of armaments resembles that between *dana* (charity) and *tyaga* (renunciation) of wealth, observes Vinoba Bhave in *Harijan*. It is only by abandonment that fear could be shed.

At the same time, abandonment of armaments presupposes shedding of fear Thus we have a riddle before us The risk involved in abandoning armaments—is the possibility of others attacking us from outside and endangering our freedom This is common to both parties But someone has to make a beginning Who will do it? The smaller of the two nations says 'Since I am small I cannot take the risk of making a beginning" And the bigger nation says "Since I am big, I cannot make a beginning" The small one is afraid on account of its smallness the big one because of its bigness' But if there were courage, even the small could make a beginning, and the big one also The small would consider, "After all what is my military strength? What do I gain by maintaining it' If I give it up, I shall at least be free from this worry," The big Power will think 'My strength is known to all In this context if I abandon the armaments, it will be considered an act of courage How will it fail to impress the world'" But how may such courage be created in the small and the big nations' If it were a case of two individuals, it would be possible to say to any of them 'Take the step with *Ramanama* on your lips' But when it is the question of a whole nation, such methods of *mantra* do not work Along with *mantra* (faith) they need also the *tantra* (organizational approach) The entire economic structure of society should be built up so as not to invite or encourage invasion or attack on it She did there be no equality of all persons in its economic structure, it would some day certainly invite internal disorder or external aggression or both.

The famous saint Tukaram has said: "My wealth is not so small as could be kept in a box or a house, it is therefore kept in all houses. My wealth and my food grains are spread over the entire world" Hence there was no fear of theft in Tukaram's house.

Only if such decentralized economic arrangement is introduced in the house of a society and *ahimsa* is practised along with it, could the abandonment of armaments be made possible, and *ahimsa* bear its fruits

PAKISTAN CONSTITUTION

Mr. Liaqat Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan boldly asserts that complete equality is guaranteed to all in the Objectives Resolution voted by the Pakistani Constituent Assembly. Whoever has read the text can only gape with amazement at Mr Liaqat Ali Khan's serenity, asks the *New Review*.

The 'Objectives Resolution' appeals to the 'principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice enunciated by Islam' so that one would have expected that according to Islamic enunciation and tradition there would be three classes of citizens; Muslims, peoples of the Book, and infidels The Resolution, however, mentions only two classes "The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna', and 'adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religion and develop their cultures' In a speech introducing the Resolution, Mr Liaqat Ali Khan explained "The state shall seek to create an Islamic society free from dissensions . . . All sects will be given the fullest latitude and freedom It will be necessary for the state to direct and guide the activities of Muslims in such a manner as to bring a new social order based on the essential principles of Islam, including the principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and social justice' The speech visualized a dual society and a dual policy a Muslim class positively helped by the state policy of Islamization, a non Muslim class tolerated by the Islamic policy of respecting minorities and their cultures

It would be idle to seek out cases of nepotism and communalism in nominations, but it is strictly relevant to enquire what provisions have been made by the Pakistani Government for admitting the minorities in public services and armed forces.

How will the provinces implement the belated instructions of the Central Government on education (a provincial subject) and when will they cease their attempts to enforce Quranic prayers on Christian children in Christian schools? If the religious freedom of so tiny and hapless a community as the Pakistani Christian group is endangered in official circulars and administrative measures, what hope is there for Hindus in Pakistan? Pakistan's Prime Minister talks democracy with remarkable volubility, but to Hindu ears it all sounds Double Dutch

THE HYDROGEN BOMB

The common man's protest against the threatened menace of hydrogen bomb is voiced in a letter published in the *Christian Science Monitor* The letter is signed by fifteen people and says

We are not important people We live on side streets and ride the subways to work and save our money so that some day, may be we can buy a house in the suburbs But we are the people who will die when the hydrogen bomb is dropped and we dont s want to die

Every day our radios and newspapers tell us Americans soon will have the hydrogen bomb one hydrogen bomb could kill every living thing for hundreds of square miles several hydrogen bombs could wipe a whole country off the face of the earth, there is no place to hide It would not help us to move to the West or Midwest or South for long range bombers can fly over the top of the world and drop their bombs on Seattle Chicago, Detroit Birmingham Houston or Kansas Can t somebody do something?

Senator Brian McMahon, Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, has a plan for international control of the hydrogen bomb, Senator Millard Tydings has suggested another

Mr Bernard Baruch, speaking officially for the Government begged for rigid control of atomic weapons, but the Russians turned him down "Can't we make the Russians listen to reason?'

Mr Albert Einstein says every one in the world will die—unless someone works out a plan for hydrogen control and makes every nation on earth into accepting it

We who are signing this letter obviously are 'little people We are not in 'Who s Who' nobody who is anybody ever heard of us But we want to live we want our children to live and our children s children Don t all you other unimportant (and important) Americans want to live too? Then help us, we urge you

The signatories as their fellow Americans write to their Congressmen, Senators, President Truman, Senators McMahon and Tydings and others 'Tell them that something must be done Tell them you know the Russians have been tought to deal with but surely the Russians don't want to die either Tell them that reaching an understanding may be almost impossible but it must not be entirely impossible; for the stakes are very high"

WILL HARIJANS TURN BUDDHIST?

Will U P s 1 22 00 000 Harijans turn Buddhist? If one were to believe the claim at the U P Scheduled Castes' Federation the whole mass of them would be embracing Buddhism within the course of the next few weeks, writes *Hindustan Times* special correspondent

Discounting such fears, Mr Girdhari Lal, U P s Minister for Excise and Jails and an active member of U.P Depressed Class League, (he was its president last year) said in an interview that it was another of Dr Ambedkar's move to galvanize his party for the coming general elections Mr. Girdhari Lal regretted that the noble religion of Buddhism was being dragged into politics through such unscrupulousness

He said that all the Hindus had great veneration for Buddhism and thought it part and parcel of Hinduism But there was a distinct Vaishnavite culture and any attempt to remove the Scheduled Castes from their ancient moorings would be detrimental to the entire life of the community

Mr Girdhari Lal said that the Scheduled Castes were now convinced that they would come into their own in

the wake of the Republican Constitution. They had full faith that a synthesized culture would be born where there would be no such sharp distinctions of the exploited and the exploiters as existed today. The Scheduled Castes' problem was mainly economic. Mr. Girdhari Lal said that they were mostly an unorganized labouring population. Their woes could be effectively dealt with if they were properly organized and the spurious cries of religion and culture would not solve their problem.

The Hindu society today had forgotten old cleavages and it would be a bad day for the country if the feelings were excited over a dead issue.

BRITAIN BECOMING LESS INTELLIGENT

Five eminent scientists in a report published by the Royal Commission on population say the nation is becoming less intelligent; and that, as a rule, the children in large families are less intelligent than those in small ones.

Sir Cyril Burt, Professor of Psychology, University College, London, estimates that in fifty years' time the number of pupils of scholarship ability will be halved and the number of feeble-minded almost doubled.

Sir Godfrey H. Thomson, Professor of Education thinks the fall of intelligence in English and Welsh families may be at least one point of intelligence quota per generation; and this is a serious matter.

But Scottish children, he adds in a later paper, are keeping well up to the mark. There is no decline in intelligence among them.

A large scale investigation by Dr. Lewis showed there were 50 per cent more mental defectives in the country than in the towns.

NATIONAL DEMAND OF PAKHTOONS

The *Pakhtoonistan*, a paper published in Pushtor language in Masudistan has addressed an appeal to the United Nations for realising the "Just demands" of Pakhtoons.

"Repeatedly we have raised our voice" says the paper, "and once again now we wish to make our sound reach the ears of the world's greatest assembly meant for maintaining peace and justce. Let it be known that the Pakhtoon nation demands liberty and independence which is the fundamental right of man. Pakistan by its false and malicious propaganda wishes to mislead the world.

"May we appraise the whole world and particularly the peace-loving nations of the world that the ideal set before the Pakhtoons is no other than the just and natural aspiration of a man to have his freedom. We have raised our voice time and again that on no account shall the Pakhtoon nation bow in slavery to others.

"We again declare and affirm that it is our just and natural demand to become independent. Let justice be administered to us by the Assembly of United Nations. Our demands are based on the principles of United Nations' Charter. Why are we forced to wear the chains of other's slavery? Come what may, we have made a solemn and firm determination that so long as a single Pakhtoon is alive, we shall never part with our freedom.

"Hence we ask the peace-loving Assembly of the United Nations to consider our just demand. There can be no peace in the world till the Pakhtoons are free. The free nations of the world have this responsibility cast upon them that justice should be dealt to us."

BUDDHIST MISSION

The Vaisakha number of the *Maha Bodhi* is a sumptuous number packed with articles on the sublime life and teachings of Buddha It opens with a message from the President of the Republic Sri Rajendra Prasad who says that the essence of Buddha's message to man was

that he could escape the misery of his life only by increasing service of his neighbour If man could fill his being with this truth and make it light his footsteps the cloud of sorrow and anxiety that hangs over his life so heavily today would simply melt away like an unpleasant dream and he would have become free from his worries and fears

India needs much more today than message of peace and love Her people have to realise that the problems of life are solved not by anger and passion but through marching firmly under the guidance of what may be termed moral intelligence The fundamental lesson of this moral intelligence is that man rises above the brute and achieves victory over Death only through service, sacrifice and love

This is followed by a number of interesting contributions among which may be mentioned Dr Ambedkar's plea for the propagation of Buddhism Dr Ambedkar comparing Buddhism with Hinduism Christianity and Islam, points out that the religion of Buddha was essentially an ethical religion and that the present time seems propitious for the spread of Buddhism

There was a time when religion was part of one's own inheritance A boy or a girl inherited the religion of his or her parent along with the property of the parent There was no question of examining the merits and virtues of religion Sometimes the heir did question, whether the property left by the parents was worth taking But no heir was there to question whether the religion of his or her parents was worth having Time seems to have changed Many persons throughout the world have exhibited an unprecedent piece of courage with regard to inheritance of their religion Many have as a result of the influence of scientific enquiry, come to the conclusion that religion is an error which ought to be given up There are others who as a result of the Marxian teaching have come to the conclusion that religion is an opinion which induces the poor people to submit to the domination of the rich and should be discarded Whatever be the causes the fact remains that people have developed an inquiring mind in respect of religion And the question whether religion is at all worth having and if so which religion is worth having are questions which are uppermost in the minds of those who dare to think about this subject Time has come What is wanted is will If the countries which are Buddhist can develop the will to spread Buddhism the task of spreading Buddhism will not be difficult

CARE OF TEETH

If you clean your teeth after every meal you are probably hastening dental decay This is the warning given by Dr R E T Hewat of New Zealand, after a years tests He found that there is a maximum level of dental hygiene and that care beyond that point does more harm than good

Tests conducted among a group of student nurses who scrupulously cleaned their teeth after every meal or drink showed that they were 70 per cent more liable to dental decay than a group who followed normal " cleaning routine

On the other hand it was found that avoidance of biscuits cakes, sweets, ice-cream sugar and cordials definitely reduced decay A group of nurses who cut these items from their diet had 30 per cent less dental decay than those who had no restrictions on what they ate Their weight remained stable and their diet resulted in enhanced mental and physical alertness

This news about teeth come only a few days after a South African skin specialist was reported to have declared that too much washing caused skin disease

PLAN TO END ' COLD WAR'

Mr. Henry wallace, Progressive party-candidate in the 1948 presidential election offered in a speech at New York a three-point programme to end the cold war and save the world

In a radio address, he suggested.

(1) The strengthening of the United Nations;

(2) The expansion of world trade by using money saved by disarmament to develop the backward areas of the world and

(3) The stengthening of progressive capitalism in the United States on a basis that recognised the willingness of capitalism to live side by side in co operation with other systems in the world

Mr. Wallace said he agreed with the United Nations Secretary-General M. Trygve Lie, that the cold war had to be ended and ended soon

He told his listeners to write to Generalissimo Stalin and Mr Truman asking them to cut armaments, including atomic bombs by 39 per cent and lend at low interest "to develop backward and crowded parts of the world including, Russia and China"

DO S AND DONT'S AT SICK BED

When a patient is convalescent, the wrong type of visitors can do a lot of harm, writes *Women Magazine*

So when your friends are ill, and you want them to get better quickly, don't go to see them too often, don't take all your family with you, don't take food or fruit they may not be able to eat, don't talk too much and don t stay too long. Also try not to talk about their illnes and never talk about other people's or announce the death of anyone you or they know.

THE PERFECT SOCIETY

Morality or humanism, says *Prabuddha Bharata*, cannot be the ultimate goal of society, "for there can be no lasting solution on the moral level which is variable from group to group Perfection is in the spirit which is beyond all dualities The fundamental problem of human relationships is often lost sight of in the welter of political and economic conflicts If it is possible to form a society wherein the knowledge and poise of the Brahmin, the valour and culture of the Kshatriya, and the distributive and adventurous spirit of the Vaishya, and the ideal equality and hardihood of the labourer are all kept intact it will be an ideal social organization In the achievement of this, who will lead the way but India?"

FAMILY INCOMES IN U. S

The income figures released by the Census Bureau of United States show that the average U. S family received $ 3,000 during 1948 This sum was $ 150 more than the average received in 1947 and about $ 600 more than the average in the war years 1944 and 1945 Dividing families into various income groups it is noticeable that eight million families had incomes of between $ 3,000 and $ 4,000 and $ 7,900,000 families had incomes of between $ 2,000, and $ 3 000 An income of between $ 4,000 and $ 5,000 was enjoyed by five million families, while 3 100,000 families received an income between $ 5,000 and $ 6 000 About 10 million families were reported as receiving less than $ 2,000 for the year

Novelist ' I'm describing a scene that took place ten years ago Tell me what kind of frocks the women wore in those days

Novelist's wife (bitterly) "The sort I'm wearing now!

THREE TYPES OF WAR MONGERS

There are three categories of people according to Stalin who are vitally interested in bringing on another world war writes Ellis M Zecharias in *World Horizon* They are

1 Top economic leaders who are interested in continuous expansion of production and markets no matter what it means

2 Military men who are not so much interested in war as in continuing tension to keep their budgets high

3 A whole group of discredited and exiled political leaders whose only chance for a come back lies in another war

PRIVILEGED KILLING

Seven persons believed to be Communists were shot dead in an encounter with the police So runs a news item Items like this have become a regular feature of the news lately Commenting on this *Swatantra* points out that these items reveal a state of affairs that does no credit to the authorities charged with the capture of the Communists It seems to be taken for granted that if the police believe a man to be a Communist they are quite in order if they shoot him dead Such licence to kill is not worthy of a civilized nation It is monstrous that under cover of tackling the Communist menace the police should be empowered to kill persons whose names even are not disclosed to the public With such latitude for violence without proof of justification it is not surprising if the police have developed into a terror of the countryside In cruelty and reckless disregard for human life they have thrown the Communists themselves into the shade News is to hand that in Patiala the police set fire to a house in which a woman outlaw had taken shelter and burnt her to death The hardening of the police into heartlessness is fast robbing them of the status of a beneficent power for the protection of society They are coming to be dreaded as a scourge Increasing public detestation of police methods casts on the Congress the shadow of prospective defeat in the coming elections

RUSSIA S MILITARY STRENGTH

In his new book *Defence of the West* Loddell Hart the well known British writer on military affairs suggests that the threat of the Russian army lies not so much in the mass of 175 fully manned divisions she is reputed to have but in her 18 armoured and motorised divisions

These 18 divisions from Russia s quality army would be the spearhead of any attack Russia says Hart ended the war with one of the best tanks—the T 34 It had two inches of armour, a three inch gun a speed of 34 miles an hour and a low hard to hit silhouette The crew were cramped and instruments poor but it was fool proof

The Russians now have German technicians to help them and it would be wise to think that they are at least maintaining their old rate of progress in tank design They are also likely to be keeping to their old policy of the mass production of one or two simple types of tank In the war this was a great help to rapid output in quantity

Russians air output is the highest in the world but it is mainly of light ground co operation and training types Most of their aircraft are made of wood

The Russians have been greatly helped in overcoming their handicap in engine design by their purchase of Rolls Royce Nene jet engines from Britain

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

DR. AMBEDKAR'S ADVICE

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Law Minister of India, spoke at a mass meeting at Hatton on June 4 when the Ceylon Indian Congress gave a reception to him. Thousands of Indian labourers from estates far and wide assembled to hear him. The meeting was presided over by Mr. K. Rajalingam, President of the Congress. Mr. V. V. Giri, Indian High Commissioner, was also present. Dr. Ambedkar, in his speech, advised Indians to register themselves as Ceylonese in large numbers.

Regarding Ceylon Citizenship and the conditions imposed by the Ceylon Government, he said: "According to feelings and opinions expressed, the conditions appear to be difficult and unjust. People who have been here for generations apprehend they may not have fair treatment and the Government of India appreciate their difficulty. You must appreciate you are living in Ceylon which is as much an independent and sovereign State as India. Ceylon has the right to make laws, but in course of time and in view of the recent change in the attitude of Ceylon, there will be progressive assimilation and removal of much of your difficulties. Do not look up to India for assistance. Share the aspirations of Ceylon and do not develop an anti-Ceylonese attitude. Except for maintaining cultural contacts India cannot do anything for you. I can assure you that with a friendly approach you will be meted out justice and given equal opportunities. I finally appeal to you to register yourself as Ceylonese and to develop a love for Ceylon."

Indo-China

INDIANS IN INDO-CHINA

Indians in Indo-China have no longer to specify in their identity cards and travel documents whether they are Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Sikh, writes the PTI correspondent.

Responding to the representations made by the Indian Consulate-General in Saigon and the Central Indian Association, the French authorities have agreed to do away with this provision. Henceforth, all Indians will simply state they are "Indians" while they travel round in Indo-China.

Towards the end of last year, another handicap from which the Indian community suffered—every Indian had to give his fingerprints on entry into Indo-China—was removed as a result of representations made by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. B. V. Keskar during his visit to Saigon

The Indian community in Viet Nam—separate from the very large number of French Indians who are to be found in Government services and in business—totals some 2,000 They are mostly prosperous merchants who have very large interests.

England

HINDU TEMPLE IN LONDON

The Hindu Association of Europe, through their President Dr. M. D. Thakore, have announced that a balance of Rs. 20,000 is to be used to secure a place of worship in London.

Dr. Thakore made this announcement at the recent annual meeting of the Association.

Dr. Thakore's successor as President for 1950-51, is Dr. K. M. Pardhy, an Indian surgeon, resident in Birmingham

South Africa

SEQUEL TO GROUP AREAS BILL

The Government of India have released the substance of the correspondence they had with the South African Government leading up to their decision not to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference to discuss the problem of Indians in South Africa

This decision, according to a Press communique issued by the External Affairs Ministry on June 9, followed the refusal by the South African Government "to postpone the Group Areas Bill and in the meantime to expedite the Round Table Conference."

The communique referring to the Union Government's statement that they could not attend the proposed Conference if it was to be held before September 15 at the earliest, said that the Government of India felt that in effect, this would mean that after the Group Areas Bill was passed into law, the only subject that the Round Table Conference could discuss would be the reduction of the Indian population in South Africa, which was proposed by the Union Government during the preliminary talks in February 1950

The Government of India considered this position as "wholly unacceptable" and decided not to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference, and the Union Government was informed accordingly.

INDIA REFUTES S. A.

Following the Government of India's decision not to participate in the Round Table Conference and the release of the substance of the correspondence that had passed between them South Africa and India exchanged further telegrams.

While the South African Government, expressing disappointment and regret at India's decision, maintained that India was aware of the Union Government's intentions concerning the Group Areas Bill several days before the announcement of the Round Table Conference, the Government of India in their telegram said that no mention of the Group Areas Bill was made at any stage of the preliminary Conference

If either Pandit Kunzru or the Government of India, the telegram stated, had any such intimation they would immediately have emphasised the grave damage that such action would do to the prospects of a Round Table Conference.

Replying to South Africa's reference to the 'trade sanctions", the Government of India's telegram said that they were introduced four years ago as a protest against extension of the principle of segregation and, in their opinion, it could not be reasonably argued that action taken by them in 1946 could have the same adverse effect on the prospects of the proposed Conference as the entirely new steps taken by the Union Government to tighten up and enlarge segregation

The Government of India also maintained that the Round Table Conference after the passage of the Group Areas Bill would be one-sided.

COMPULSORY RACIAL GROUPING

South Africa's Minister of the Interior, Dr. Eben Donges, told the House of Assembly that the Government's new Group Areas Bill envisaged provision of separate areas of land for different racial groups "by compulsion if necessary." The Bill came up for second reading in the House on May 20.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE PLANNING COMMISSION

The Planning Commission has set up an Advisory Board to consist of persons nominated by associations connected with commerce, industry and labour and other associations in the technological and socio-economic fields. The Advisory Board will ordinarily meet every two months, but sections of the Board dealing with groups of subjects to which others may also be co-opted may meet more often. A number of panels are being constituted to deal, in the main, with four groups of subjects, namely, (1) Industry, Trade and Communications, (2) Food and Agriculture, (3) Development of natural resources, and (4) Employment and Social Services.

Each subject is sub divided so as to carry a number of concrete questions. Under the first heading will come Industry, Transport, Commerce, Cottage Industries and technical problems in general. Under Food and Agriculture, will be included Agriculture, and Agrarian Reform. Under the third (Natural Resources) will be included Irrigation and Power, Coal and Minerals, scientific and technical manpower and (4) under employment and social services will be included Labour and Employment, Health, Education, Housing and Public Co operation.

The commission has also asked the State Governments for full reports on all their development schemes undertaken during the last five years, it is learnt. This is to make a comparative study of the plans and to place them in the right perspective of an all-India programme.

To facilitate careful appreciation of the development programmes, the Commission has proposed the grouping of these schemes under various heads and sub-heads.

The Commission has asked the State Governments to pay special attention to any new ideas which may have been decided, or to experiments which may have been made, as an important object of the proposed development programme, it is stated, is to pool the experience gained in different parts of the country.

INDIA'S ROLE IN U. N.

The Rev. Fr. Jerome D'Souza, Indian delegate to the United Nations, who returned to Madras on June 18 by air after a tour of America, said in an interview that "the Americans have real sympathy for India and a tremendous admiration for Mahatma Gandhi."

Fr. D'Souza explained the neutral stand taken by India in the discussions of the U.N. General Assembly between the Eastern and Western blocs regarding "preparations for war" and said: "It was impossible for the Indian Delegation to agree with the view that Great Britain and other democratic nations were deliberately preparing for an aggressive war. Hence, after making a a moderate and wise statement on the situation, the Leader of the Indian Delegation informed the Assembly that India would vote for the Anglo-U.S. resolution calling for a more faithful discharge of the obligations which each member nation had accepted by signing the U N. Charter."

Fr. D'Souza, continuing, said: "In public lectures in America, it is not easy to explain why, in spite of the democratic spirit of new India, the Government of India refuses to align itself with the Western Powers in some kind of alliance. We need to show to the American public that this is not due to any secret sympathy with Communism or any form of totalitarianism, but because, after the example of Mahatma Gandhi, India wishes to try every peaceful method of negotiation before resorting to war and, therefore, a policy of military alliances will not find favour with the Indian people. India will fight only if her territorial integrity is threatened. Moreover, India badly needs peace for internal reconstruction and cannot afford to launch on an ambitious foreign policy while there are many social problems urgently demanding solution within her own borders.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

NEHRU ON S E ASIA

South East Asia is potentially "a most dangerous area" and "great conflicts might begin here which may spread to the rest of the world," Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told a committee of the Jogjakarta Republican Parliament on June 12

Instead of "the usual complimentary speeches' he stated, he would like to discuss with them "certain common trends such as Communism and other forces at work

"Whatever happens in this region affects India and whatever happens there will have repercussions here' he declared 'Hence what we do and do not become of paramount importance not only here but in the large sphere of the world'

"South East Asian countries which had only recently won independence were not strong enough and could not influence world affairs greatly but, nevertheless, they could do so to morrow or the day after," he said Their first task should be to build themselves up and improve the standard of living of the masses

Talking of Communist activities in India Pandit Nehru said they did not tend to build up anything but to disrupt every thing— producing chaotic conditions and reactionary forces" He had nothing against the doctrine of Communism, but present activities of Communists were 'indeed counter revolutionary" The result of their activities, creating "chaotic conditions" was the very negation of the basic principles of revolution

DEAN ACHESON ON PEACE

U S A Secretary of State Dean Acheson said on June 13, that Soviet imperialism did not present an "immediate danger of war" He told an audience at Dallas (Texas) however that United States co operation with other nations and strengthening of the North Atlantic community were essential to peace

'What is the objective of our foreign policy? I think it can be stated very simply We want a peaceful world Our conception of peace is that it should be a condition of fruitful and harmonious relationship among the people of this earth The objective of our foreign policy, therefore is to help establish conditions necessary to this kind of a peaceful world Only in this kind of a world can you and I and our fellow citizens fulfil in our lives the highest value of our democracy

'There are however some obstacles to be overcome Not all of them are attributable to the Soviet It is good to remind ourselves . the world still have enough problems left to keep us well occupied even if the Soviet Union were to as we hope it will some day, become our good neighbour . . .

"Finally—there is the challenge presented to us by the Soviet form of imperialism The Soviet behaviour appears to be based upon an expectation and is not an anticipation of a collapse of the non Soviet world—a process which Soviet leaders are not hesitant to assist where they can They do so apparently in the belief that a collapse of the non Soviet world is essential to the continuance and consolidation of their leadership system"

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

East Punjab is to receive the largest allocation of funds available for rehabilitation during 1950-51 out of all the States in India, barring Bengal, it is learnt.

West Bengal has been given a special allocation of Rs. 5 crores. But from the normal Budget provision of Rs. 25 crores, East Punjab's share will be the largest, namely, Rs. 4·3 crores during 1950-51 for its various schemes of relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons.

The Government of India have also authorised the Punjab Government to spend another Rs. 40 lakhs which represented the grant sanctioned last year, but not spent.

Allocations for other States are being finalised and are expected to be announced shortly.

HYDERABAD CABINET

"The incorporation of four representatives of the State Congress in Hyderabad Cabinet does not, of course, make the Government fully democratic but it points the way to fuller and complete democratisation", said Mr. M. K. Vellodi, Chief Minister, in a broadcast from the Hyderabad station of All India Radio on June 15.

"I feel no doubt that the association of the four distinguished representatives of the Congress with the State Government will very greatly strengthen it and also increase its prestige. The people of Hyderabad must feel that at long last there are Ministers in the State Government who could speak for them and in whose hands their interests will be perfectly safe," Mr. Vellodi added.

FUTURE OF KASHMIR

"If Kashmir is to live, it will live as one unit," observed Mr. Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister of Kashmir, emphatically discounting all suggestions of partition of the State.

The Revenue Minister, who was addressing a largely attended meeting at Baramulla on June 16 said: "The people of Kashmir cannot countenance any proposal which destroys the political and economic integrity of their country."

Taking his stand on the resolution passed at the special convention of the Conference recently held at Jammu, which urged the people of the Kashmir State to oppose tooth and nail any proposal for partition, Mirza Afzal Beg said: "How can this little State live and prosper if for instance, the rich forests of the Kishenganga Valley are handed over to one party and the sapphire deposits of Padar to the other?"

The Revenue Minister added that the issue of the State's accession was to be decided by the people themselves and they would brook no outside pressure. "Pakistan wants to enslave us and employed all possible tactics to achieve this nefarious design, but we will resist it. We shall not surrender our hard-won freedom at any cost. We will align ourselves with the country which ensures our freedom and where we can go ahead with the implementation of our programme of new Kashmir."

COLONISATION OF THE ANDAMANS

The Government of India have sanctioned a scheme for the grant of certain facilities to ex-servicemen who would volunteer to settle with their families in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

POWERS OF SUPREME COURT

The Supreme Court on May 5 gave an indication about its guiding principle in the use of the "wide" power given to it under the new constitution when Mr. Justice Fazl Ali said that "the court should use its wide discretionary power sparingly and only in exceptional cases."

The Supreme Court was delivering judgment dismissing the appeal of one Prittam Singh against his death sentence confirmed by the East Punjab High Court.

In the course of the judgment, Mr. Justice Fazl Ali remarked that there should be a "uniform standard" in granting special leave to appeal, and that "uniform standard" could be laid down in accordance with "circumstances."

His Lordship said that the facts of a criminal case should not be re-opened in the Supreme Court particularly when the two courts (high court and lower court) are already agreed in their conclusions.

U.S. PRESS TRIBUTE TO INDIAN JUDICIARY

A recent ruling by the Supreme Court of India upholding freedom of the Press was described by the *Washington Post* as "an event of great significance" in Asia.

In an editorial, *The Post* commented on the Court's decision that India's constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and expression could be invoked against the Government itself.

Noting that the ruling specifically protected a pro Communist newspaper banned by the Madras State Government, *The Post* said: "The significant thing is that the Court is interpreting the Indian Constitution in a judicial atmosphere instead of merely falling in with the executive and legislative policy."

MIR LAIK ALI ESCAPE CASE

A proclamation notifying the nine absconding accused in the Mir Laik Ali escape case that if they did not present themselves in the court to answer the charges within a month, their properties in Hyderabad, if any, would be confiscated, was issued by the Hyderabad High Court.

Those absconding include Mir Laik Ali, Mrs. Laik Ali, their two daughters, Misses Laika and Saida and Mr. B. C. Meyers, an American engineer.

Police Inspector P. A. Patravali of the Bombay Police, now attached to the Hyderabad District Police, said that under instructions he had been to Bangalore, Mysore, Frazerpet, Hunsur and Frazer Town to effect the arrest of Moinuddin, a dhobi and Ibrahim, butler of Mir Laik Ali, but as they could not be found the warrants could not be executed.

CHARGE OF WRONGFUL CONFINEMENT

"The practice of keeping persons for all intents and puposes in custody but not producing them before a Magistrate on the plea that no formal arrest had been made must be strongly deprecated as it is intolerable that the liberty of a subject should be invaded on inexcusable pretexts." Thus observed Mr. Justice Keshoram Passey of the PEPSU High Court, while dismissing the revision petition filed by Harpershad, former Kotwal of Kapurthala, who was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 for wrongful confinement of Subedar Bir Singh of the Jagatjit. Infantry.

TRADE AND FINANCE

NATIONAL INCOME OF INDIA

The *per capita* national income of India rose to Rs 228 in 1946 47 from Rs 204 in the previous year alongside the general price levels which went up by about 12 5 per cent

This is disclosed in a brochure The National Income of the Indian Union Provinces 1946 47 just published by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India The brochure gives in broad out line the net national income produced within the country at factory cost

The total net national income in 1946 47 according to the brochure stood at Rs 5 580 crores This figure is for the whole of the Indian Union provinces as constituted after partition and does not include the states merged into them subsequently

Provisional estimates for 1948 49 place the national income at about Rs 6 968 crores and the per capita income at Rs 272 taking into account the number of gainfully employed The national income of Indian States is estimated at one third of that of the Indian Union provinces

There has been an increase under the head agriculture animal husbandry forestry and mining works from Rs 2 009 crores in 1945 46 to Rs 2 898 crores in 1946 47 Agriculture alone fetched a net income of Rs 1 770 crores in 1946 47 as compared with Rs 1 495 crores in the previous year

The income of urban areas worked out at Rs 2 107 crores for a working popul ation of 18 8 million as compared with Rs 8 483 crores in rural areas for a working population of 87 1 million Thus the income per earner for urban and rural populations for the year 1946 47 is estimated at Rs 1 121 and Rs 401 respectively

IMPORT CONTROL

A high power Committee to study the working of import control in India both in regard to the general policy as well as in its administrative aspects and to advise the Government in that regard is set up by the Government of India

The Committee will consist of three members with Mr G L Mehta member of the Planning Commission as Chairman Mr Tulsidas Kilachand President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry member and Mr D L Majumder I C S Member Secretary An official announcement in this connection is expected shortly

This will be one of the first steps to be taken by the new Commerce Minister, Mr Sri Prakasa to meet the criticism from the public against one department of his Ministry For sometime past the Commerce Ministry came in for a great deal of criticism over the import control policy and its administration

INDIA GOVT S 3 PER CENT LOAN

The Government of India's three per cent loan subscription for which opened on June 19 has been fully subscribed

Announcing this a Press communique said that the Government of India s three per cent loan 1964 was closed at the close of business on June 19 The full subscription had been received

This is the first loan floated by the Government of India during the current financial year as a part of their budgeted Rs 75 crore borrowing programme

Subscriptions for the present loans were received both by cash and by the two and half per cent 1950 bonds

ASIAN WOMEN

Within recent times the awakening among East African Asian Women became the topic of discussion in Nairobi and as a result of pioneer work by Dr. (Mrs) Nalini Devi Pant, wife of the Indian Commissioner and Mrs Monica Nazareth, the Advocate wife of Mr. J. M. Nazareth, well-known Indian barrister of Kenya and Vice-President of the E.A. Indian Congress, an East African Asian Women's Association has been formed. Mrs. Pant has been elected President.

The Association aims to bring together all Asian women in these territories on a non-political and non-communal common platform; to promote social, educational and economic welfare of Asian women in East Africa; to undertake such activities as will bring Asian women's organisations in East Africa to the level of similar organisations elsewhere; to assist in bringing about closer contact and understanding between Asian women and women of the other races in East Africa.

It is pointed out that for the present the Association will confine its activities among women in Nairobi. Nevertheless, the Association will attempt to promote, encourage and support the formation of similar organisations in all the principal towns of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and to form a central organisation in each territotory, which will be affiliated to a proposed federal body.

WOMEN POLICE FOR CALCUTTA

Thirty women Police will shortly join Calcutta's Traffic controlling force to restore "street manners" among motorists and pedestrians in Dalhousie Square and Chowringhee, City's busiest areas.

MADAME BRUNNER

Madame Sass Brunner was one of those foreigners who came to India and were conquered by her. India was only one of the halting points in the journey round the world which she along with her daughter Elizabeth, undertook in 1929, but her sensitive soul was so affected by this country's picturesque plains and serene mountain tops, the naive, artless life of her people and their flights into philosophy and mysticism, and above all by the soulful utterances of Gandhi and Tagore, that she ultimately left her home in Hungary and came to live in the midst of Indians. She answered the call of the mountains and travelled deep and far into India's vales and glens of the Himalayas. And then she gave expression to her soul in her paintings. A memorial exhibition, showing about 50 of her selected works was opened recently by Shrimati Amrit Kaur, Health Minister, Government of India, at the Imperial Hotel. As the Prime Minister says all these pictures "delight by their beautiful draughtsmanship, depth and brilliance of colour and wide range of subjects."

SRIMATHY KANTHIMATHI

Srimathi C. D. Kanthimathi, B.A. (Hons) B.T., has been appointed as Superintendent in the administrative section of the Madras educational Service. Srimathi Kanthimathi is the daughter of Mr. N. Dandapani Pillai, well-known political worker of Chidambaram, and returned only recently from England, where she studied as a Government scholar.

VOICE OF THE WORLD'S PRESS

Select Opinions on the Golden Jubilee Number

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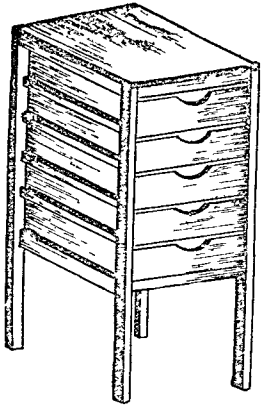
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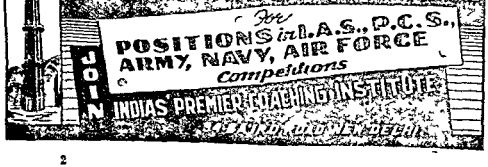
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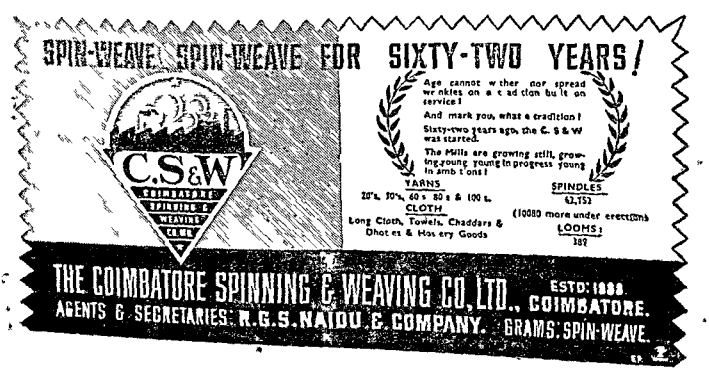
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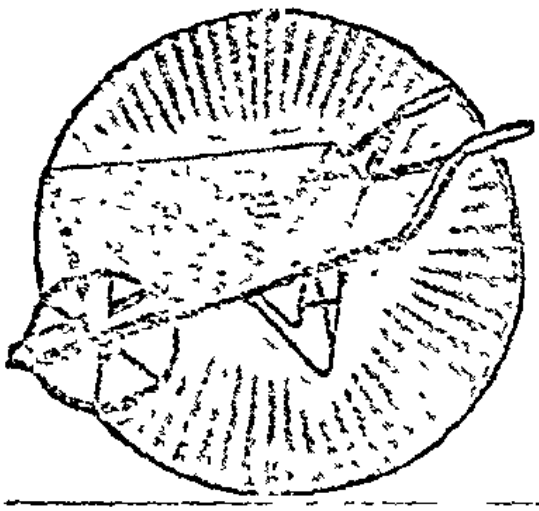
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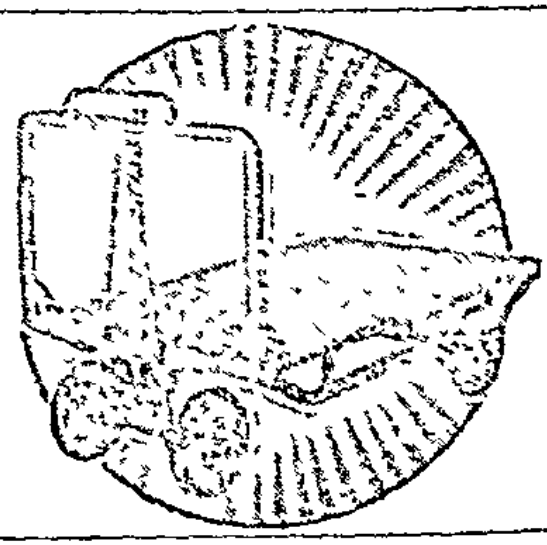
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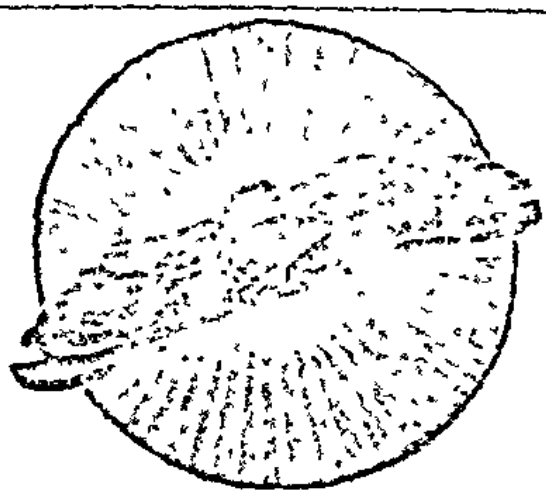
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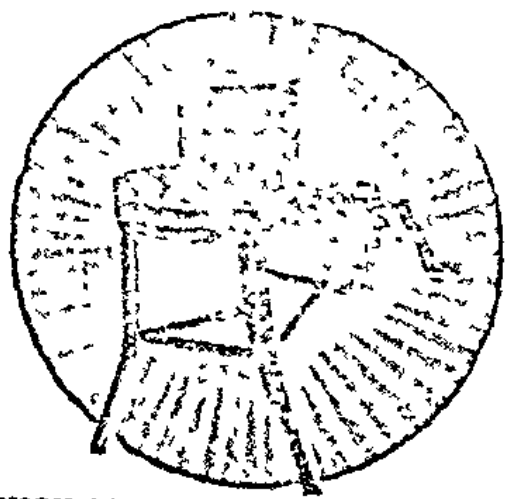
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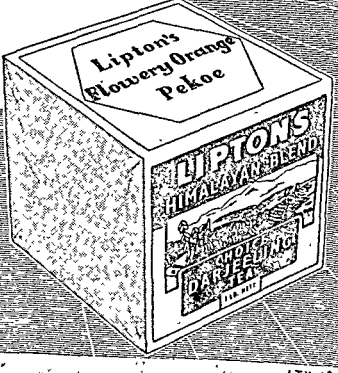
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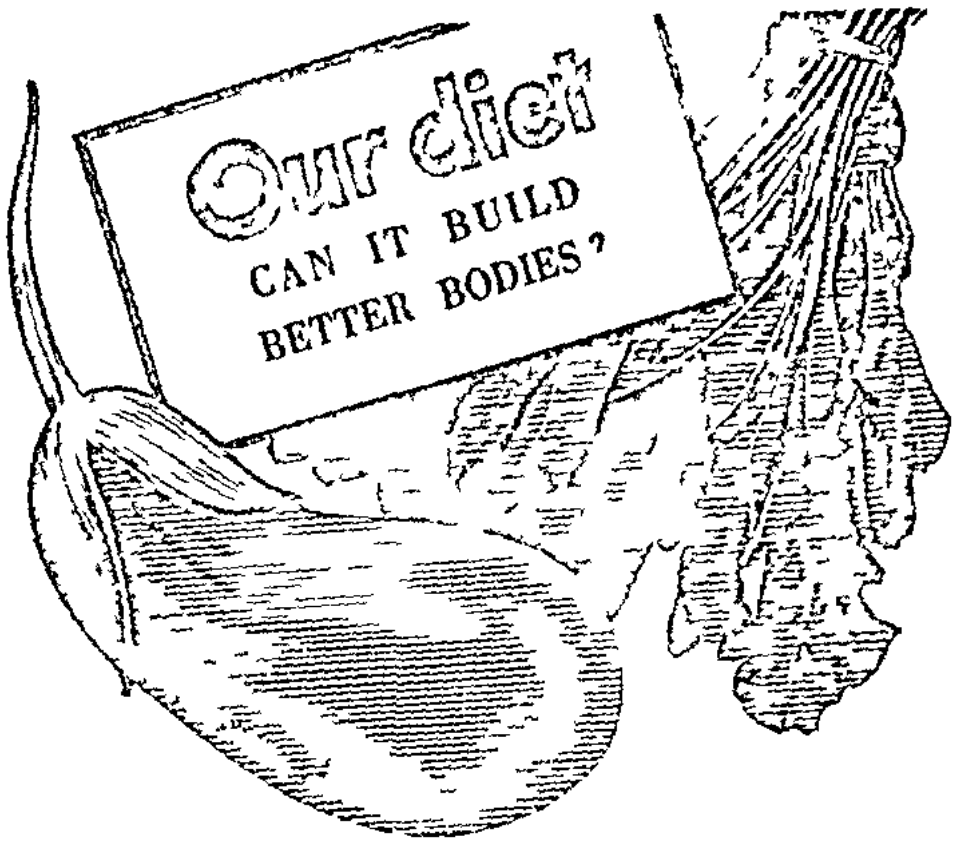
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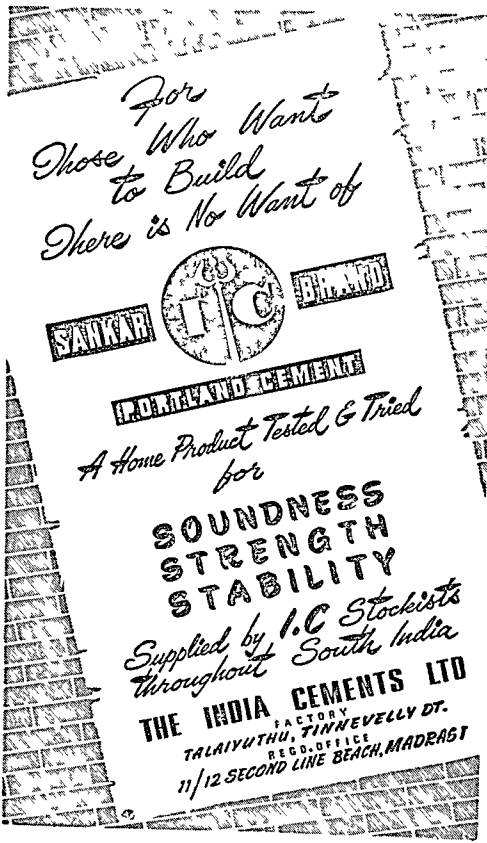
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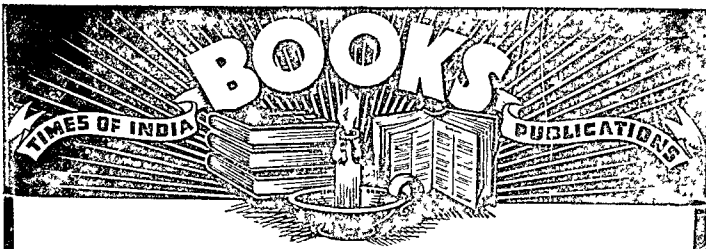
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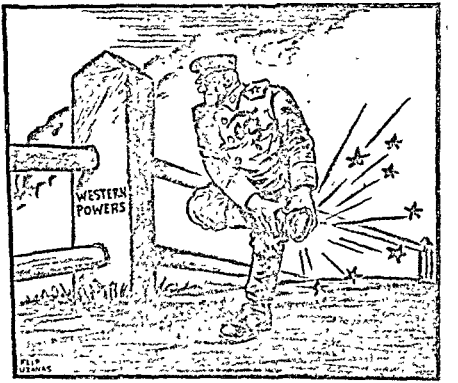
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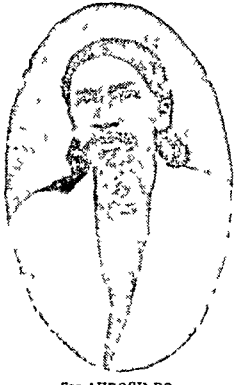
Vol. 51.] AUGUST 1950 [No. 8.

THE HUMAN CYCLE

By THE HON Mr JUSTICE P V RAJAMANNAR

(*Chief Justice High Court of Madras*)

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Sri AUROBINDO

an advance a progress Man is at the summit of the creation But what about Man himself? Has Man advanced progressed since his first appearance upon earth? If he has then in what way and to what extent? The researches of modern science have revealed to us Man starting life as an ape man as a savage or jungle man or cave man Human growth and development have been described by anthropologists in terms of the tools with which Man dealt with Nature The Old Stone Age the New Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age—each is an advance on the other There is a progressive advance in the efficiency of the implements and an increase in the richness of possessions and dominion over Nature From the ape man to the civilised man undoubtedly there is not merely change there has been progress Progress not merely on the physical plane The history of Man is not confined to his



JUSTICE RAJAMANNAR

economic life The psychological aspect is as important if not more important, than the purely physical aspect.

What is the future of Man or has Man no future? Has he reached a point after which there can only be retrogression ending in total disintegration? If so the future then is gloomy and Man is doomed!

Sri Aurobindo dealt with this problem in a series of Articles under the title 'The Psychology of Social Development' published in the philosophical monthly *Arya* from August 15 1916 to July 15 1918*. He put forward in these Articles a theory of social evolution using illustrations from the history of the past as well as from contemporary events of the day. More than three decades have elapsed since he wrote the Articles and many events have happened since including World War, II, and the growth of the Communist States in Europe. These events however do not render Sri Aurobindo's theory out of date or inadequate.

The German theorist Lamprecht described the evolution of human society as progressing through certain distinct psychological stages. He gave suggestive names for the different stages, namely Symbolic, Typal, and Conventional Individualist and Subjective. But his theory of psychological cycles lacked a real philosophical basis. Any philosophy of the history of Man must seek to interpret the evolutionary process as the realisation of an immanent end and therefore involves a complete meta physical theory. Nevertheless, Sri Aurobindo starts with this classification utilising the intrinsic sense of the terms to throw light on the 'thickly veiled secret of our historic evolution'.

The thought, customs and institutions of primitive human society are strongly symbolic. The symbolism manifests itself in an imaginative or intuitive religious feeling. The primitive Man used the symbols to express the mystic influences which he dimly discerned behind and beyond his material life. In the Vedic Age for example, we see that everything is symbolic. The entire *karmakanda* is essentially mystically symbolic.

While the symbolic stage is predominantly religious and spiritual and the other elements are subordinated to these factors the second stage, that is the typal, is predominantly psychological and ethical. Religion becomes then a sanction for the ethical motive and discipline Dharma. It is this typal stage that has created the great social ideals which remain impressed upon the human mind even when the stage itself is passed. But these ideals cease to have a living root and gradually tend to become conventions they become superficial. In the conventional stage of human society the outward expressions of the ideals become more important than the ideals themselves. The clothes become more important than the person. Sri Aurobindo illustrates this stage by reference to the evolution of caste. At first, birth does not seem to have been of the first importance in the four fold division but afterwards, as the type fixed itself, its maintenance resulted in the formation of hereditary divisions. The tendency of the conventional age of society is "to formalise to erect a system of rigid grades and hierarchies to stereotype religion, to bind education and training to a traditional and unchangeable form, to subject thought to infallible authorities". The best periods of the conventional age were when the spirit and thought behind the forms were living

*Now collected and published as 'The Human Cycle', Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, Rs 7.

and not yet stifled to death and petrified. These periods appear to later generations as the Golden Age because of the beautiful and attractive picture they present of order, symmetry, and fine social architecture.

Gradually, the form gets the better of the spirit and by and by the spirit recedes and diminishes. Then, there comes the period when the form becomes completely devoid of spirit and "the gulf between the convention and the truth becomes intolerable." It is then that great men seek to strike at the walls of the prison in which truth lies bound and free it from the chains of convention. These pioneers inaugurated the Individualistic Age—the Age of Protest and Revolt; the Age of Freedom and Reason. "The individualism of the new age is an attempt to get back from conventionalism of belief and practice to some solid bed-rock, no matter what, of real and tangible Truth." The Western Nations have been under the full sway of individualism. It began as a revolt of reason and has culminated in a triumphal progress of physical science. Science in its turn has led logically to the suppression of that very individual freedom which made its discoveries. The result of universal laws has tended irresistibly to a new order of society in which the individual's whole life and action is determined for him at every stage and in every point by the well-ordered mechanism of the State.

But the Age of Reason appears to be drawing to an end. New vistas are being opened up before mankind. There is a clear indication of exaltation of Intuition above intellect. The individualist Age appears to be leading on to a subjective Age based upon a supra-rational order of truths. According to Sri Aurobindo "we are already in the morning twilight of a new period of the human cycle." For such consummation, the influence of the East has been very potent, and that influence has been in the direction of subjectivism and practical spirituality.

What distinguishes Man from all other living beings and puts him at the pinnacle of creation is the consciousness of self which Man has but other living beings have not. The psychic history of Man has consisted in the growth of his consciousness and knowledge of self. But this self-consciousness is not yet the highest possible. Yoga teaches us of higher planes of consciousness in which the ordinary self-consciousness is transcended. The further stage in the evolution of Man lies in an elevation into a super-consciousness. The process of spiritual evolution will consist in a progressive revelation and realisation of higher and more integrated states of *consciousness. In Sri Aurobindo's* words "to arrive through mind and beyond mind at the Self, the Spirit which expresses itself in all Nature and, becoming one with it in his being, his force, his consciousness, his will, his knowledge, to possess at once humanly and divinely—according to the law and nature of human existence, but of human existence fulfilled in God and fulfilling God in the world—both himself and the world is the destiny of man and the object of his individual and social existence".

The object of Society should therefore be to provide the conditions of life by

which individual Man—not merely a few isolated men—but all individual men according to their capacity may progress towards the goal of divine perfection The whole human race has one destiny which it seeks and increasingly approaches in the cycles of progression and retrogression it describes through the countless millenniums of its history

It may be said that this consummation must be put off to an incredibly distant date It may be one far off divine event to which the whole creation moves' But that need not lead to a sense of frustration because perfection is not immediately possible It does not mean the change towards that progression may not begin Even if the summits are attainable at first only by the pioneer few there should be nothing to prevent the others starting their upward journey It is possible that for this end there may occur the descent of an influence that will alter the whole life of mankind and bring about a reori entation Imaginative people have seen in the concept of the Avatars of Vishnu the working out of a theory of evolution from aquatic life to amphibious life and then to primitive animal life, to half man and and half beast, to the dwarf man and then to the fully developed man and so on The final avatar may in this context mean the descent of the Godhead to accomplish the final consummation of mankind

After discussing the conditions for the coming of the Spiritual Age Sri Aurobindo, emphasising the fact that for a definite progress to a Spiritual Age it is not enough that the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth should become definitely an ideal of life says that more is needed, the 'dynamic re creating of individual manhood in the spiritual type". He realises that the endeavour will be a difficult task even for the individual and much more for the race But once the foundation has been secured, the rest would develop by a progressive self-unfolding If the number of individuals who seek to realise this higher destiny of Man increases, then a developing of light and power will descend more fully "as the Avatar of a yet unseen and unguessed Godhead from above into the soul of mankind and into the great individualities in whom the light and power are the strongest "

Sri Aurobindo's special contribution to World Thought is this great doctrine of the Life Divine In him more clearly than in any other philosopher of the East or the West do we find the affirmation of the ascent of Man to Godhead and the descent of Godhead to Man With his profound knowledge and greater intuition, he works out the theory of which you find traces in Croce's theory of the spiral ascent of spiritual life of which Vedic Rishis spoke thus

"The priests of the world climb thee like a ladder, O hundred powered As one ascends from peak to peak there is made clear the much that has still to be done".

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THE ROAD TO PEACE

By Prof. GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

PRESIDENT Wilson regarded the Covenant of the League of Nations as a general act of repentance. The signatories had suffered enough from war; they would now give up their bad ways and live as good neighbours. That, as he said, was only common sense: but, unfortunately, it implied universal common sense, a blessing obviously too great for which to hope. Still most of us did put faith in the good sense of a great majority, and hoped that since the great majority really wanted peace, and the Allies of World War I could be trusted to stand together, surely no resurgent enemy would dare risk war against such odds.

We forgot, however, that the general wish for peace in all nations was mostly a mere wish to be left in peace, a policy of evading war, not of preventing it, a very feeble barrier against the burning claim of one or two nations for power, for glory, or, may be, for recovery and revenge. Then it was rather a shock to find that the first breaker of the peace was an ally, Japan; the second was also an ally, Italy; and as soon as the old enemy, Germany, was strong enough it was a third ally, Russia, who abetted her and joined with her in the spoliation of Poland. Mutual confidence between nations, even between allies, was not easy to maintain after that.

And now, on the eastern side of the Atlantic at least, the difficulties are much greater. The chief nations of Europe have been shaken by war and have been economically weakened. Some are also disunited within, internal feuds being added to the old national feuds which have so long been the curse of this great centre of culture and civilization. And meantime the world sees Soviet Russia, her old imperialism flushed by victory and sanctified by her new Marxian *mystique*, subduing one by one the nations that touch her borders, preaching an unscrupulous propaganda, specially meek or unadventurous people, but the thought of war between decent neighbours does not occur to them. It is not worth thinking of or providing against.

SOUND FOUNDATIONS

"Are we then to abandon the United Nations and fall back on a private alliance?" Not so. Of course, we have no chance at present of a united world, though it is worth maintaining the United Nations in the hope that one day we may have one, but we must care for the real purpose of the League and the the United Nations, not merely cling to the instrument. We have at last a trustworthy second line of defence such as we never had before; a truly coherent group of nations united in one common interest and strong enough, if it maintains its standards, to deter any attempt at aggression.

We have it at least as a clear prospect, as a practical policy, though not yet as an established fact. We are building it on the sound foundations laid by Marshall Aid and the North Atlantic Treaty; gradually achieving it through the Council of Europe, the admission of Germany, the Schuman proposal for international partnership in steel and coal: through the Colombo Conference; and most of all through the steady increase of a habit of co-operation for the common good.

fundamentals of democratic Socialism to quit the party

In the present state of our organisation he said it is not possible to follow any violent policy Any controversy on this should cease

Those among us who do not subscribe to the fundamentals of democratic socialism have no place in this party I want to categorically clearly and definitely endorse that statement

A communication from Mr Achyut Patwardhan one of the leading members of the Socialist Party announcing his decision to withdraw from all political activities and from the organisations of the Party was also read by the General Secretary

present economic policies of the Government and asserted that if India was to be saved from chaos in the event of another world war, the Government must turn at once to social economy Only a rapid movement towards socialism can make this country a bastion of peace he added

The President declared when the world was drifting towards a new global conflict democratic socialism demanded a policy that would be wider than that of passive neutrality ' We cannot be inert spectators of nations losing freedom and peoples forfeiting liberties ' he observed



JAI PRAKASH NARAIN was entertained at a dinner by Sri Manian Natesan Managing Editor *Ind an Review* Picture shows (*left to right*) Srimati Kamala Devi Manian Natesan Mrs and Mr Jai Prakash Narain Shrimati Manian Natesan Chandran Natesan and Ashok Mehta

In his statement Mr Patwardhan expressed the view that political power had become the most immediate objective of our organised efforts and that this deviation of social philosophy into power philosophy had led towards an outlook of seeking power at any price He emphasised that there should be another approach to social regeneration which did not negate itself in the vicious circle of power politics

MR ASHOK MEHTA S ADDRESS

In his presidential address Mr Ashok Mehta warned against continuance of

Our federative approach must grow the countries of South East As a must be encouraged to have a common foreign and defence policy and coordinated economy and its developments Such a comity of nations would prevent a vacuum from arising anywhere in South East As a that would be filled in either by Russian infiltration or American intervention

The two big powers the Socialist leader continued were unlikely to oblige them by leaving them alone

Their interference in the affairs of the small nations would tend to grow The sole effective safeguard lay in collective security Until the third force gathered strength to assert the people s will for peace, the United Nations Organisation was the sole institutional expression of collective security.

MORE NURSES FOR INDIA

By Mr F W CORBETT

"NURSES, nurses nurses We want more nursing and more nurses for India Nursing is a noble profession We want thousands of educated women of good families to serve as nurses The response to our appeals in this direction has been very disappointing This is because the present pay and working conditions of nurses is not attractive enough We must improve the pay, and the status of the nursing profession so as to attract educated women of the best families!' We have heard this ad nauseum for the past twenty five years or more We have heard it from the lips of Viceroys and Vicerenes of Governors of Provinces and their ladies from Directors General of the Indian Medical services from the heads of large hospitals and others And latterly, we have heard it from our Health and other Ministers and from people of position and influence of every description One responsible Minister tells us that we require 50 000 nurses for our anti tuberculosis campaign alone Another tells us that we have enough of nurses! A third quotes comparative statistics from other countries and deplores the great dearth of nurses All are agreed that something must be done to improve the pay and status and the working conditions of the nurses so as to attract more women to this noble service And so the babble goes on, with nothing practical apparently being done in any of these directions

The Bhore Committee reporting after a costly and exhaustive enquiry more than four years ago placed the number of nurses in India at barely 7000 or one nurse for every 43 000 of the population or for every 146 square miles of country though it stressed the fact that the nurses were not evenly distributed throughout the country. Hundreds of thousands of villages do not know the ministrations of a nurse Hundreds of thousands of suffering people live and die without once experiencing her ministrations Because, the nursing profession has never been given in India, or for that matter, anywhere else the serious attention it deserves In all countries this profession was, until very recently given scant attention and the nurses were treated as menials or inferior classes of servants But this is being gradually improved in all progressive countries, and it is time India did the same

The Bhore Committee in the very first para of its report on the training of nurses said —

> The conditions under which nurses have hitherto been required to carry on their profession in this country are recognised by all thinking persons to be deplorable As long as such conditions obtain it is inconceivable that Indian women from the more educated families will enter the profession in appreciable numbers '

They then go on to enumerate some of what they called the more objectionable features of the system, and to suggest remedies They are lack of professional status underpaid senior positions grossly inadequate staff and consequent overwork, deplorable living conditions with gross overcrowding unbalanced and insufficient diet for growing young women, no recreational facilities, and no general superannuation or pension schemes—a really formidable indictment and it is surprising that young women enter the profession under these conditions at all The Committee aimed for a target of one million nurses or a ration of one to every five hundred of the estimated population in a period of *thirty years* It is poor consolation to

a person lying ill today, to be told that there will be an attempt to provide 50 000 nurses in ten years 500 000 in 25 years and one million in 30 years as stated in the report What a sick person is immediately concerned with is a nurse to minister to him now and not the promise of one to minister to his grand child thirty years hence Four valuable years have gone by since that report has been published dozens of speeches have been delivered hundreds of platitudes have been preached and yet little or nothing has apparently been done even to make a beginning with the training of an adequate number of nurses The sending of a dozen educated women to Europe for advanced studies in nursing or the talk of starting nursing colleges or of granting degrees in nursing will not provide the 750000 villages in India and the vast urban population with a sufficient number of nurses What is required is a more realistic and vigorous approach to the problem and immediate plans for training nurses not in thirty years but in five or at the most in ten years

This is difficult but not impossible The greatest difficulty will be to secure suitable nurses to serve in our villages No sense of duty nor of selfless service no argument about the nobility of the profession will induce parents or guardians to send their young growing girls to serve as nurses in villages away from home and exposed to possible moral or physical dangers No young girl from a respectable home will leave it at this ealy age to live among strangers The same difficulties have been experienced in the case of medical men No doctor born and reared in the atmosphere of a college town will leave it and its many attractions to serve in a village In the case of a young woman the objections and difficulties are almost insurmountable The solution does not lie in idle platitudes and sermonising but in persuading every village of say over one thousand persons to provide one suitable young woman for training as a nurse in the nearest training centre on the understanding that she goes back to her village after training to serve as a nurse there In this way we will build up a permanent resident nursing service in each village This must be the beginning as far as rural nursing is concerned Once a woman is trained as a nurse and practices her profession she will soon acquire a status and respectability in the village and there will be no difficulty later on in getting the larger villages to send one or two young women every year till they have a sufficient number of nurses for their requirement These rural candidates may be sent to the nearest training centre and proper arrangements should be made for their moral and material welfare To provide more training centres every district hospital every private and municipal hospital of suitable size should be turned into a training hospital By these means hundreds of training centres may be established well spaced and distributed throughout the country and thousands of nurses may be trained simultaneously The training of fourteen weeks suggested by the Bhore Committee is too short for candidates from the rural areas to acquire a sufficient practical experience of nursing which after all counts most on nursing as in any other profession The period may be extended to one year or at least to nine months It is suggested that the trainees should have

four hours' hospital duty per day, in addition to two hours of lectures on nursing, and two hours of study for the less educated ones making eight hours of hospital duty and study per day. Working three day shifts and one night shift per day, four times the present number of candidates may be trained in each centre. Later on, when each village has been provided with one nurse, the earlier trainees may be selected for a more advanced course of training wherever necessary. In this way the villages will be supplied with nurses from among themselves who will be permanent residents of the place.

Taking now, nurses for the urban areas and for adequately staffing our hospitals, the Bhore Committee estimated that approximately a thousand candidates are immediately available for what they call the junior course, and neighbourhood for the senior course. This is an under-estimate. There are, all over India, and particularly in South India, Malabar, Travancore and Cochin, hundreds of girls' schools, where those in charge are hard put to it to find suitable employment for their young girls about to leave school, and there are also hundreds of parents in the same position. They will be only too glad to provide a large number of suitable and educatsd girls for the nursing profession, provided proper arrangements are made for their accommodation, and for their moral and material welfare, and also provided the pay and prospects and working conditions are improved, and the educational qualifications required are not too high. There is no need for a completed middle school course for the junior course, nor for the matriculation or the junior Cambridge for the senior course as suggested by the Committee. It is because we are aiming at too high, and at present unattainable standards that we are making no headway anywhere. Every woman is by nature a nurse. It will be sufficient if she is able to follow the lectures and to understand why a particular course of treatment is being given. If the educational standards in both cases are lowered, there will be no dearth of candidates. It must be remembered that many of the most capable and experienced nurses in India to-day are women who did not possess these high educational standard when accepted as trainees.

Nor is there need for a three year course to train a nurse. The three-year period now fixed is only an expedient for securing cheap labour. In most hospitals, the first year, the second year, and the third year nurses and also the staff nurses, all perform the same chores, that is, taking temperatures, giving feeds and medicines, sponging patients, making beds, applying poultices, etc. The Bhore Committee drew attention to this and expressed the hope, that the steps recommended by it will ensure that student nurses are regarded as students, and not as employees of the hospitals at which they are training. This is very important, and is one of the greatest defects in our hospitals today, but one which can be immediately put right. If medical students under training are not considered employees of the hospitals, why should nurses under training in the same hospitals be considered as employees and not as students?

Next comes the living conditions in training centres, which the Committee describes as deplorable. To quote from the report:

"Overcrowding is almost universal and even the barest essentials for hygeinic

living are not provided In some centres student nurses are even required to cook their own food in their rooms Recreation rooms for nurses are practically non existent These conditions require drastic revision Young growing women who work hard require well ventilated rooms with sufficient regard to privacy etc The student nurses should be provided with accommodation of this type with free board laundry uniforms and no charges be made for any of the amenities provided

Four years have elapsed but little has been done to remedy these defects The nurses are huddled together several to a room There is no privacy They are in most cases made to pay for their uniforms their laundry and even for an accidentally broken thermometer or feeding cup or a lost or stolen bed sheet If policemen and soldiers are provided with free uniforms why should nurses be required to pay for theirs out of their all too meagre salary ?

Nor is there any reason why student nurses or even staff nurses should be required to live in quarters This is also a direction in which a revolutionary change will not only solve the accommodation problem but will also induce a larger number of women to train as nurses If policemen medical students college students teachers etc are all permitted to live with their families or friends why should student nurses also not be permitted to do so as long as they attend to their duties in time? There are a very large number of educational institutions and of parents who will allow their daughters or wards to train as nurses if this is permitted This also is an arrangement that can be immediately given effect to

Then comes the question of status and emoluments There is no need to give every nurse gazetted rank and it will be sufficient if those holding responsible posts are given this rank What the ordinary nurse is more concerned with is a reasonable living wage and prospects of promotion later on To decide on a living wage we have to consider conditions in other walks of life A woman stenographer after one years training earns as much as Rs 300 to 500 in cities like Calcutta Bombay Madras and New Delhi and a little less elsewhere She is not required to produce a Senior Cambridge certificate but is tested on her merits She stays out with friends or relatives has no vexatious restrictions performs seven hours work a day does not have to work on Sundays and holidays and does no irksome night duties Which young woman will give up all this to train as a nurse under present conditions? Apart from all the other disadvantages the hospitals are grossly under staffed with consequent overworking of the nurses as the Committee reports Anyone who has been an in patient in any hospital can testify to this Young growing women are overworked in a shameless manner which will not be tolerated in any other walk of life This added to the inadequate and ill balanced food has wrecked the health of many a young nurse The Committee suggests an attempt to reach what it calls the international standard of 2½ beds per nurse It is not known in what country such a high standard has been attained It is unattainable in India at least not for another fifty years Let us not aim for the impossible and achieve nothing Let us make a modest beginning but let us at least make that beginning To a lay observer it looks as if one nurse has to look after 30 or 40 beds in many hospitals especially at nights when one nurse has to look after two or three wards full of patients If we

are modest enough to aspire to one nurse for every 20 patients day or night, and take steps to enrol a larger number of student nurses to attain to this figure this will be another way in which the number of trainees may be substantially increased, the health of the nurses safe guarded, and the patients be enabled to receive better attention

The problem of providing sufficient instructors if more nurses are to be trained and more training centres opened should not unduly worry us There are hundreds of retired medical men and women, many of whom were lecturers in our medical colleges, who will be only too glad to serve as lecturers and instructors if given a reasonable honorarium There are also a large number of experienced retired nurses matrons and nursing sisters whose services may be enlisted to help in the training centres, and to look after the welfare of the trainees, etc In fact in this, as in all other of India's many immediate and essential needs, we should make the fullest use of the not negligible material available, instead of preaching endless platitudes quoting meaningless statistics, aiming at impossible standards, and making vain promises for the future We can make a modest beginning with the material available We can immediately give the material available We can immediately give the nurses a better wage, better living conditions and start the innovation of permitting them to live out with parents or friends We can make the service more attractive There will then be no dearth of suitable candidates Ten thousand trained nurses of a little less than the Middle School standard of education today, are better than the promise a thousand or more nurses of the Middle School standard of education ten twenty, or thirty years hence

JOHN DEWEY

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHER AND EDUCATIONIST

By Mr HANS RAJ BHATIA

JOHN Dewey who recently celebrated his 90th birthday and whom Prime Minister Nehru visited during his U S A tour is one of the most eminent leaders of America He is also the greatest philosophic thinker the New world has produced, greater than William James and Josiah Royce His influence on educational thought and practice all over the world has been tremendous and may be seen in the rise of so many 'activity schools" in every country schools which try to bring education and life together No other philosopher in any part of the world has devoted so much attention to the discussion of educational problems and he has acted as an expert adviser on educational matters in distant lands desirous to assimilate western culture—China, Japan Russia, Turkey In India the Gandhian scheme with its stress on activity, craftwork social education is in very close harmony with Dewey s ideas and methods and therefore Dewey's views deserve far greater consideration and study than they have hitherto received

LIFE & WORKS

John Dewey was born in 1859 Graduating in 1879 he taught in several

schools before he was appointed professor of philosophy at Michigan In 1894 he was called to be head of the philosophy department at the university of Chicago He worked there for 9 years and established the University Elementary schools which he used as an experimental laboratory to demonstrate test criticise and evolve his theories and ideas The results of this experiment are published in his book *The School and Society* which ran into several editions From 1904 onwards he worked as head of the philosophy department in the Columbia University

Dewey has been a prolific writer A large number of books and hundreds of articles have come from his pen during the last fifty years His chief works are *Interest and Effort in Education The Child and the Curriculum Schools of Tomorrow Democracy and Education Human Nature and Conduct Experience and Nature How We Think* and several others Indeed these books are landmarks in the history of educational thought

HIS PHILOSOPHY

Dewey's system of philosophy turns on the nature of mind and knowledge Mind and intelligence have evolved in a very natural way to meet the challenge of practical and social situations in life Human beings found that perceiving objects remembering them and reasoning about them greatly increased their power over these and similar objects and situations Mind is so to say a most effective tool or instrument and it is by the use of this tool that man has risen above other sentient beings Knowledge feeling and action are in the service of man Knowledge did not precede action but followed it It grew out of experience and is incidental to action Man acts and through action acquires knowledge Therefore knowledge and its acquisition cannot be divorced from action that produces it Genuine reflective thinking always serves some useful purpose and the truth of beliefs is tested by their effects This is the instrumentalism of Dewey which has far reaching conclusions for educational practice

Philosophy for Dewey always arises out of the problems originating in the difficulties of social life It seeks wisdom which must influence the conduct of life It is not accomplished thought but thinking in actual process with prospective reference It must define difficulties and suggest methods for dealing with them Thus philosophy is thinking becoming conscious of itself Whenever there is a conflict between scientific religious economic and æsthetic interests or between conservatism and radicalism order and freedom there is need for philosophers Only those philosophies are effective which have a programme for social adjustment

When philosophy has a social or sociological aspect its connection with education becomes very intimate It becomes the general theory of education and must stand its test in its practical applications The reconstruction of philosophy education and social ideas and methods must go on together to meet new situations consequent upon the thorough going changes in social life accompanying the advances in science the industrial revolution and the development of democracy A system of philosophy is of little value nor is it worthy of credence until it has been tested in the field of education

It must hold true in its understanding of man, and his moral and social progress. Thus Dewey belongs to the tradition of Plato whose general philosophy and theory of education aspire to belong to a consistent whole.

WHAT IS EDUCATION

Education is an indispensable social function, it is a means for the orderly on—going and progress of human society. "It is that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience." This definition means that education so modifies experience that the present meaning of experience is enriched and that the future course of experience is influenced. Education thus becomes an agency for transforming personal and social life. It is a process by which civilization is preserved and carried forward in its attempts to complete itself. Education is, therefore, the most significant of all activities of society.

Education is not a thing which begins with the child going to school nor does it end with his leaving it. Education is not a preparation for life. It is life itself, it begins as soon as the child is born and proceeds throughout life. Education is a process of actual living, here and now. Since life means growth a living creature lives as truly and positively at one stage as at another with the same intrinsic fulness and the same absolute claims. Education, therefore, should have no ulterior or remote aim.

Dewey recognises two essential factors in the educational process. There is, on the one hand, the individual child with his native urges, powers, instincts and capacities; on the other, there is the social world with its dynamic life, institutions, customs, and attitudes. The individual powers and urges must be given free and spontaneous exercise and expression but there is hardly any urge which has not a social setting. From food-getting to self-expression the individual has to share his effort and work with his fellow-men and there is hardly anything which he can do or learn apart from society. A brick might exist without a wall, but a human individual could not exist if there were no society. But that does not mean that the child is to be adjusted to the existing social order. Dewey's society is a changing one, not one that is fixed. His school was organized as a miniature society, the activities of which arose out of social problems and led the students to an understanding of them and the way of their solution. Thus learning becomes a co-operative activity and living. The process of development is a social process, a process of participation.

Due to industrialism the modern child knows very little about the processes by which his needs for food, shelter and clothing are supplied. He has lost that opportunity in the new home and the school must abandon bookishness and provide for those real living experiences by which the needs of life are met. Thus the school of Dewey was not a listening school but a school of activity in which character and manual skill are acquired by working and living in actual situations.

THE METHOD

The basis of all method is direct, specific experience and therefore what matters most is not actual objects but

concrete and meaningful situations Because learning comes as an indirect response to action the situations which arouse activities provide the natural condition for the growth of knowledge In the study of the several subjects of the curriculum our aim is not to acquire word but to arouse thought Therefore our work should be as much unscholastic as possible We should give the child something to do and something to learn and if the doing is of such a nature as to demand thinking or the deliberate noting for connections learning naturally results Learning must come as a bye product of action and never as something to be acquired directly for its own sake The principle of learning to do by doing acquires in Dewey a deeper significance and his activity method has provided the foundation for a large variety of methods and plans in several countries all over the world The Montessori method the Dalton and Winnetka plans the 'project method the craft centred Wardha scheme turn on the same fundamental psychological idea that the child grows through self activity and self expression They rest on Dewey's principle that a complete act of thought results only from a felt need and the actual solution of a problem arising from that need Children must learn with a purpose

This method has social and political implications as well as psychological The purposeful thinking and acting are essential in the life of free men and in the preservation and improvement of democratic society If the schools of democracy are to serve society it is their duty to train young people to act with a purpose for the worthy life is the purposeful life Young people should be trained in co operative and mutually helpful habits and ways of life Without imposing pre conceived notions of society on them they should be directed to wrestle with social problems and create their own social order by solving the problems of the existing one

THE CURRICULUM

Dewey has little sympathy with the traditional curricula that divide knowledge into water tight subjects There is nothing in the external world correspon ding to the logical classification of the subject matter These abstract departments of knowledge are the result of adult thinking The mind of the child does not make divisions of its fund of experiences into various subjects and we violate child's nature when we introduce the child too abruptly to a number of special studies Dewey pleads for an integrated or correlated curricula but the true centre of integration is not any one of these subjects but the child's own activity The convening point of the school subjects must be found in the child's own interests and activities Dewey began the primary school with activities with which the child is familiar in the home such as sewing painting, cooking shop work writing science These are not taught as separate items but in concrete situations while engaged in the solution of real problems

DEWEY AND GANDHI

The Gandhian scheme of education accepts all that Dewey pleads for in ideals and methods but goes much farther The medium for correlating or integrating the curricular subjects is not just any activity but manual craftwork Not only intellectual curiosity but also the hunger of the hand is to be gratified Creative and constructive work done by young people must also be economically useful and the education through handicraft should contribute towards the cost of running the school When economic value is the pivot of all group life why should it be neglected in education? Thus Mahatma Gandhi brought education still closer to life

BALI: THE LAND OF HAPPINESS

By Mr. N. K. HALDAR

LIFE in the island of Bali, one of the brightest in the long archipelago of the Netherland Indies has a curious "old world" flavour about it. It conveys an essence rather than the facts of life in the Far East. It is aristocratic, romantic and symbolic of an age quite other than that of the civil wars and the nationalisms, so evident in the Far East today.

Bali remains comparatively isolated. Its culture is unspoiled and continues along



A BEAUTY PARLOUR IN BALI
Photo shows—A Balinese woman having her carefully dressed by a friend.

as placidly as it has for generations. The entire life of the calm and sensitive Balinese is moulded by a system of traditional rules subordinated to religious beliefs. By this system they regulate every act of their lives so that it shall be in harmony with the natural forces, and in general, Good and Evil, Life and Death.

The most striking characteristics of the Balinese are their charm of manners and their simplicity in food, clothes and living. They adore their little magic island, and are extremely happy, placing their fate in the hands of supernatural beings, protective gods and adverse evil spirits whose favour they strive to gain by rites and sacrificial offerings either direct or through their household deities.

The Balinese live in community groups with enclosures of boundary walls, most of which are painted in tri-colour brick red, white and black, the colours of the Hindu Trinity, Rama, Vishnu and Shiva.

The average Balinese woman wears her hair held loosely upon her head by means of a long cloth wound through the tresses. Upon festive occasions or when one is a dancer, the hair is carefully and neatly dressed, often with flowers or other ornaments, and upon certain occasions elaborate gold and even jewelled head dresses, are worn. It is a quaint notion with the women that it is improper to show the knees but they wear nothing above the waistline. This custom is misunderstood by foreigners; but in the matter of their conventions, the Balinese are far more civilized than most other people in the world. For, among the Balinese there is no divorce. Women are the "masters" of their home; and adultery is punishable by death.

Though highly complex, the Balinese have their own music which differs from ours by its exclusively aural traditions and depicts the ritualistic and cultural aspects of the islanders. In villages the sound of music seems

forever in the air People sing in the fields or in the streams when they bathe From behind village walls rises the sound of flutes and cymbals as invisible musicians rehearse at all hours of the day and night Temples shake with the heavy beat of drums and of enormous gongs

Dancing in Bali is not a profession it is a passion a flowering of the music into fingers faces and figures It requires extreme suppleness of movement but one of the most moving is the trance dance or Sanghyang with a choral Kedjak which is rarely performed

The theatre is not a commercial enterprise in the island nor is entertainment presented by troupes or companies of players at set times in regular theatres But there are amusements in abundance provided by elaborate wedding festivals and picturesque cremations The Bali cremations are world famous Usually several cremations take place on the same day and the day is one of rejoicing and festivity offerings of all kinds being made by the bereaved families

The pyre is built in the form of a pagoda the numbers of piers composing the pagoda representing the status of the deceased the higher the status of the dead the more numerous the tiers of the pagoda

Cock fighting as a form of amusement is a highly developed art in Bali Cock birds are brought up with great care and metal plates are used on the spurs of some birds Both men and women join in the game and betting is done on a large scale The finest cock fighting in the East today is to be found in Bali

Birds are fed with more choice food and reared with more care than in the case of human beings A gambling debt is held to be a great debt of honour and even lands and properties are sold to pay a gambling debt

The Balinese have thus devised their ceremonials and festivities of all varieties to fight every need and circumstances whether it be the individual's modest offering to the incoming tide at dusk for the dawn's full net or the family's celebration in honour of the birth of a man child or the elaborate ceremonial of a high caste wedding

Religion is to the Balinese both race and nationality A Balinese loses automatically the right to be called a Balinese if he changes his faith or if a Balinese woman marries a Moslem a Chinese or a Christian because she takes leave forever of her own family gods

There are both men and women priests among them They are of Indo Javanese extraction and bear a resemblance to the Javanese people but it is easy to distinguish them from the Javanese owing to their stature complexion and features

Relics of India's cultural conquest beyond her borders are not wanting in this volcanic island The present name probably cognate with the Sanskrit *Balin* (strong) was presumably imposed by the Indian settlers before the middle of the 1st Century A D Even now Bali maintains her allegiance to India and also Indian ideals which permeate every phase of her life How interesting is the sight in modern Bali of men and women gathering in beautifully decorated places to hear readings from the Ramayana and Mahabharata! Sculptural representations and bas reliefs of Hindu gods and goddesses in Bali are evidences of the high quality of Indo Balinese Art As a result of extensive excavations a large number of hand written palm leaf manuscripts of different dates dealing with many Hindu religions and mythological subjects have in recent years been unearthed

FOLK DANCING IN ENGLAND

By JOAN CLAPCOTT

"SING BOBBY, SHAFTOE," commanded my two-year-old daughter, waking suddenly in the middle of the night—and, as suddenly, fell asleep again, lulled by that simple old tune. She is as yet unaware that her favourite song can also be an accompaniment to the exciting spectacle of an English sword dance, with its deft stepping and dramatic "locks."

Sword, morris and country or social dances are three distinct types of folk dance in England. The two former are intrinsically men's dances. Throughout the nineteenth century, the folk dance tradition in English villages was slowly being lost through the spread of industrialism and the shift of population to the towns. It is largely owing to the pioneer work of Cecil Sharp and of the English Dance and Song Society which he founded in 1911, that these ancient dances are attracting more and more devotees to-day. It is impossible to watch a skilled team of men dancing a morris or sword dance without becoming thrillingly aware that here is the self-same thing which excited our ancestors centuries ago.

The English sword dances are to be found in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham, part of the ancient kingdom of Mercia, and may have been brought to this country by Viking raiders. Originally, they were a part of the folk plays of death and resurrection enacted during mid-winter, which can still be traced in many parts of Europe The dances are performed by teams of men grasping in one hand the hilt of a special type of sword and in the other the point of his neighbour's sword. Thus linked, the dancers go through a variety of figures, which characteristically terminate in the clashing together of swords in a "basket" or their interweaving in a "lock", which is held aloft by the leader of the team. It is at these climaxes that the spectator is apt to forget the modern dress of the dancers and to feel that he is being carried back through the centuries to the time when the lock was placed over a victim's head to symbolise death.

The Morris dances are, in the same way, associated with the Spring and their counterpart is found throughout Europe. It is a man's dance of wonderful vigour and vitality, the precise origin and interpretation of which is still a subject for discussion among anthropologists. The origins of the dance in England may well be traced back to the Roman occupation. In the Cotswolds the tradition was particularly strong although it was fading slowly throughout the nineteenth century. Many of these beautiful stone-built villages had their own team of dancers, and each village performed their dances in a characteristic style. Dressed in white, decorated with brightly-coloured ribbons and with jingling pads of bells strapped below the knee, the six dancers carry handkerchiefs or occasionally sticks in their hands. To see such a team of men performing in a Cotswold village in springtime is an unforgettable experience.

Other morris dances can be found in northern England. At Royton in Lancashire, for example, is a dance performed by ten men led by a "Squire", who calls the figures and occasionally

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

SOCRATES ON DEATH

[In his address to the jurors at the trial, Socrates expounds his views on death. Either it is a dreamless sleep or a passing into a fuller life where the souls of the just meet and hold communion In either case, it has no terrors for the good]

This thing that has come upon me must be good and those of us who think that death is an evil must needs be mistaken

For the state of death is one of two things either the dead man wholly ceases to be, and loses all sensation, or, according to the common belief it is a change and a migration of the soul unto another place And if death is the absence of all sensation, and like the sleep of one whose slumbers are unbroken by any dreams it will be a wonderful gain For if a man had to select that night in which he slept so soundly that he did not even see any dreams, and had to compare it with all other nights and days of his life he had spent better and more pleasantly than this night, I think that a private person, nay, even the great king (of Persia) himself would find them easy to count, compared with the others If that is the nature of death I for one count it a gain For then it appears that eternity is nothing more than a single night But if death is a journey to another place, and the common belief be true, that those are all who have died, what good could he g eater than this, my judges ? Would a journey not be worth taking, at the end of which, in the other world we should be released from the self styled judges who are here, and should find the true judges, who are said to sit in judgment below, such as Minos, and Rhadamanthus, and Æacus and Triptolemus, and other demi gods who were just in their lives ? Or what would you not give to converse with Orpheus and Musæus and Hesiod and Homer ? I am willing to die many times, if this be true And for my own part I should have a wonderful interest in meeting there Palamedes, and Ajax the son of Telamon, and the other men of old who have died through an unjust judgment and in comparing my experiences with theirs That I think would be no small pleasure And above all I could spend my time in examining those who are there, as I examine men here, and in finding out which of them is wise and which of them thinks himself wise, when he is not wise What would we not give my judges, to be able to examine the leader of the great expedition against Troy or Odysseus or Sisyphus, or countless other men and women whom we could name ? It would be an infinite happiness to converse with them, and to live with them, and to examine them Assuredly there they do not put men to death for doing that

—*Plato's Apology.*

TWO POEMS

Here are two poems by the same poet. In the one Tennyson glorifies the life strenuous and vaxes eloquent on Ulysses' life of adventure, and in the other he grows lyrical on the life of ease and indolence in the land of the Lotus Eaters where it is always afternoon.

Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world,
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows, for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew,
Tho' much is taken, much abides, and tho'
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven, that which we are, we are,
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek to find and not to yield.

Ulysses

How sweet it were, hearing the downward stream,
With half shut eyes ever to seem
Falling asleep in a half dream!
To dream and dream like yonder amber light,
Which will not leave the myrrh bush on the height,
To hear each other's whispered speech,
Eating the lotus day by day,
To watch the crisping ripples on the beach,
And tender curving lines of creamy spray,
To lend our hearts and spirits wholly
To the influence of mild minded melancholy,
To muse and brood and live again in memory
With those old faces of infancy
Heaped over with a mound of grass,
Two handfuls of white dust, shut in an urn of brass!

—*Tennyson: Lotus Eaters.*

LOVE OF NATURE

I would have every one who cares to establish a wise economy of life and joy, cultivate by all means in his power, a sympathy with and a delight in nature. We tend in this age of cars, when communication is so easy and rapid, when the daily paper brings the whole course of the world into our secluded libraries, to be too busy, too much preoccupied to value excitement above tranquillity and interest above peace. It is good for us all to be much alone not to fly from society, but resolutely to determine that we will not be dependent upon it for our comfort. I would have all busy people make times in their lives when, at the cost of some amusement, and paying the price perhaps of a little melancholy, they should try to be alone with nature and their own hearts. They should try to realise the quiet unwearying life that manifests itself in field and wood. They should wander alone in solitary places where the hazel hidden stream makes music and the bird sings out of the heart of the forest, in meadows where the flowers grow brightly, or through the copse, purple with bluebells or starred with anemones, or they may climb the crisp turf of the down, and see the wonderful world spread out beneath their feet, with some clustering town "smoulder ing and glittering" in the distance, or lie upon the cliff top, with the fields of waving wheat behind, and the sea spread out like a wrinkled marble floor in front, or walk on the sand beside the falling waves. A man who does not wish to do these things is shutting one of the doors of his spirit, a door through which many sweet and true things come in. 'Consider the lilies of the field," said one long ago, one whom we profess to follow as a guide and Master. And a quiet receptiveness, an openness of eye, a simple readiness to take in these gentle impressions is, I believe with all my heart, of the essence of true wisdom. We have all of us our work to do in the world; but we have our lesson to learn as well. The man with the muck rake in the old parable, who raked together the straws and the dust of the street, was faithfull enough if he was set to do that lowly work, but had he only cared to look up, had he only had a moment's leisure he would have seen that the celestial crown hung close above his head, and within reach of his forgetful hand.

A. C. Benson "From a college window"

HEAVEN'S DECREE

Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
Right on ward.

—*Milton*

THE NIGHT COMETH

"The night cometh when no man can work."

(Gospel of St. John)

OMAR'S PHILOSOPHY

[Omar's philosophy of life was quite simple—the riddle of the universe is beyond man's solving, and time flies, and night is coming—and therefore make the most of it—and 'gather ye rosebuds while ye may.' His sombre musings on the great theme coupled with FitzGerald's picturesque version—full of colour and Oriental splendour of phrasing—has had universal appeal. The very commonplaceness of his philosophy has given it the widest currency.]

These jewel of the Persian Gulf were bred,
The diver On my pocket them from their bed;
Each softly lucent like a rounded morn,
Pat Gerald strung them on an English thread.]

There was a Door to which I found no Key
There was a Veil past which I could not see.
Some little talk awhile of Me and Thee
There seem'd—and then no more of Thee and Me

Ah fill the Cup—What boots it to repeat
How Time is slipping underneath my Feet:
Unborn To-morrow, and dead Yesterday,
Why fret about them if To-day be sweet!

The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
Moves on: nor all thy Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

And that inverted Bowl we call the Sky,
Whereunder crawling coop't we live and die,
Lift not thy hands to It for help—for It
Rolls impotently on as thou or I.

Alas that Spring should vanish with the Rose,
That Youth's Sweet-scented Manuscript should close!
The Nightingale that in the Branches sings,
Ah, whence, and whither flown again, who knows!

Ah Love! could thou and I with Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we Shatter it to bits—and then
Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!

LAMB'S MIND

"My mind has not many mansions, nor spacious, and I have been obliged to fill it with such cabinet curiosities as it can hold without aching. I sometimes wonder how I have passed my probation with so little discredit in the world, as I have done, upon so meagre a stock. But the fact is, a man can do very well with very little knowledge, and scarce be found out, in mixed company, everybody is so much more ready to produce his own than to call for a display of your acquisitions."

—*Lamb.*

POSTERITY

The present is an indivisible point that cuts in two the length of an infinite line. It is impossible to rest on this point and to glide gently along with it, never looking on in front, and never turning the head to gaze behind The more man ascends through the past, and the more he launches into the future—the greater he will be . And all these philosophers, and ministers, and truth telling men, who have fallen victims to the stupidity of nations, the atrocities of priests, the fury of tyrants, what consolation was left for them in death? This, that prejudice would pass, and that posterity would pour out the vial of ignominy upon their enemies O Posterity holy and sacred! Stay of the unhappy and the oppressed, thou who art just thou who art incorruptible, who avengest the good man, who unmaskest the hypocrite, who draggest down the tyrant, may thy sure faith, thy consoling faith never, never abandon me! Posterity is for the philosopher what the other world is for the devout

—*Diderot*

A STUDY IN CONTRASTS

[*This poem deals in a half serious half jesting way with the contrast between a collie dog and a cat and ends with the following lines—which lift the poem to heights of great thought*]

She seemed the Orient spirit incarnate, lost
In contemplation of the western soul!
Ev'n so, methought, the genius of the East,
Reposeful patient undemonstrative,
Luxurious, enigmatically sage
Dispassionately cruel, might look down
On all the fever of the Occident
The brooding mother of the unfilial world,
Recumbent on her own antiquity,
Aloof from our mutations and unrest,
Alien to our achievements and desires,
Too proud alike for protest or assent
When new thoughts thunder at her massy door,
Another brain dreaming another dream,
Another heart recalling other loves,
Too grey and grave for our adventurous hopes,
For our precipitate pleasures too august,
And in majestic taciturnity
Refraining her illimitable scorn

—*William Watson*

QUIET IN THE GRAVE

Let them rave
Thou art quiet in thy grave.

AFTER BLENHEIM

[*Young Peterkin and his little sister, while playing in the garden had come upon "something large and smooth and round" They take it to their grandfather, old Kaspar who explains it is some poor fellow's skull who fell in that great victory*

'For many thousand men' said he,
Were slain in that great victory]

'Now tell us what 'twas all about,
Young Peterkin he cries,
And little Wilhelmine looks up
With wonder waiting eyes,
'Now tell us all about the war,
And what they fought each other for

It was the English,' Kaspar cried,
Who put the French to rout

But what they fought each other for
I could not well make out
But everybody said', quoth he
'That 'twas a famous victory

'My father lived at Blenheim then,
Yon little stream hardby,
They burnt his dwelling to the ground,
And he was forced to fly,

So with his wife and child he fled,
Nor had he where to rest his head

With fire and sword the country round
Was wasted far and wide,
And many a childing mother then
And newborn baby died
But things like that, you know, must be
At every famous victory

They say it was a shocking sight
After the field was won,

For many thousand bodies here
Lay rotting in the sun
But things like that you know, must be
After a famous victory

Why 'twas a very wicked thing!'
Said little Wilhelmine,
'Nay nay my little girl,' quoth he,
It was a famous victory

'But what good came of it at last?
Quoth little Peterkin
'Why that I cannot tell,' said he
'But 'twas a famous victory'

—*R Southey*

TOPICAL CARTOONS



The above cartoon appeared recently n the *Denver Post* a lead ng Un ted States newspaper publ shed n Den er n the State of Colorado It shows Prem er S al n smok ng h s p pe very g m as he sees the hand of France w th a goblet of w ne extended to the hand of West Germany w th a ste n of beer to seal w th a toast the German Fren h un ty proposal for the harmon ous operat on of the two nations coal and steel industr es

COLLEGE MOVES TO THE PEOPLE

By Mr. BENJAMIN FINE

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PROBABLY the most significant recent development in the history of higher education is the community college being introduced in the U.S. today. These community-centred institutions, beginning to dot the land, are attempting to meet the unprecedented demand for a college education at a reasonable cost Several hundred community colleges are already in existence, providing educational opportunities for young men and women who might otherwise be unable to continue their education.

In the U.S., colleges and universities are in the midst of a record boom This spring 2,500,000 students—twice as many as attended institutions of higher learning before Pearl Harbor—crowded the nation's campuses. Experts predict that within 10 years the number may reach 4,000,000.

This tremendous influx has created a serious problem. On the one hand, the young men and women are clamoring for a college education. On the other hand, the tution costs have risen almost beyond the reach of many worthy candidates. It is not uncommon to find tution rates as high as $600 or $700 annually, with the average about $500 It costs an estimated $2,000 a year to go to college today. Before the war, the tution rates were under $300, and a year in college did not cost more than $1 000.

For the past four years the U S. has been subsidizing several million college students under the famous G I. bill of rights. Ex-servicemen received a college education free and, in addition, got maintenance grants from $75 to $90 monthly. But with the decrease in veterans, the cost problems arise again.

For many years the traditional four-year college and university dominated the educational picture in the U.S. Anyone who wanted a college education had to go to these liberal arts institutions for traditional learning. But what about the thousands who did not want to go four years? Or the large number who were not interested in the classics but were interested in trades and professions? Unfortunately, they were pretty much ignored by the educational powers.

With the end of World War II, large numbers of former soldiers as well as recent high school graduates, flocked to the colleges. Many of these men and women, particularly the ex-servicemen, did not want to be bothered with the traditional ways of teaching. They were older than most students and, besides, they felt they had to learn a trade o profession in the fastest possible time Many were married and had families to support.

TO SERVE THE COMMUNITY

Hence, the school and college programs did not meet their need. Something had to be done to develop another type of college for them. And this "something" was the institution now popularly known throughout the U.S. as the community college. The greatest impetus for this college came through the report of the President's commission on higher education published last summer. The six-volume report, made by 28 top-flight U S. educators, reached the momentous conclusion that the college program had to be drastically revised. The educators proposed that a vast system of community colleges be established, and urged that these colleges be so located every high school graduate, no matter where he lived, would have an opportunity to attend and still stay at home.

One sharp difference exists between the community college and the traditional four-year institution; that of serving the community. As the commission clearly said: "Whatever form the community college takes, its purpose is education service to the entire community, and this purpose requires of it a variety of functions and programs. It will provide college education for the youth of the

community certainly, so as to remove geographic and economic barriers to educational opportunity and discover and develop individual talents at low cost and easy access But in addition the community college will serve as an active centre of adult education It will attempt to meet the total post high school needs of its community"

Five essential objectives of the community college are generally recognized by U S educators As outlined by the president's commission they include in brief

1. The community college must make frequent surveys of the community so it can adapt its program to the educational needs of its full time students These needs are both general and vocational

2 Since the program is expected to serve a cross section of the youth population, it is essential consideration be given not only to apprentice training but also to the co operative procedures which provide for the older students alternate periods of attendance at college and remunerative work

3 The community college must prepare its students to live a rich and satisfying life, part of which involves earning a living

4 The community college must meet the needs also of those of its students who will go on to a more extended general education or to specialised and professional study at some other college or university

5 The community college must be the centre for the administration of a comprehensive adult education program

NEED FOR LOW COST EDUCATION

The community college would become an important part of the higher educational system Proposals have been made that every high school students have a community college within commuting distance At present the National Education association conference in St Louis Dr Virgil M Rogers superintendent of schools, Battle Creek, Michigan, together with other leading educators, urged the creation of a vast system of publicly supported two year community colleges They would be located in every part of the country, and would be made available to all high school graduates They suggested 2 500 such colleges be created to meet the needs of the growing school population This would mean that more than 1,000 000 additional students could have an opportunity for higher education

In advocating the community colleges, Dr Rogers said all children should have free schooling for 14 years instead of 12 as at present He observed, "Many able boys and girls cannot go beyond high school today because it costs too much to go to a college away from home We need a chain of community colleges available without tuition charges to all students'

Educators have suggested that the traditional four year colleges could drop the first two years and put more emphasis on graduate work The community colleges would absorb all college students for the traditional freshman and some more years Federal subsidies would be necessary to permit the recommended expansion The educators urged passage of a school scholarship program to enable competent, qualified men and women to go to college

In the opinion of Dr Willard E Goslin, superintendent of schools, Pasadena, Calif, and President of the American Association of Schools Administrators, the upward extention of public education is needed and is "bound to come" The community college program, he said, would serve the needs of youth and help train them for better citizenship and family life These institutions, the educators stressed, would not have a 'watered down" collegiate program, but rather would be geared to the needs of the community

During the past few years many states have developed community colleges California Texas Mississippi, Georgia New York and other states have found community colleges extremely popular and worthwhile, both from the point of view of the students and the community Many other states

have under consideration proposals to construct such colleges Florida, for example will establish 50 of these institutions as soon as the state appropriates the neces sary funds

A study conducted by the American Council on Education recently published points out that the basic reason for the community college is the need and demand in most communities for more free or low cost education than now available Surveys made in Minnesota Illinois, California, New York and other states have shown that college attendance rises in those communities where colleges are available For example it has been found that three fourths of the students entering California state college come from countries less than 40 miles from the institution in which they are enrolled In New York state two thirds of all college students are in the metropolitan area and of these, 93 per cent, are commuters Even in upstate colleges 33 per cent are commuters, all but six per cent of whom live within 14 miles of the institution they attend

This means, the educators are convinced that if colleges are avilable more students will attend For example it is known that a greater proportion of the high school graduates go to college in California, where community colleges are available, than in New York, where few such institutions have yet been established

What courses are offered in these institutions? The American Council of Education points out that the range of subjects depends upon the needs of the community If the community needs dental technicians beauty shop operators textile workers farm shop machinists stenographers, home managers or govern mental employees then the community college should provide for such needs if they are not adequately met by other institutions While the liberal arts college curriculum has been built over the years the community college curriculum is stil new and being developed

It will not be easy to get an adequate number of properly trained teachers for the community colleges Educators have pointed out that technical instructors must possess a mastery of their technology to the point where they can meet the require ments of industry for workers in their particular fields. Much of this competency must be acquired by actually working in industry The American Council proposes technical instructors with limited work experience outside school should periodically seek summer or off term jobs where they can test and expand their knowledge on the firing line of industry In this manner they may be expected to grow and develop in their specific fields

EMPHASIS ON TECHNOLOGY

The emphasis is on vocational and technical education However, the community colleges are not intended to be vocational schools in the old sense According to those supporting this program, the community colleges will combine both technical and general education They will provide the young man and woman with an opportu nity to go to college while living at home and thus reduce the expense In the next 20 years, educators believe, more and more high school students will go to community colleges And, by the same token, more of the early work of the traditional colleges will be turned over to the community institutions In the words of Dr Robert M Hutchins Chancellor of the university of Chicago

"It is even possible that as the three public junior colleges in Chicago increase in size excellence and reputation, the freshman and sophomore years at the University of Chicago will disappear altogether"

Another famous U S educator President James B Conant of Harvard university has on several recent occasions urged the development of two year community colleges to meet the increased demand for higher education It is difficult, says Dr Conant, to expand the traditional four year colleges to meet the growing need for those who want to learn a trade or profession in the classroom He comments "The solution appears rather to be in the direction of a vast development of local centres Already we have many such institutions in certain states usually designated as junior colleges, and plans for the establishment of a greater number still

The community colleges however differ from the junior colleges that now crowd the U S While the junior college is frequently a terminal institution that is at the end of two years the student completes its course it a so permits students to transfer to the traditional four year college at the end of two years The junior college attracts students from all parts of the country In effect it is frequently little more than a traditional four year college that has been cut in half

On the other hand the community college as the term indicates is built almost exclusively for the residents of the community Virtually the entire student body comes from the community itself with rare exceptions

Perhaps a typical community college such as the one at Rutherford New Jersey can show what is meant by this term During the war the citizens of this New Jersey community wondered why their children did not go to college There was none within commuting distance and going away was expensive To meet the need 16 high school principals in 16 neighboring towns got together and decided to start a community college Known as Fairleigh Dickinson who donated a large building where the college could begin its operations—the institution grew and prospered A year ago it started four year programs and so is now known as Fairleigh Dickinson College The principals—there are 18 now—are called the board of educational directors and are responsible for operation of the college

A year ago Dr Peter Samartino president of the college appealed to the community for funds to expand its services The outpouring was spontaneous—$200 000 came in the first few months and $100 000 later In addition industrialists and businessmen in the community support the college giving it from $100 annually up to $25 000

STUDENTS CAN COMMUTE

Because the students are able to commute to their homes there is no cost for room and board The total cost for the college year Dr Samartino estimated is under $500 and closer to $450 a year That is about one quarter of the usual cost for the college student Moreover because they lived at home most of the students are able to work in the afternoons or at week ends thus becoming at least partially selfsupporting

Most of the students come from within 25 mile radius of the college less than an hour s commuting distance But there is a lively inter change of ideas 80 different towns are represented in the college enrolment

In large part the curriculum offers career courses that is training for trades to help or for professionals Because the college tries to help the students in the community it offers many evening courses At present 750 students go to college during the day and 850 in the evening Special evening courses in various trades and professions have been created for the evening students More than 25 different industries are represented in the courses offered

Many industries want their employees to get a better understanding of their jobs —Dr Samartino told me the day I visited his campus These students frequently work during the day and come to us in the evening The company often pays for the training they receive here

Moreover if a student is unable to pay the tuition of $425 a year the college through its community funds will provide a full or partial scholarship A number of the large industries likewise offer scholarships for needy students

The high school principals themselves serve on the admissions board Unlike the traditional college where the students are unknown to the admissions director here virtually e ery student is known since the principals have had them directly under their wing or they have been attending nearby high schools The high school principals likewise help draw up the course of studies The principals meet once a month to determine the policies the college is to follow

Many of the innovations or new courses get their original impulse directly

from the community. For example, the textile industry came to Dr. Samartino and urged that courses in textile manufacturing and desiging be established. After discussing the request with the community leaders, it was found a need for this program existed, and it was soon put into the curriculum.

BECOME A SOCIAL CENTRE

The college is on a sound financial footing. It has accumulated, in a brief time, an endowment of $350,000, which is to be increased to $400,000 before the current school term ends-a friend has promised to contribute $50,000. The college is now raising $200,000 to build a new gymnasium, and it doesn't expect the community to let it down. The new Jersey State Hotel association gives two scholarships a year to train men and women for its particular fields. Other industrial concerns have made similar arrangements. In many instances the college creates a work study arrangements with the industry., which enables the student to go to college part time and work in a related field the rest of the day.

At the college, the students can take such typical courses as merchandising, engineering, journalism, advertising, secretarial or pre-professional work. The community has been extremely responsive. Several editorials have appeared in local papers stressing the value of this community college.

The college has actually become the community and social centre. The buildings are used by the community for public meetings., for dances, socials, lectures and musical events. Here is the social centre for every community. Every week or so the students gather and non-students are always invited-at the free dances and socials held by the college. At other times, the adults are invited, and they too, enjoy the hospitality. A Friday night series of noted speakers and artists has crowded the college each week to overflowing.

What Fairleigh Dickinson College has done is being duplicated in hundreds of other communities, throughout the U.S. But there is nothing that should remain a strictly U.S. product. The general idea, they believe, can be utilized by communities everywhere, whether in Canada, England, France, or Sweden. From present indications and I have visited a number of institutions of this nature during the past year—I am convinced the community college is then "educational trend of the future." It opens tremendous possibilities for the developments of better educational facilities in an atomic age.

Perhaps the community college will, to some degree, slight Greek, Latin, calculus and Shakespeare. But it will open the eyes and minds of millions of persons, young and old, to the values of technical as well as classical subjects. The community, as a result, will be stronger and better.



James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard University, a leading U. S institution of higher learning founded in 1636 at Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts.

DISCOVERY OF NEW ELEMENTS

By Dr N R Srinivasan, M Sc Ph D

NEWS has just come of the discovery of a new element tentatively named Californium Not long back another element Number 97 called Berkelium was also announced from the same laboratory These are but proofs of the acumen of competent atomic scientists of to day to synthesise new elements at will One will wonder as to whether the task is easy and what is the limit to such new additions to knowledge It might be interesting to examine the recent discoveries of similar new elements in an attempt to find answers to these questions

It was common knowledge till a decade back that the world is constituted of 92 odd elements This number of ninety two was arrived at after an exhaustive examination of all materials under the sun Each element in virtue of certain physical and chemical properties was assigned a distinct individuality The known elements when arranged on the basis of a gradation in their properties were found to fall in certain groups and the system evolved by Mendeleef in 1869 is called the Periodic classification of elements The first member of the terrestrial elements is hydrogen, the lightest of all elements whose atom weighs about unity This has been taken as the yardstick for measuring the weights of other atoms The heaviest of the elements was till recently Uranium whose atomic weight is 238 Between the lightest and the heaviest of atoms lie distributed the rest of a host of ninety elements, some plentiful and common like Oxygen and iron while other laboratory curiosities like gadolinium and europium of which many would not have even heard As the weight of the atom increases there seems to be a natural tendency for instability which is clearly manifested in the last ten elements preceding Uranium Their atoms tend to break up into smaller and more stable entities during which process they give out some powerful particles and rays such as alpha beta and gama Elements exhibiting this phenomenon are said to be radioactive and familiar examples are radium thorium and uranium

Elements beyond uranium were thought as non existent and their discovery improbable Even if present on the earth they would be extremely unstable and would have split themselves into more common ones But advances in the realm of atomic physics during the 30's contributed in a large measure to a better understanding of nuclear phenomena and paved the way for newer harvests Among the notable contributions of this period were the development of technique and powerful tools like the cyclotron, the discovery of artificial radio activity by Irene Curie and Frederic Joliot of France and the work of Henrico Fermi of Italy By this time scientists became familiar in toying with atoms and conceived the idea of building up unknown elements by synthesis In 1939 while working with uranium, German workers thought they had discovered new elements but in reality it proved to be a fission ie a uranium atom breaking into two particles This was the fundamental principle which six years later found application in the atom bombs

Prior to 1940 knowledge on the elements at the farthest end of the series was meagre and there was no experimental evidence for elements beyond uranium, called transuranium elements American workers at this time particularly in the University of California busied themselves with newer methods and improved aids in making elements heavier than uranium The first synthetic element to be discovered was by McMillan and Abelson in June 1940 at California It was got by bombarding uranium with neutron and chemically examining the product of collision It was element number 93 and named Neptunium It was named after Neptune, the planet next to Uranus which gives its name to Uranium After this initial discovery a large volume of work has emanated from the laboratories of the California University and led to the discovery of several other elements

Late in 1940 by hitting uranium with a helium nucleus, Glenn T Seaborg and his co workers announced from Berkeley element Number 94 which they isolated by bombardment of uranium with heavy hydrogen It was named Plutonium to follow the convention used

in naming neptunium Immense military significance was attached to this since it was fissionable with slow neutrons Hence work was speeded up and by August 1942 weighable amounts of plutonium were produced for the first time and its chemistry studied Plutonium has also been found to occur in nature in extremely small quantities in uranium ores like pitchblende It is a sure poison and dangerously radio active and operations have to be conducted by remote control under careful cover An understanding of the plentialities of pluto nium as a future weapon of war led to a tremendous amount of work on the separation of uranium and plutonium on a large scale In less than three years time thereafter the first plutonium bomb fell on a Japanese city

Prof Seaborg when he could turn again to fundamental work showed from ideas on distribution of electrons in atoms that the elemtnts 95 and 96 should exist His team studied the products of bombardment of uranium and plutonium with very high energy helium nucleus These high energy particles were got from the then newly built 60 inch cyclotron at Berkeley Their job was to deal with fractions of a microgram (1 000 000 micrograms—1 gram) of material which involved construction and manipulation of delicate apparatus not even attempted before It must be said to the credit of Seaborg and his collaborators that they hit the headlines again in 1944 with two new discoveries One was element number 95 to which they gave the name Americium it was named after Americas the new world by analogy with europium named after Europe The other was element No 96 styl'd Curium in honour of Pierre and Marie Curie leaders in radio activity and discoverers of radium This was again to follow a convention to name it like gadolinium which got its name after Gadolin the famous investigator on rare earths These two elements are intensely radio active and by 1946 they were able to isolate weighable quantities of their pure compounds and a study of their properties was pursued It might be mentioned that in naming the elements it is an agreed principle that the discoverer shall have the last say Accordingly the International Union of Chemistry which met in September 1949 at Amsterdam has agreed to all the names given for the four new elements by the discoverers

Further work in this realm was pursued with vigour at the University of California where a tremendous amount of work is going on under contract with the Atomic Energy Commission on high energy proton experiments cosmic rays and so on It is from this campus that two additional laurels are recently announced These are the two newly dicovered elements numbers 97 and 98 tentatively named Berkelium and Californium It is too earl to expect fuller details of the properties of these gifts of the atomic age but we are assured that work in this direction is proceeding at a rapid pace These two will be highly radio active and will resemble uranium in some of their pro perties Prof Seaborg who holds the unique privelege of being the co discoverer of three elements sometime ago said that Neptunium may eventually become a familiar element in laboratories but the high activity of the rest would make it necessary to handle them in small amounts in special laboratories and the extreme activity of curium introduces still further difficulties From this statement one can comprehend the almost herculean task of dealing with deadly active and comparatively unstable materials of the order of a ten millionth of a gram but scientists have proven themselves equal to the task and are marching ahead from milestone to milestone

Though at one time past it was a firm conviction that no more additions to the 92 elements could be made today there is still space for fresh laurels Judging from the existing knowledge the author is of the opinion that one day man might hit the target at the 103rd element and that would mean 5 more new elements The discovery of these new finds is such alluring yet dangerous proposition that apart from addition to fundamental science one may get an element like plutonium which may spell disaster on earth Will such an element be discovered?

ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF KOREA

BY MR LEHAR SINGH MEHTA LL B M C S

(*Addl Sessions Judge Dungarpur*)

——(O)——

KOREA has immense economic advantages not possessed by many other important countries of the world In the field of heavy industries the Japanese made huge investment from time to time As far back as 1936 the total production of coal reached 2 300 000 tons and at



present the estimate comes to 5 000 000 tons Besides new reserves are continually being discovered Korea does not possess petroleum but cheap hydro electric power is available in abundance The high tide at some places goes up on the west coast upto 10 feet which necessitated the construction of big dams creating a new source of electricity The Japs invested big amounts in heavy chemical industries which mostly produce sulphate of ammonia used for fertilisers and munitions The figures of the year 1938 indicate that chemical industries in Korea occupied the first place in so far as gross value of the production was concerned Means of communications have been well developed almost everywhere and the military roads of the colonizers are available for merchandise

Korea is opulent in mineral ores There are rich ores of iron lithium aluminium magnesium lead zinc gold graphite and mica The productivity of the Korean soil has also begun to show the amazing resources of the country With new adventures in irrigation crop yields have assumed enormous proportion The farmers who form nearly 80 per cent of the total population are generally well to do The sturdy farmers who dress themselves in religious white and who live in thatch roofed clay houses seem to be self sufficient

Rising after rising against almost insuperable odds had not blunted the hopes of final freedom of the Koreans In 1942 the Koreans on the island of Saichu do rose in revolt but all the rebels were executed mercilessly No less than 8 risings in Seoul alone were recorded during the Sino Japanese war but they were betrayed both by the Russians and the Americans President Roosevelt has described this betrayal as having no equal in modern history Korea has again become a test case We have to see which of the two military governments is more inadequate and more disliked

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY 'AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Korean War

THE war in Korea is in full swing What with the element of surprise in the offensive and the backing of Soviet arms the tide of battle has so far run in favour of the North Seoul, the capital and Sowan in the South have fallen The communist steamroller is pushing on down south with relentless fury, and red flows the Kum Taejon, the new capital which held on for a time has also fallen But that is not the last word Pearl Harbour was soon avenged In like manner American forces and arms are pouring in and MacArthur, who is appointed United Nations' 'Supremo" of the international forces is not likely to let the grass grow under his feet Forty five nations have backed the U N and MacArthur is a Military leader who knows his business There is complete faith in the ultimate success of the United Nations

It is true that not many of the 45 nations could contribute direct military aid to the expedition—most of them can afford no more than moral sympathy with the cause—but so long as Russia does not openly intervene U S can be relied on to give a good account of itself and repel the aggressor

Now to go to the root of the matter The U N declared North Korea as the aggressor and straightway the American forces have marched to the front Now Mr Andrei Gromyko, Senior Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, commenting on the Korea fighting, branded the U S Government as "an enemy of peace" and accused the United Nations Security Council of a hostile act against peace' In a strongly worded statement, he declared that the United States was "gradually pushing the country step by step towards open war"

Describing as illegal the Security Council's decision of June 27 authorising intervention in Korea M Gromyko said the Council was acting "not as a body invested with the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace but as an instrument employed by the United States ruling circles with the object of unleashing war

He accused United Nations Secretary General Trygve Lie of having "obligingly assisted in the gross violation of the United Nations Charter by the Government of the United States and other members of the Security Council'

As against this, the U S Secretary of State, Dean Acheson rejected communist charges that the U S was the aggressor and that the fighting had been started by the South Korean forces Mr Acheson said·

The present troubles in Korea started not when the United Nations Security Council acted, nor when the United States acted in support of the Security Council It all started at dawn on Sunday, June 25, Korean time

At that time troops from North Korea without any provocation whatever, crossed the 38th Parallel and launched an aggressive attack against the Republic of Korea

All reliable witnesses on the scene including the United Nations Commission, have established that the North Korean forces were the aggressors

The Security Council of the United Nations acted in support of the Republic of Korea only after it was satisfied that this was a case of utterly unprovoked aggression

When such charges and counter charges are made one would expect that it is a fit case for investigation Normally an enquiry on the spot, followed by negotiation for a settlement would be the proper course under the circumstances Instead of this very human and natural procedure fancy enlightened nations of the twentieth century rushing into the fray and leaving the result to the hazard of arms?

Now it is quite in order to ask how South Korea could sit mute and plead for arbitration when the enemy is actually on the soil, carrying fire and sword in its trek? It is just in such an eventuality that the good offices of other neutral and unbiassed nations should be brought into play What is the United Nations for if it could not intervene effectively in such a case? Everybody admits that the old League of Nations failed just because it was content to talk tall but had not the grit to carry out its decision Do we not know where its perpetual attempts at appeasement led the nations to?

With this knowledge and the bitter experience of the past who would blame the United Nations for [taking the

gauntlet against the aggressor? Indeed it is the prompt and vigorous call to arms by President Truman that is the saving grace of the situation That the League of Nations was not equally prompt and vigorous when Japan overran Manchuria and Italy raped Abyssinia or that the United Nations was indifferent over an identical act of aggression in Kashmir is no argument for keeping aloof in the face of open defiance *now* With all the evidence before them and even after two years of pleading the big ones of the United Nations have not chosen to name the aggressor That is our misfortune It is something that at least now the conscience of the UN is awakened and that the cause of the oppressed is not ignored

But it may be said that USA is interested in keeping Communism away and it is therefore fighting its own cause in its attempt to repel the North Koreans from the South Even then the UN as the guardian of the world's peace and its hope can not afford to be bypassed by any power however strong In the interest of world peace it must safeguard the liberty of all It is in this sense that India as a member of the UN is interested in repelling the aggressor and restoring peace in Asia But that is not to say that American intervention in Formosa or Indo China will be tolerated in Asian countries which are now coming into their own The extension of the Monroe doctrine to Korea goes against the grain of the Asian peoples It must be remembered that India has given her support not to America but to the United Nations that India has emphatically dissociated herself from American action in Formosa or Indo China

But as a contemporary has rightly observed India has taken the academically correct line by supporting the UN directive regarding Korea and declaring at the same time her disinterest in the American policy towards Formosa and Indo China But how long can this attitude be held in the face of practical conditions? To support America in Korea and at the same time to dissociate ourselves from American policy in surrounding Asian territory virtually ensures a long and protracted struggle

Nehru's New Approach

India's new approach to the Korean problem through the medium of personal messages to Stalin and Acheson is based on the conviction that communist China and Russia must be brought back into active participation in the UN Pandit Nehru appears more than ever convinced that the only hope for localisation of the Korean conflict and of its speedy settlement by peaceful means lies in making the UN an effective machinery for world peace Panlit Nehru's letter to Stalin dated July 13 stated

> The aim of India is to localise the conflict and assist a speedy peaceful settlement through the elimination of the present impasse in the Security Council so that a representative of the People's Government of China could take his place on the Security Council and the USSR could return to it and within the framework of the Council or outside of it the Council through unofficial contact the USSR the United States of America and China with the assistance and with the co-operation of other peaceable States could find a basis for the cessation of the conflict and for a final solution of the Korea problem
>
> Being fully confident of Your Excellency's determination to uphold peace and to maintain thereby the solidarity of the United Nations I dare to address you with this personal appeal

Marshal Stalin replying to Pandit Nehru's note, stated

> I welcome your peaceable initiative I share your point of view as regards the expediency of peaceful regulation of the Korean question through the Security Council with obligatory participation of representatives of the five great Powers including the Peoples Government of China I believe for a speedy settlement of the Korean question it would be expedient to hear in Security Council the representatives of the Korean people

On the face of it M Stalin's prompt reply may be said to be encouraging But while it seizes eagerly the chance of Red China's participation in UN, for which Stalin has always stood and the denial of it has caused Soviet withdrawal from that body, it says nothing of cease fire or North Korean withdrawal to 38th Parallel The astute Stalin has scored a diplomatic victory in seeming to favour peace while goading N Korea to War Perhaps as Eisenhaur said it is a shrewd test of American aptitude and capacity for action

The USA took sometime to answer, and as might be expected of a party that is losing ground at the moment, she

demanded cease fire first and return to 38th parallel. Aggresion must stop and all else to follow. In this, of course, she has Britain's whole-hearted support.

Mr. Dean Acheson, in his reply to Pandit Nehru's note, stated that while he appreciated the high purpose which prompted the Prime Minister in sending the message, he did not, however, feel that "the termination of the aggression from North Korea could be contingent in any way upon the determination of other questions which are currently before the United Nations." He, therefore, felt "that the decision should not be dictated by an unlawful aggression or by any other conduct which would subject the United Nations to coercion and duress."

Pandit Nehru holds, however, that "the admission of China in the United Nations now would not be an encouragement of aggression."

India is naturally anxious to keep aloof from the contentions of the Blocs. She has proclaimed her neutrality and she is anxious to see that the Korean War is confined to Korea and peace is restored before the conflagration spreads. But India, as a member of the United Nations, can not have it both ways. Believing in the need for the United Nations to keep the peace of the world by methods of reason and resorting to it to straighten her own troubles with her neighbour she can not at the same time continue to sit on the fence when the U.N. itself is defied. It is a difficult situation in all conscience and every effort should be made, in union with the other powers, to bring about a speedy settlement. But the prospect of any peace appeal bearing fruit would be bright only when American and Allied troops stem North Korean advance and reverse the course of the war.

We rightly insist that the aggressor in Kashmir should first quit the valley before we talk of a plebiscite; by the same logic the Americans will be justified in demanding the withdrawal of N. Koreans from the South as a pre-requisite for any settlement. First things first. It must be made clear that aggression will not pay.

Meherally

The death of Yusuf Meherally at the comparatively early age of 47 deprives the Socialist party of a dynamic leader and the country, a patriot of sterling qualities. Public life in India is all the poorer for the removal of one who from his schooldays lived a dedicated life. Two and twenty years ago, as a young student he left college to join the movement for national freedom and led a batch of 400 volunteers against the Simon Commission in Bombay. Since then it was all one uninterrupted march through the fiery ordeal —an ordeal borne with cheerfulness and fortitude in the service of the nation, inspired by a generous enthusiasm for social causes.

A writer in the *Indian Social Reformer* with whom Meherally was very intimate tells us that "his first introduction to Indian politics was through Natesan's biographical series which Meherally very strongly commended." Indeed it was his passion for books and his talent for writing and speaking that won him the esteem and admiration of the youth of Bombay. Above all he had courage and integrity which were put to severe test during the seven terms of imprisonment he had undergone in the cause of the country. His capacity for organisation and leadership of the young stood him in good stead during the early days of the revolt against British authority.

Meherally founded the Young India Society even while reading for his Degree. As an enthusiastic Youth Leaguer he organised successfully the boycott of the Simon Commission, and led the Indian delegation to the World Youth Congress at New York. A founder-member of the Congress Socialist Party, his election last year to the Bombay legislature was a fine popular tribute to his dedicated life. Struggling hard for long years against acute heart trouble, Meherally succumbed to it at last leaving a vast number of his friends and admirers in deep grief. Meherally was blissfully free from the taint of communalism. Fired by a social spirit he was an ardent patriot and he "combined in strange measure passion for and devotion to a cause with an intense feeling for human values."

Race Problems

Nazi pretentions to special gifts led to Jew baiting and ultimate world war The same racial arrogance is exemplified in the South African attempt at *apartheid* Have such pretentions any basis in reality ? World scientists have made public the most authoritative statement on the subject Given equality of opportunity in life they say no one of the races of mankind is mentally superior to another according to a biological ethnological report issued by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

The document was drawn up and revised by eminent scientists from Britain, the United States, New Zealand, Mexico, Brazil, India France Norway, and Sweden.

The main points of the report were

1 Such differences as exist between the different groups of mankind are due to factors, such as isolation the drift and random fixation of the particles which control heredity and natural selection

2. It would be better to drop the term 'race' altogether, and speak of ethnic groups People who live in Iceland or England, or India are not races, nor are people who are culturally Turkish or Chinese thereby describable as races

3 There are three principal ethnic divisions the Mongoloid, the Negroid and the Caucasoid Given similar degrees of opportunity to realise their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each group is about the same

Intelligence tests do not enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity, and what is the result of environmental influences, training, and education

Personality and character are raceless, there is no reason for believing that any human group is richer than any other in these respects There is no definite evidence that there exist inborn differences in temperament between human groups Obviously, individuals in all ethnic groups vary greatly among themselves in endowment

5 Myth of 'race' has created an enormous amount of human and social damage It still prevents the normal development of millions of human beings, and deprive civilisation of the effective cooperation of productive minds

Race is less a biological fact than a social myth, says the report. As a myth it has in recent years taken a heavy toll in human lives and suffering and still keeps millions of persons from normal development, and civilisation from the full use of the co operation of productive minds

Status of S. W. Africa

South Africa, which has governed South-West Africa as a Mandated territory under the League of Nations since the First World War, last year discontinued sending reports to the United Nations on its administration of the territory.

A series of questions arising out of the South African action was submitted to the International Court by the General Assembly of the United Nations

The International Court of Justice—the highest tribunal in the world—unanimously decided that South West Africa was still a territory under International Mandate and that the Union of South Africa was not competent to modify its international status The Court held that such competence rested with the Union with the consent of the United Nations

The International Court, to which the question of the status of South-West Africa was referred by the United Nations held by 12 votes to two that South Africa still had the international obligations resulting from her League of Nations Mandate, including the obligation to submit reports and transmit petitions from the inhabitants of that territory, the supervisory function to be exercised by the United Nations.

The Court also unanimously decided that the provisions of Chapter 12 (relating to Trusteeship) of the United Nations Charter were applicable to South West Africa in the sense that they provided a means by which the territory might be brought under the Trusteeship system.

By eight votes to six, the Court, however, decided that the Charter did not impose on the Union of South Africa a legal obligation to place South-West Africa under Trusteeship

India's permanent delegate, Sir B. N. Rau interviewed by P.T.I. said that the judgment is a "victory for the United Nations, including India, on all points except one."

The most important implication now was that South Africa could not change the international status of South-West Africa Whatever legal terminology was used, there was no doubt that what South Africa had attempted to do was to change that status

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SECOND YEAR OF FREEDOM. Aug. 1948—Aug. 1949. A.I.C.C. Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

In this volume the All India Congress Committee has done well to present a rapid and comprehensive review of the progress and achievements of the nations during the year. This is in continuation of an earlier publication—"One year of freedom" which gave a survey of what one may call the material and moral progress of the country during the year following the declaration of independence. After all, the achievement of India's freedom was mainly the result of Congress-labours. The first phase of that struggle having ended successfully there is yet the further task of fulfilling its pledge to redeem the people from poverty and other social and economic ills. The country has stood by the Congress with remarkable firmness and consistency and alike the Central and Provincial Governments are Congress manned. And though it is Government's business to implement the policies and programmes of the nation the task of the Congress is not ended. It is still the one organisation which by its past achievements and tradition of service supplies the necessary strength and inspiration for the country. As such it cannot easily forget or ignore its responsibility to the nation though it can look to the Congress manned government to work out the details of its programme for the nation.

The Congress has therefore a political and parliamentary programme of work. The book under review gives, under suitable headings, an epitome of what our Governments have planned, what they have done and what remains yet to be done, both in the Centre and in the Provinces.

Such annual surveys are useful to the historians of the future no less than to Congressmen and others for purposes of reference and edification. We welcome this publication which we trust will be on the lines of Dr. Rushbrooke Williams' annual records of India's Moral and Material Progress for presentation to Parliament. It must have the added advantage of an independent and unofficial survey as well and not a Government sponsored concocted thesis.

GANDHIANA. Conversations of Gandhiji. Edited by Chandrashanker Shukla. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay, Rs. 3.

This is a detailed record of talks held about 1933 34, in which Gandhiji gave utterance to his views, comments, reflections, and judgments on various matters connected with India's struggle to attain independence. There seemed to be anamolous positions arising in Gandhi's campaign of satyagraha and passive resistance. There is a constant repetition of theme in these pages. For instanace, Gandhi had to justify the description of untouchables as Harijans times without number. Often the conversations are scrappy. All the same, this is a valuable record worthy of preservation for reference.

HAMLET & OEDIPUS By Ernest Jones—Victor Gollancz Ltd 12s 6d

Shakespearean studies abound in attempts to explain Hamlet's extraordinary character, a very likeable character because in it every one sees a bit of himself Where we do not quite appreciate his mental processes is when he starts inventing excuses for his incurable habit of procrastination in the face of situations to which one would have expected a Prince with his background and training to react more resolutely Dr Jones essay deals with these obscure mental processes it is an authoritative psycho analysis of Hamlet

The complexity of the problem is clear from the review of other Hamlet studies with which the essay begins Here we see all kinds of suggestions some grotesque and others more plausible but none completely satisfying And so Dr Jones poses the question and seeks its answer If Hamlet is a man capable of action and the task one capable of achievement, what then can be the reason that he does not execute it? The clinical explanation is that Hamlet was subject to psychoneurosis It is a condition intermediate between sanity and insanity, an obsession striving to do what the consciousness distates as right warring with a repressed inhibition against that course There was in the revenge, some special feature of features repugnant to him This might have been an inhibited Oedipus complex or more correctly, Orestes complex It might have been a doubt regarding the legitimacy of revenge, born out of the mother father complex This explanation is not new But it is here elaborated fully and exposed in all its angles

While this explanation might appear attractive to many there would be some who feel that it perhaps over simplifies the drama in Hamlet's mind The argument that Shakespeare projected himself into his characters is not new Many authors use their creations as mouth pieces It is therefore quite reasonable to assume that some of the dramatist's experiences coloured or shaped Hamlet's conduct But most assuredly Hamlet is more than one man's experience he is a compendium of human experience all over the ages and that is the principal merit of his character While the Freudian interpretation of Hamlet is therefore interesting, the merit of this essay is that it consolidates in a brief compass most relevant studies on the subject and seeks to focuss on Hamlet once again the spot light of further research

KASHMIR DIVIDED By Bal Raj Madhok With a Foreword by Dr Gokul Chand Narang Rashtra Dharma Prakashan Ltd Lucknow

This account claims to be an inside view of the Kashmir problem in its origin and growth That Kashmir was levelled down to the status of other Indian States in 1885 is not so well known, nor that the British started the encouragement of a pro Muslim movement in 1930 as against the Maharaja and thus encouraged the growing linguistic and cultural division of the land The claim is made here that the *Naga* of Jammu is thoroughly and indispensably necessary for India and that it should remain connected with the Indian Union and East Punjab whatever may happen to the other parts of the State The

people of Ladakh want either a direct merger in the Indian Union or a linking up with Jammu, with which they claim to have close cultural ties. Kashmir proper wishes to be independant of Dogra rule, though the Dogras had lavished much of their resources on its development. We also learn that the National Conference has passed its zenith of influence, and its decline has set in, while the Muslim Conference is gaining ground in Kashmir; and the younger members of the National Conference are fast turning Communist minded. The State Government had not decided about accession till the eve of the partition day; and its standstill agreement with Pakistan was a blunder. The invasion of the Pakistanies, the subsequent freeing and saving of Kashmir, and the appeal to the U N.O., are next detailed. The author holds that in culture and ideology Sheikh Abdullah's Kashmir is in no way different from Jinnah's Pakistan. All the while the Communists want to make Kashmir their own preserve, and there are still of enough force to be reckoned with. The Indian Government is charged with having accepted the division of Kashmir as a *fait accompli*, when they ordered cease-fire without having recaptured those parts that had been occupied by Pakistani forces. Thus the author concludes: "The Jammu and Kashmir State stands and will probably be divided. Pakistan has grabbed a substantial part of the State by force, rest especially the Kashmir Valley, she wants to acquire by diplomacy, if possible, or by war if necessary. There is no sense, in these circumstances, in indulging in any talk about unity of the State or opposition to any plan of its division. What is more important for us to-day is a realistic appreciation of this grave situation in Kashmir and an attempt at proper efforts to retain what still remains in our hands."

A WRITER'S NOTES ON HIS TRADE. C.E. Montague. A Pelican Book. 1s 6d.

This series of essays now reprinted by the Penguin Books in association with Chatto and Windus was originally published posthumously in 1929. The author refers to 'writing' as his 'Trade' but everyone of the pieces bear witness to his feeling for it as an 'Art'. An essential feature of the true artist is his love for the materials of his art. A painter cannot paint unless he has an intimate knowledge of his colours. A sculptor must have a deep feeling for the stone or marble he translates into a thing of beauty. The writer must in similar fashion bestow loving care on the words which are the material of his art.

Words have a plain meaning which is no doubt important. But in their long history they acquire associations and nuances which are even more significant.

Slipshod writing msy appeal to the head and the heart by its soundness of reasoning or by its sincerity of feeling. But good writing secures the effect by its appeal to the ear as well.

Prose again has a rhythm different from that of Poetry. All this and much more is brought home to us in these series of Essays.

To the general class of reader this book will provide a deeper understanding and greater pleasure in all his reading. To the writer a profund knowledge of the basic materials of his art.

NO INTERRUPTION

The defendant acknowledged that he hadn't spoken to his wife in five years, and the magistrate put a question.

"What explanation have you," he asked severely, "for not speaking to your wife in five years?"

Your Honour, replied the husband, "I didn't like to interrupt her."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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June 29 India agrees to U N resolution to furnish assistance to Korea to repel the armed attack

—MacArthur directs operations in South Korea

June 30 Opposition parties Conference in Bombay meets under Dr Paranjpye s presidentship

July 1 India Government reaffirm their stand in regard to proposed R T C on South Africa

July 2 Meherally Socialist leader dead in Bombay

July 3 Ind a Government set up committee to enquire into working of import control

July 4 Suwon Capital of S Korea falls to invaders

—Andrei Gromyko Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister brands U S intervention in Korea as open war against people

July 5 British House of Commons endorses Labour Government s aid to South Korea

July 6 President Truman orders naval blockade around the Korean coast

July 7 Soviet protest against naval blockade of Korea

July 8 8th annual Conference of Socialists Party meets in Madras Mr Asok Mehta presiding

July 9 Sidki Pasha former Premier of Egypt dead

July 10 World Power Conference meets in London

—State elections in West Germany result in victory to Dr Adenauer West German Chancellor

July 11 Red China Mission arrives in Calcutta

—India Govt s note to Secretary General of United Nations on racial policy in S Africa published

July 12 Bombay High Court declaring detention invalid orders release of Bhopatkar and others

July 13 Mr V D Savarkar released on undertaking given to Bombay Government

—Fiscal Commission report published

July 14 Pandit Nehru appeals to ' Big Three for speedy ending of Korean War

July 15 Shri C Rajagopalachari sworn in as Cabinet Minister

July 16 Mr Stalin s reply to Nehru s message on Korean crisis received in Delhi

July 17 22 killed in plane accident near Pathankot

July 18 Senate Committee exonerates U S officials

July 19 Savarkar resigns from Hindu Mahasabha

July 20 Talks on Kashmir open at Delhi Sir Owen Dixon and the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan participating

July 21 Taejon new capital of S Korea falls

July 22 King Leopold arrives in Brussels after six years exile

July 23 Mackenzie King Canadian states man dead

July 24 The preliminary Tripartite talks on Kashmir conclude in New Delhi

July 25 The Deputees of North Atlantic Union meet in London for concerting measures against aggression

July 26 A military alliance between Thailand and U S A is signed

July 27 Madras High Court declares the communal G O regulating admission to Colleges as illegal and inconsistent with Articles 15 (1) and 29 (2) of the constitu tion by a full bench decision

July 28 King Leopold s abdication is demanded by the people

July 29 Russia announces her decision to join the U N Security Council

July 30 India appeals (in the U N debate) to the North Koreans to withdraw beyond the 38th parallel

July 31 Congress Parliamentary party meets and approves Government s stand on the Korean war issue

READERS' DIGEST

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S PREDICTION

Russia will go to war, and World War III will last ten years, the *British* philosopher Bertrand Russell predicted in an interview with the *Sydney Sun*, reported by *P.T.I. Reuter*. "I don't believe Russia can afford to lose face in Asia," he declared. Mr. Russell said he believed we were already in the initial stages of World War III. His reason for this belief was:

Soviet Russia considers she is better prepared for active war against America now than at some unspecified later date when the hydrogen bomb *has become a fact instead of a theory.*

Mr. Russell, Fellow of the Royal Society, *mathematician*, philosopher, author and expounder of social theories, said recent reports of an atomic explosion *in Russia* might mean she had a fission bomb of some sort. Possibly, the explosion had been accidental, taking place in an experimental laboratory during an attempt to find the secret of the atom bomb.

The fact remains that Russia has recently turned considerable attention towards Asia, and regardless of how far she has openly committed herself in the Korean invasion, the eyes of the whole of Asia will be on her attitude to the present crisis.

If World War III became an actuality, Mr. Russell believed it *must happen in* Europe and Asia "more or less simultaneously." Discussing the possibility of a full-scale war between Russia and the Western Democracies on the Asiatic mainland, Mr. Russell said the question arose whether any coloured nation would participate on the side of the white man.

This is a difficult question to answer but I believe India, for instance, would try in the first place to remain neutral and if that proved impossible would come in on our side. On religious grounds alone, India would strongly oppose *Communism.*

Seventy-eight-year-old Bertrand Russell *is by right Earl Russell, but he refuses* to use the title. Some of his social theories have brought *strong criticism* from more orthodox writers and philosophers.

THE CONSCIENCE OF A SCIENTIST

Not long ago, Dr. Goff, pastor of the Chicago Temple, was invited to deliver a series of lectures at *Purdue University*. After the first lecture, says *Humanity*, a member of the university faculty invited Dr. Goff to call at his office, which he did. The Professor motioned him, to a chair, closed the door, and took his accustomed place behind his desk. Then with grave expression he said:

I was one of the half-dozen or so top-ranking scientists who developed the atomic bomb. We worked at it for two years and *so secretive* was the whole procedure that even my wife did not know what I was doing. Next morning after the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, I scanned the account in the morning paper, then handed it across the breakfast table to my wife, saying, "*There, that's what I've* been doing the past two years.'

"She *read the story; and then* looked at me and her face went ashen; and from that day to this she has not *been* able to sleep a whole night through...and neither have I."

Then throwing his hands outward and upward in pleading and desperation, he exclaimed: "My God, what have we let loose upon the world

THE TWO KOREAS

Korea, known as the 'Hermit Nation' in the nineteenth century, still perhaps never again dream away the centuries as she has done throughout most of her history, observes *The Free Press Journal*

Since the defeat of Japan five years ago, when this rugged hilly peninsula was split into rival zones of occupation along the invisible 38th Parallel civil war has always threatened At last it has broken out

'Jutting out from Communist dominated Manchuria Korea extends south east for about 650 miles and is 150 miles wide

It has a population of about 30 000 000 most of whom live in the southern half which was the American zone of occupation But most of its wealth and industrial power lies in what was the Russian occupied zone of the north

Eighty per cent of Koreans are farmers but a living is hardwrung from this hilly country, and most of them form only a shade above subsistence level

Under the efficient though harsh unsympathetic rule of the Japanese which lasted for 35 years Korean industry and agriculture prospered The Japanese developed it from one of the most backward countries of Asia to a most lucrative colony

Rice of course, is the principal crop, and there is generally an annual surplus for export Silk, soya beans, cotton and tobacco are also produced Minerals include gold iron ore and bauxite'

In South Korea supplies of essential food, fuel and capital goods have been maintained only by American expenditure but Mr Paul Hoffman, E C A Administrator, has stated that South Korea could be made to stand on its own feet in five years if the frontier on the 38th Parallel remained

'The Russians and their local Communist officials achieved in the north an initial advantage by drastic land reforms carried out immediately after the Japanese surrendered

The American authorities argued that in their zone it was inappropriate to introduce such measures Koreans should be left to work out their own destiny

The Big Powers had recognised Korean title to independence at the Cairo Conference in 1943 and there was an agreement for joint trusteeship by the United States and Russia for a period not exceeding five years

During that time the two Koreas have been shop windows for the rival ideologies'

U S MONOPOLY OF ATOMIC SECRET

Mr David E Lilienthal, former Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission says in a Press article that he is convinced the American monopoly of atomic industrial know how is no longer justified and should be drastically changed

Mr Lilienthal says the people of the United States have been "sold the biggest gold brick" in their history This is the notion "that a few of our bright people discovered the secret formula of the atom, a secret we can keep by locking it in a vault" He does not think the present Government monopoly of the atom is "the way to put the atom to work for mankind"

He is not advocating abandoning secrecy, but he believes that by narrowing down the area kept secret military secrecy could be made more effective

'I believe in secrecy about atomic weapons" he writes 'This is a clear necessity But this necessity does not justify

the enormous and all embracing scope of Government monopoly of information, plants, materials and know how now provided for "

There is no sense in secrecy when "other countries, including potential enemies have the information being kept secret" Secrecy is hard on the United States' technical progress and its cost is "staggering"

Under the Manhattan District *Project*, everything is stamped 'secret", even books available ' on the shelves of almost every technical library in this country—and Russia" and some equipment which could be purchased in hundreds of stores throughout the country "An ordinary screw driver used to tighten a screw in an assembly involving atomic materials was treated as "restricted data '

Mr Lilienthal suggests that as the first step to changing the present position, the laws should be revised to permit industry to obtain the information it should have

NEHRU ON HIMSELF

'I often wonder if I represent anyone at all, and I am inclined to think that I do not though many have kindly and friendly feelings towards me I have become a queer mixture of the East and West out of place everywhere, at home nowhere Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me, as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways I cannot get rid of either past inheritance or of my recent acquisitions They are both part of me, and, though they help me in both East and West they also create in me a feeling of spiritual loneliness not only in public activities but in life itself I am a stranger and alien in the West I cannot be of it But in my own country also, sometimes I have an exile's *feeling*"

OXFORD ACCENT

According to a writer in the Oxford University magazine '*Cherwell*,' the world famous "Oxford accent" is fast disappearing.

Saying that the accent is "about as exotic to day as the Oxford slang of earlier generations," the writer declares "The age of uniformity is upon us You can listen to a conversation on a bus and wonder whether the men you hear are from the University or the Town The Oxford accent, I imagine, will soon be a myth "

Cited as distinguished exponents of the "Oxford accent' are author Aldous Huxley and Professor Gilbert Murray, the great Greek scholar

In their mouths it is "mellifluous, gently and almost softly persuasive" In comparison, the Cambridge accent is reckoned high pitched, and with a tendency to stutter

For the disappearance of the traditional Oxford accent the writer blames the Left Wing atmosphere of the 1930 s at the University, when he says, there was "a clear reaction against certain upper class speech forms '

THE MAGIC FROM THE EAST

Writing in *John Bull* A D Kanibb of Liverpool, recalls a wonderful magic trick by an Indian and pays his meed of tribute to conjurers from the East

An Indian filled half a coconut shell with water and floated a small wooden duck in it Then squatting down, he played his flute The duck began to bob up and down rhythmically and, as the tempo increased, it bobbed faster and *faster* Finally, when the music reached its climax, it gave a last frantic bob and sank beneath the water, only floating to the surface at the command of the Indian he says

The West may still have much to learn from the East in the realm of

THE SECRET OF GENERAL CARIAPPA

Giving his impressions of the Commander in Chief in the columns of *Bharat Jyoti* Mr Homi J H Taleyarkhan records his recollections of an interview with General Cariappa It is a human document revealing the daring and genius of one who could meet an extraordinary situation in his own way discording copy book methods

In 1946 General Cariappa took charge of the Bannu Brigade It was a dangerously vital command The fear still lurked perhaps stronger than ever in British minds about the treachery and deadliness of the tribesmen He was warned by experienced British officers of the fate of any new regiment that ventured into those parts

The worst part of it they said was that they saw you and shot you down while you could not see them at all safely hidden away as they were behind their impregnable boulders and rocks

The practice of the tribesmen had been well studied by the Britishers

It appeared that they allowed a new regiment to advance deep into their net for the first three days doing nothing to molest them then suddenly on the third day, they would pour a deadly sniping fire in the dark of the night taking a heavy toll of casualities of the troops which even if they prepared for the eventuality would be taken helplessly by surprise not knowing from where the fire suddenly burst

At the most what they could do was to fire back from the direction they thought the fire came from It was generally a waste of ammunition, as very often the echoes in the valleys misled them into firing entirely in the opposite direction from where the snipers actually shot"

Warned of all this, says Mr Taleyar khan Cariappa plunged into dangerous territory As usual, nothing happened till the night of the third day. The camp fires had all been put down and there was complete darkness and stillness in the awe inspiring valley Suddenly, the rat tat tat of rifle fire began all around The regiment had strict orders not to fire back Not a sound came from the side of the Indian regiment, though all were on the ready

The Rifle fire became hotter every minute Cariappa, the commanding officer, sat in his tent wondering how long it would go on and whether they would be annihilated as the British had warned As suddenly as the rifle fire had been an idea occurred to him

He called his havildar, ordered him to instal a microphone just outside his tent, and told him to speak into it has he directed in the Pushtu language which the tribesmen would understand

The havildar was bewildered by the idea Sahib' he warned, 'you are a young officer You do not know these tribesmen and their tactics What you suggest is crazy It has never been done before It will be giving our positions away It will mean certain death"

Cariappa has however, one trait above all others Once his mind is made up, nothing can undo it, and he expresses his will through his eyes The officer who knew the eyes of his Commandant by now, knew that he meant business despite his well meaning protests and said meekly, "I am ready Sir'

"Then translate," Cariappa said, "what I am saying to you and put it over to them."

These are the words which the General asked his interpreting officer to shout through the microphone: "Why are you firing at us? We are not your enemies. We have come to help you. If you have any complaints, why not come in the morning and see the Commandant Sahib. He will see you all and listen to your stories. Please stop firing. The regiment has had a long march and is very tired They need rest. They are disturbed by the noise of your fire, which at any rate is not hitting any one. Please go home now and see the Commandant with your complaints in the morning. He also needs some sleep."

"Believe it or not," the General concluded, recalling the success of his "trick" with a child's delight, "it worked. The firing ceased. And we had no more trouble the rest of the night."

"You mean the tribesmen actually listened to your words" I asked.

"Put it that way if you like," the chief said, with a merry twinkle in his eye, "it would flatter me, but you know what I really feel, worked?"

"No, what?"

"Having never heard a voice through a mike before, reverberating in the hills, they probably thought it was a "bhoot" and ran for their lives!"

TRUMAN'S POLITICAL WISDOM

Once again President Truman has been grievously underestimated, and he emerges from the crisis with greatly enhanced prestige, says Mr. Arthur Moore in the *Hindustan Times*, commenting on his prompt action in the Korean crisis. "His handling of the present crisis shows rare political wisdom as well as unflinching courage. He did not move an inch publicly till he had fortified himself with a mandate from the U. N. Security Council, and he caused the Security Council to be summoned without a moment's delay. In this he was energetically supported by the long-suffering M. Trygve Lie who, despite his anxiety to induce Russia to return to the U.N., felt that the affront to the United Nations was unpardonable and could not be over-looked. Having secured his mandate and put himself in an impeccable legal position, President Truman proceeded to act in the boldest manner while giving proof of great moderation and the desire to be fair to all parties. He warned Mao Tse-tung's regime that China must keep her hands off Formosa (which, by the way, until a peace treaty is signed with Japan, legally belongs to Japan), but at the same time he warned Chiang Kai-shek to desist from all attacks on the mainland, thus showing that America has no intention of violating the integrity of China or prejudicing the right of the Chinese to settle their own form of government."

He will not tolerate any Chinese invasion of Indo-China, and the French will now have his full support, in so far as they and Bao Dai are defending Indo-Chinese nationalism against Chinese "Communist" aggression. "I have no doubt", says Mr. Moore, "that he will also encourage the French to get out of Indo-China as soon as possible. That his actions in the last few days have been of a decisive character and will permanently affect the history of Asia cannot be doubted."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

INDIA GOVT'S NOTE TO U. N.

The Government of India, in a note to the Secretary-General, United Nations, requesting that the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa be placed on the provisional agenda of the fifth session of the General Assembly, have also suggested that "appropriate steps be taken to ensure that the treatment of Indians in South Africa conforms to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights."

Although the final reply of the South African Government to Pakistan Government's second request asking the Union Government whether it would be prepared to revise or modify its policy underlying the Group Areas Bill, which has now been passed, and all previous anti-Asiatic legislation, should a Round Table Conference indicate a more satisfactory alternative solution of the problem, is still awaited. The Government of India had to give notice of their intention to raise this question at the next U N. General Assembly since July 15 is the last day for requesting the inclusion of any item on the agenda.

The Government of India, in their correspondence with the Union Government, suggested that if the Bill could not be postponed pending a Round Table Conference, the conference might be held immediately, but even this request was not accepted by Union Government.

It is stated that from replies received from the Union Government, South Africa was bent upon proceeding with its policy of Apartheid or segregation which the Government of India have consistently opposed for over last half a century, and which is against the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights The Government of India therefore informed South Africa that it could not participate in such a Conference.

It is further explained that the treatment of Indians in South Africa continues to be a serious violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and Declaration of Human Rights. The position of the Indian community has if anything deteriorated as a result of the Group Areas Act and the intensification of the Union Government's policy of racial segregation.

R. T. C. IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Government of India have reaffirmed their decision not to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference on the problems of Indians in South Africa.

In their communication, the Indian Government said that the passage of the Group Areas Bill had caused widespread public resentment in India and among South African nationals of Indian origin in the Union.

Had the Union Government acceded to the Government of India's request to postpone the new anti-Asian legislation until after the Round Table Conference, not only would public feeling on India have been more hopeful of the outcome of the conference, but consideration by the Union Government representatives of the proposals of the Government of India for removing, instead of tightening restrictions on nationals of Indo-Pakistan origin would have been easier.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

INDIA AND THE KOREAN WAR

The following is the text of the Government of India *communique* explaining India's attitude to the Korean crisis and the intervention of the United Nations:

"The Government of India have viewed *with grave concern the developments in* Korea involving as they do not only civil war but also a threat to world peace. There have been a number of border incidents between North and South Korea in the past. But, whatever the nature of these might have been, it appears clear from *the information available to the Government* of India that a large scale invasion of South Korea took place by armed forces of the North Korean Government. This information was supplied by a variety of sources, the most authoritative among them being the United Nations Commission on Korea on which India is represented and which, at the time of invasion, was in Seoul. In view of this information the Government of India's permanent delegate to the United Nations and representative on the Security Council, Shri B N. Rau, supported the first Resolution of the Security Council, which declared that such aggression had taken place and called for a cease-fire *and withdrawal of the North Korean forces* to the 38th parallel.

INVASION OF S. KOREA

This direction of the Security Council was *not acted upon by the North Korean Govern*ment and their forces and the invasion continued till it threatened the capital city Seoul itself (since fallen). The Security Council met again to consider this rapidly changing situation and passed the second Resolution on Korea on the night of June 27 (New York time). The Government of India's representative on the Security Council was unable to participate in the voting on this *second Resolution on Korea because* he could not communicate it in time to his Government and obtain their instructions. The operative part of this Resolution "recommends that the members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary *to repel the armed attack and to restore* international peace and security in the area."

PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE

The Government of India have given the most careful consideration to this Resolution of the Security Council in the context of events in Korea and also of their general foreign policy. They are opposed to any attempt to settle international disputes by resort to aggression. For this reason, Shri B. N. Rau, on behalf of the Government of India, voted in favour of the first Resolution of the Security Council. The *halting of aggression and* the quick restoration of peaceful conditions are essential preludes to a satisfactory settlement. The Government of India, therefore, also accept the second Resolution of the Security Council.

The Government of India earnestly hope that even at this stage it may be possible to put an end to the fighting and to settle the disputes by mediation,

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

PANDIT NEHRU ON INDIA S FOREIGN POLICY

The Government of India announced their policy in regard to the Korean situation on the night of June 29 (published in another page) Elucidating this policy to avoid any misconception the Prime Minister said at a Press Conference in New Delhi

Thus in the context of events the Security Council had no alternative but to declare North Korea as an aggressor and subsequently call upon the members of the United Nations to meet this armed attack and restore international peace Whatever justification might be advanced for this aggression and whatever might have preceded it may have some importance but it does not take away from the fact of well planned aggression

LOGICAL SEQUENCE

India supported these resolutions of the Security Council because that seemed to follow logically in the context of events and the Charter of the United Nations and because that seemed the only course to avoid an extension of the conflict and large scale warfare In doing so India s primary consideration was to serve the cause of peace As stated in the Government of India s resolution this did not involve a change in the basic foreign policy of India which was one of non alignment with any group of nations against another group

In accepting the resolutions of the Security Council India did not accept any enlargement of those resolutions Those resolutions refer to aggression in Korea alone and to no other situation.

In the statement issued by the Government of India a hope was expressed that the dispute might be settled by mediation This reference to mediation was general India herself did not intend to offer mediation and has not done so The U N Korean Commission have also suggested that mediation should take place India can offer her good offices for mediation only if requested to do so by the parties concerned

THE MAJOR CAUSE

One of the principal reasons for the progressive deterioration of the international situation is the withdrawal of the U S S R from the Security Council as well as other organs and agencies of the United Nations This withdrawal took place because the representatives of the People s Government of China were not admitted to the United Nations This Government is in *de facto* control of the whole of continental China and has been recognized as the *de jure* Government of that country by a number of nations India is one of the nations that have recognized this Government Because of this India has been working through diplomatic channels, to secure admission of the representatives of the People's Government of China to the Security Council and other organs of the U N

The Government of India are of opinion that the admission of the People s Government of China to the Security Council and the return of the U S S R are necessary conditions to enable the Security Council to discharge its function adequately and to bring the Korean conflict to a prompt and peaceful conclusion

The best assistance that India can render in this grave crisis is to help in limiting the area of conflict and in ending it Any military assistance is beyond India s capacity and would make little difference India s defence forces have been organized essentially for defence and not for service in distant theatres of war

TRADE AND FINANCE

CONTINGENCY FUND

The Government of India propose to create a Contingency Fund from which according to Article 267 of the Constitution the President can authorise advances being made to various Ministers for meeting unforeseen expenditure it is learnt

The Finance Ministry of the Government of India it is understood will introduce a Bill in the autumn session of Parliament authorising the President to set up the Fund

Under the Constitution no money can be spent from a Consolidated Fund without an Appropriation Act passed by Parliament Hitherto the Government would bring in a supplementary demand before Parliament for expenditure already incurred

The purpose of the Contingency Fund is to make a provision for temporary expenditure which will have to be later approved by an Appropriation Act passed by Parliament

Another important measure that is likely to come up before Parliament says a P T I report is a Bill for the appointment of a Finance Commission The Constitution enjoins on the President that he should set up before January 26 1952 a Finance Commission consisting of a Chairman and four members The Commission will be charged with the task of recommending the basis of distribution of the proceeds of the taxes between the Union and the States the principles which should govern the grants in aid of the revenues of the States and suggesting modifications if necessary of the terms of any agreement entered into by the Central Government with Part B States

INDIA'S TRADE BALANCE

India sustained a deficit of nearly Rs 156 crores during the year 1949 in her balance of payments with the rest of the world excluding Pakistan says a P T I report

This is more than double the deficit of Rs 75 crores for the preceding year, if the extraordinary payment of Rs 60 crores in that period for Defence stores from the United Kingdom is excluded The deficit during 1949 was experienced in the first six months of the year The accounts for the latter half of the year were more or less in balance

The results of the strict import control policy which came into being towards May 1949 were witnessed in the steep fall of nearly Rs 130 crores in the payment for imports during the latter half of the year The improvement was also due to the low volume of the Government food imports during that period

Exports also contributed substantially towards the achievement of the balance These increased by nearly Rs 50 crores in the period July to December 1949 as compared with the preceding six months Much of the improvement took place after the devaluation—in the last three months of the year Exports of hessian tea and cotton textiles showed marked increases

NEW LOANS OF STATE GOVTS

Three State Governments—Bombay Madras and Madhya Pradesh—have invited subscriptions for loans of an aggregate amount of eight crores of rupees all bearing interest at three per cent and repayable on July 31 1960 but with varying issue prices

Subscriptions will be open for one day only on July 31 for Rs 3 crores for Bombay at Rs 99 8 per cent Rs 1 crores for Madras at Rs 99 per cent and Rs 1 crore for Madhya Pradesh at Rs 99 8 per cent

GENERAL EVANGELINE BOOTH

General Evangeline Booth, 84 year old retired leader of the Salvation Army died at Hartsdale (New York) on July 17

Miss Booth whose father General William Booth founded the Salvation Army had been ill for more than a year and bed ridden most of the time

General Evangeline Booth—or Sister Eva as she was popularly known—was elected leader of the Salvation Army when 68 Born in London in 1865 she became one of her father s ablest assistants when still a girl in her teens From then on she travelled in every part of the world in the service of the Salvation Army

After the Tokyo earthquake in 1923 which killed 90 000 people she sent so much help that when she visited Japan in 1929 the Emperor received her—the first woman outside his court he had ever received

Miss Booth was an accomplished musician and a long distance swimmer When she was well over 70 she still enjoyed a daily swim

WOMEN IN SHORTS

Two religions are at loggerheads over a move to prevent women wearing shorts in Ottawa

Roman Catholic organisations are asking the city council to prohibit women wearing shorts in public The General Council of Protestant Churches conferred and decided to oppose the move

Anti shorts legislation would challenge individual freedom narrow the conception of modesty and make life intolerably regulated the Protestants said

Modesty they claim is not a question of clothes so much as proper attitude of spirit mind and body They also pointed out that Roman Catholics in other parts of the Commonwealth tolerate shorts

EVE'S DOMINANCE

Women rule homes women dominate men And if women continue to outlive men they will dominate civilisation even by sheer numbers, observes the *Indian Nation* of Patna If generalisations are allowed, the progress of a country may be measured by the number of births of girl babies and the rate of mortality among women The position comes to this if more boys are born and the rate of mortality is higher for women, the said country is to be treated as backward" and "primitive" In Western Countries there are more women than men As the countries will "progress,' the number of women will be on the increase Will civilisation be ultimately the handmaid of women? The present civilisation is masculine Will it continue to be so? In Asia the era of women has yet to come It is for the leaders of women s movement in Asia to take note of the basic differences between the West and the East

WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The Madras Government have cancelled all orders issued under the Government of India Act 1935 prohibiting employment of women in certain posts

This action has been taken in view of the provision made in Article 16 (1) and (2) of the Constitution of India removing any disqualification on account of sex for purposes of employment under the State and giving equal opportunities to men and women in this matter

Amendments have it is understood been framed to the Service Rules abolishing reservations of posts for either sex and amalgamating men s and women's cadres where they are at present separate.

DETENTION HELD INVALID

The Chief Justice, Mr. M. C. Chagla and Mr. Justice Gajendragakar, at the Bombay High Court on July 12 ordered the immediate release of Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, former President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. G. V. Ketkar, Editor of *Kesari*, Mr S. R. Date, Editor of *Kal* and Mr. M. Jagdish Bhopatkar, a Mahasabha worker of Poona

Granting their *habeas corpus* petitions, Their Lordships said that they had to guard against "the grave danger of the detaining authority becoming casual or careless when they may deprive a subject of his liberty by a mere stroke of the pen."

All the four were arrested in Poona on April 8 last under an order of the District Magistrate of Poona. The order stated that their activities were likely to lead to communal unrest.

Their Lordships held that the detention order was vague and the District Magistrate, in passing the order, was influenced by an extraneous circumstance, namely, the description of Mr. Bhopatkar as an active Hindu Mahasabha leader.

Their Lordships also ordered the release of two Communists who were detained under the Preventive Detention Act, holding the detention orders invalid on the grounds of jurisdiction.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, 70-year-old Hindu Mahasabha leader, was ordered a conditional release by the High Court. Mr. Savarkar is now under detention in Yerawada Jail on an order issued by the Commissioner of Police, Greater Bombay. The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar suggested that Mr. Savarkar should be released on an undertaking being given by him that he would not take part in current politics and would stay in Poona instead of in Bombay if accommodation was available.

Mr. Savarkar was ordered by the Government to be detained on the ground that he was inciting Hindus against Muslims and his detention was necessary with a view to preventing him from acting in a manner prejudicial to the safety of the State of Bombay and the maintenance of public order.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY

The first step towards the separation of judiciary from the executive in Madhya Pradesh has been taken.

Pandit D. P. Mishra, Home Minister, explaining the State Government's scheme for gradual separation of judiciary from the executive, said at a Press Conference in Nagpur that an elected number of magistrates called judge-magistrates at the Janpada headquarters would be entrusted with the trial of all first class cases under the Indian Penal Code, appeals from lower magistrates, revisions, charge-sheets, bail and renewal applications and summary trials.

CONGRESSMEN NOT TO GO TO COURT !

The Congress Working Committee at its meeting at Delhi on July 12 took steps to tighten discipline in Congress ranks and to stop the rot that has set in in the organisation.

Summary and automatic dismissal from Congress is the punishment decided on for all those who go to court for settling internal Congress affairs. Hereafter anyone who goes to court shall lose his Congress membership immediately. In regard to cases pending before the courts, a time limit of seven days has been given for the withdrawal of the cases failing which the persons concerned would be ousted from the Congress.

GENERAL

OPPOSITION PARTIES MEMORANDUM

Under the Chairmanship of D R P Paranjpye, the Liberal leader representatives of the nine Opposition Parties The Socialist Party of India All India Hindu Mahasabha National Liberal Federation A—I Scheduled Castes Federation A—I Depressed Classes League A—I Republican Party The Bombay Presidency Association The Servants of India Society A—I Refugee Camp Bombay met in a Conference at Blavatsky Lodge on July 1st and 2nd and made concrete suggestions to ensure that the coming General Elections should be Free and Fair

This Conference appoints a Standing Committee consisting of the following members with power to co opt one third of its strength to take all steps as may be necessary to ensure free and fair elections

(1) Dr R P Paranjpye (Chairman) (2) Pt Kunzru (3) Jay Prakash Narayan (4) P N Rajbhoj (5) Br N C Chatterji (6) Dr N B Khare (7) Dr Ratnaswamy (8) P K Menon (9) Purshottam Trikam (10) P R Lele (11) V K John (12) N M Joshi (13) M Harris, (14) Nousher Bharucha (15) S G Vaze

This Conference authorises the President to forward the memorandum adopted by this Conference to authorities and bodies concerned

LATE Mr RANGANATHA MUDALIAR

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Mr A Ranganatha Mudaliar veteran Theosophist at his residence in Adyar on July 8 at the age of 71

Mr Ranganatha Mudaliar was a prominent public worker and was associated with a number of cultural and social service organisations

VANA MAHOTSAVA

In all the States of the Indian Union with the exception of the Punjab Governors Rajpramukhs Chief Ministers and other leaders planted trees in inauguration of the Vana Mahotsava festival in the first week of July

Vagaries of the monsoon necessitated revision of the original plan to observe it from July 1 to 7, and it has been extended to the end of August In the Punjab the festival began on July 15

The author of the idea Mr K M Munshi who saw in it the long range solution of the country's food problem himself planted trees at Andheri, near Bombay and at Somnath in Saurashtra Ten thousand trees are to be planted at Dahot Sarga where Lord Krishna died

Mr Munshi later visited South India and planted trees in the precincts of the historic temples at Kanchipuram and later at Tirupathi the famous pilgrim centre

CONQUEST OF ANNAPURNA PEAK

The nine man French expedition to the Himalayas which started in April last conquered on June 6 the 26 492 foot high Annapurna Peak—the highest peak ever climbed by man

Situated in the Krishna Gandaki valley in Nepal Annapurna is the fifth highest summit in the bosom of the Himalayas

Two out of the nine mountaineers Maurice Hertzog (31) the chief of the expedition and Louis Lachenal (29) reached the peak at about 2 o'clock in the day

NEHRU'S PEACE APPEAL

The Prime Minister is reported to have sent a secret personal appeal to the American Secretary of State, Mr Dean Acheson in a further effort to have Communist China "seated in the United Nations

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Sri Prakasa The volume is a sumptuous production and most interesting I congratulate the Editor and his staff in their enterprise

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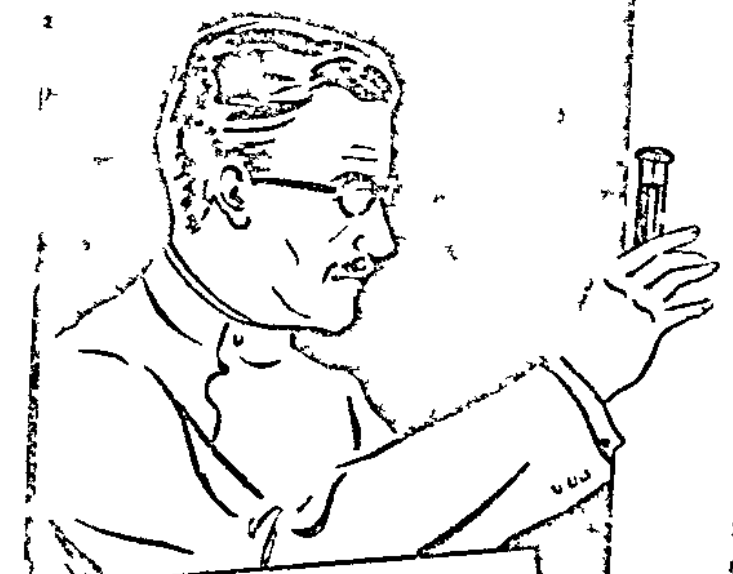
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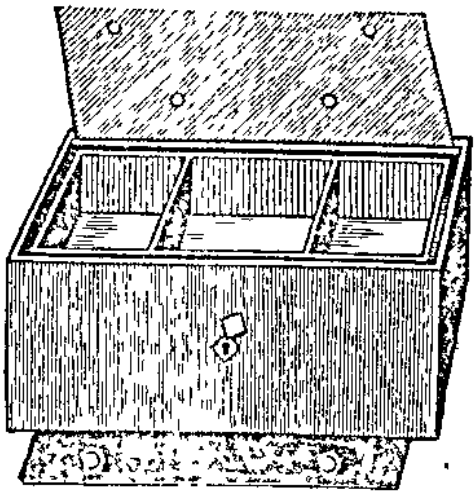
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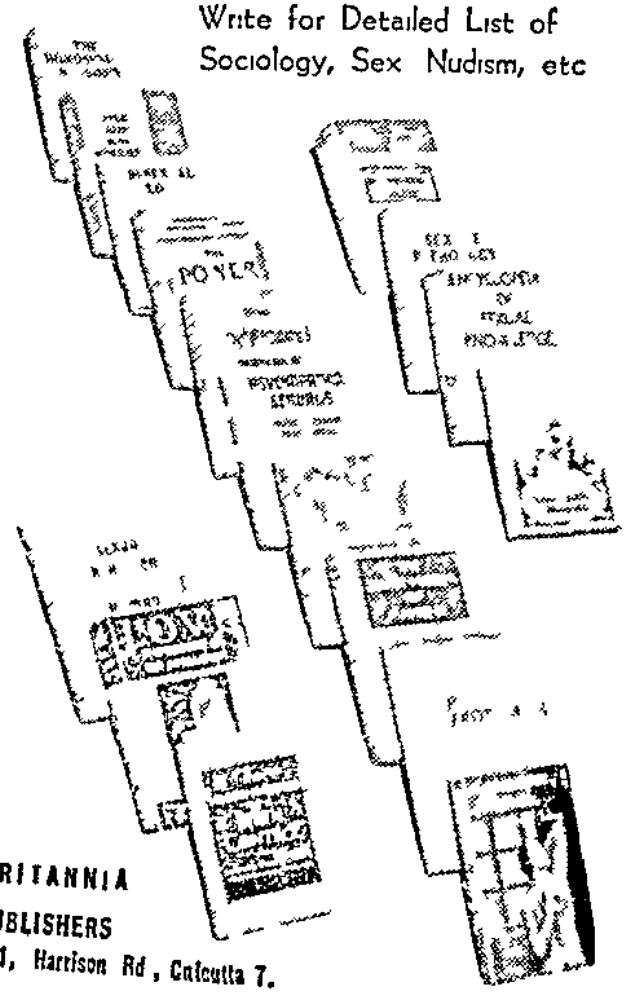
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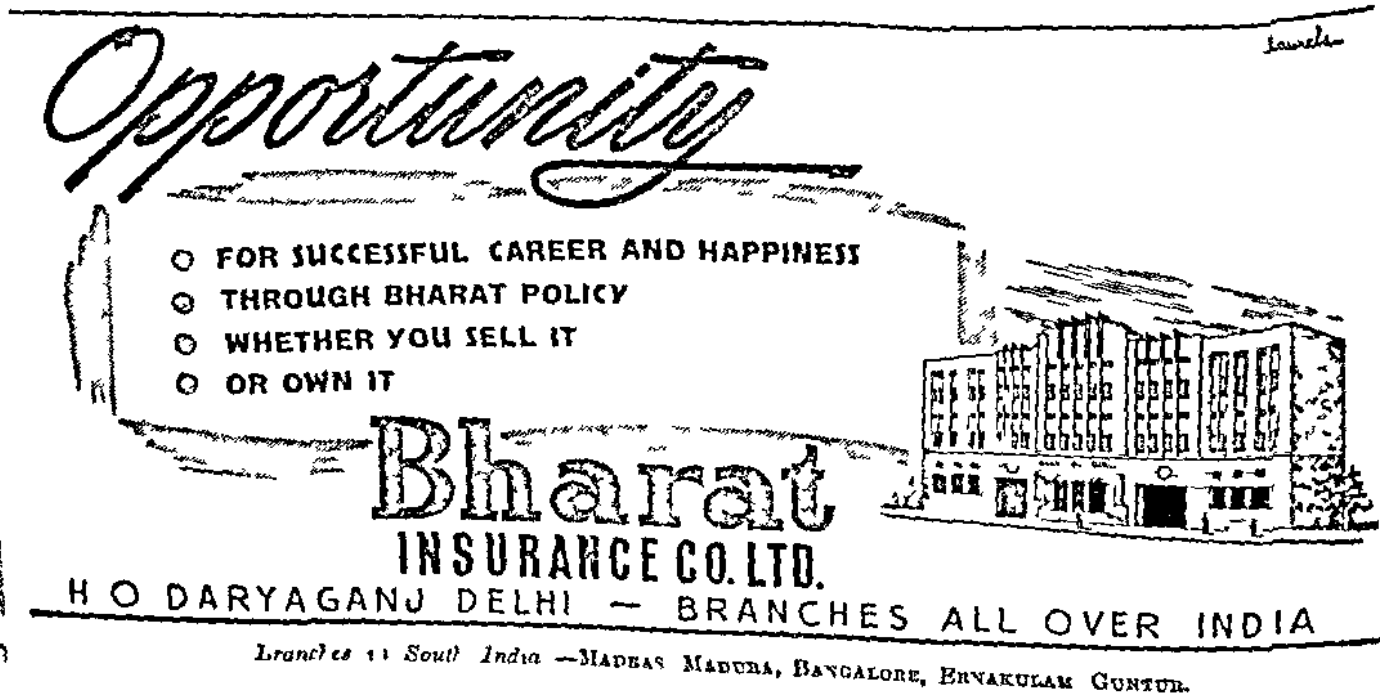
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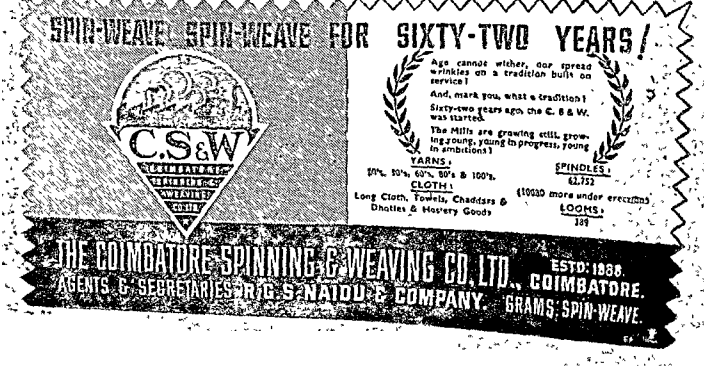
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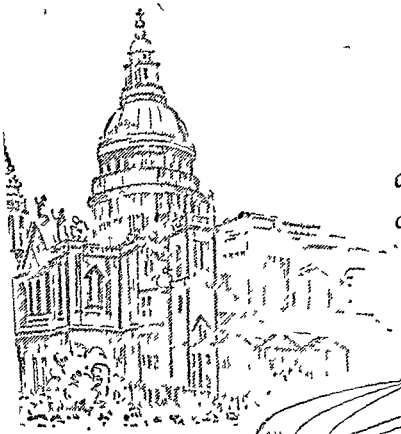
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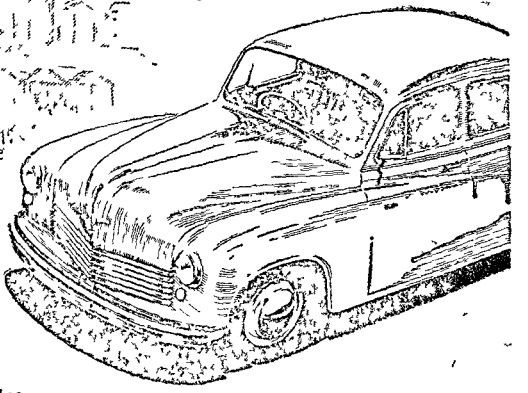
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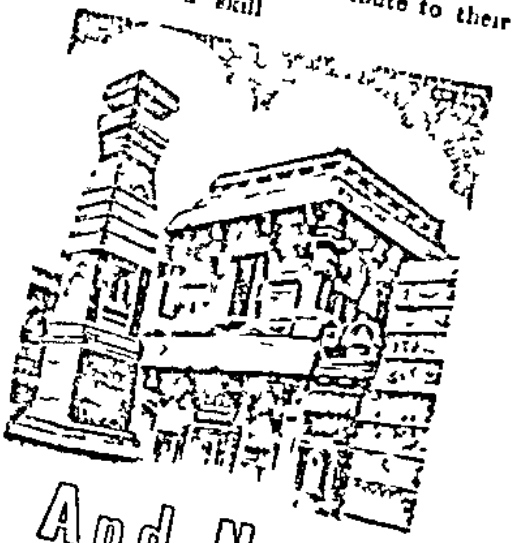
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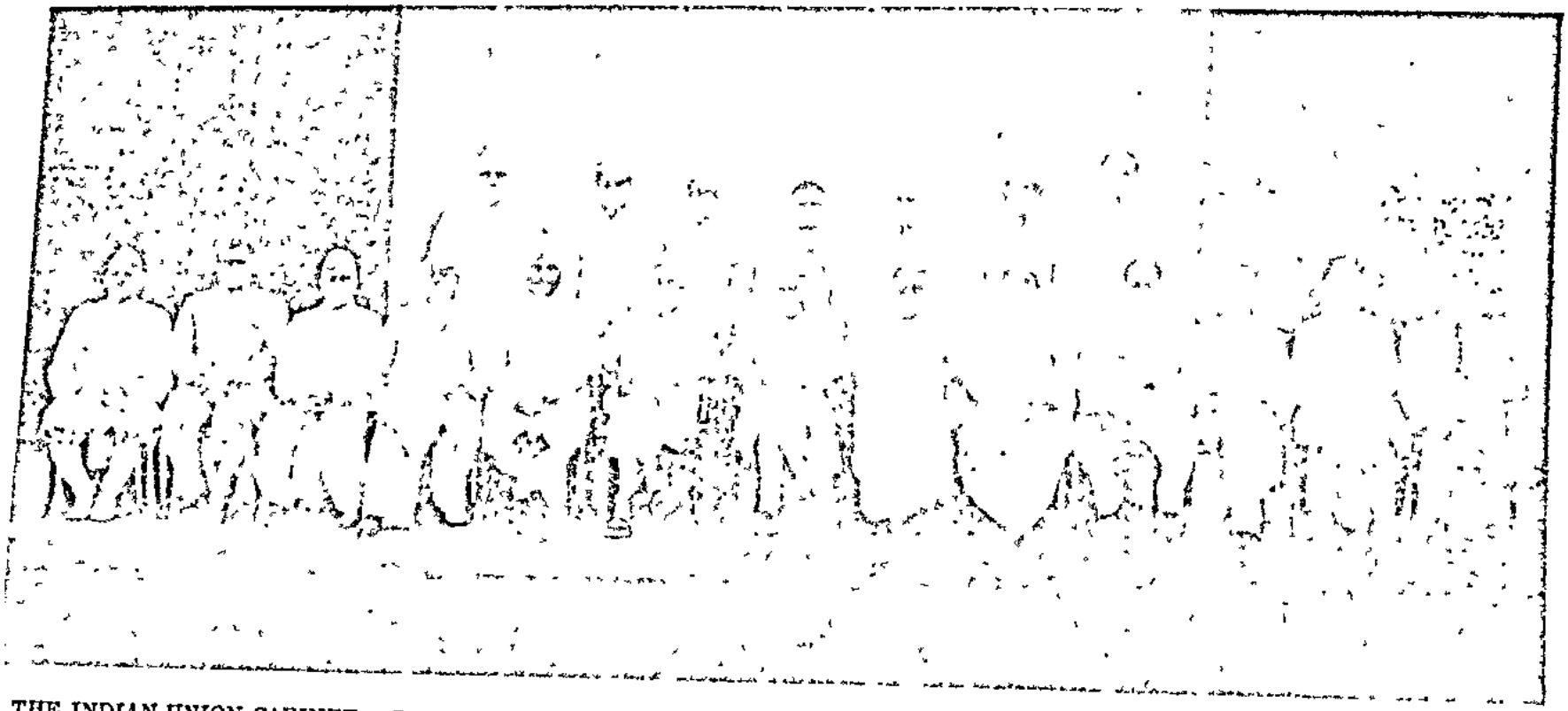
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INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIA

ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

By Rt. Hon. Mr. R. A. BUTLER P C, M.P.

IT is a particular pleasure to me to send a message to the people of India on the third anniversary of her independence, because my own association with India has been long, happy and intimate.

My father served India for over 30 years India was my birthplace and in 1932 I was privileged to become Under-Secretary of State for India. But apart from that, I have always taken the keenest interest in, and felt deep affection for, the people of India. It was, therefore, a matter of regret to me that, because of my absence in America, I was unable to take an effective part in the last great Indian measure to come before the United Kingdom House of Commons, namely, the Indian Independence Act of 1947. Had I had the opportunity of speaking in the closing stages of that debate, I should have ventured to make the prophecy that a free and independent India would in a short time attain to leadership among the countries of Asia.

I think that prophecy could be said to be fulfilled to-day. Her vast population, patient and industrious, her many natural resources, her culture, her geographical position as a bridge between the Western world and the Far East—these alone would have ensured that India should take a prominent place amongst Asian countries. But, in addition, she has been blessed with wise and farseeing statesmen whose reputations have travelled far beyond the confines of their own country. Thanks largely to the guidance and inspiration of Pandit Nehru the name of India stands high among the peace-loving democracies. One can say without hesitation that history will accord him an honoured place, not only as one of the creators of modern India but as one of the outstanding figures in this world of ours to-day.

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Three years is as nothing in the history of a nation, but in the short space that has elapsed since India started to frame her own destiny much has been accomplished.

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firms, like banks and insurance companies, for the purpose of launching housing companies in which both Government and private capital will participate One housing company has already been formed in Delhi and negotiations are in progress for setting up one in Bombay It is estimated that through large scale employment of private capital in this direction the output of new houses for displaced persons can be doubled or trebled

UNATTACHED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Another responsibility of the Central Government is the maintenance of the aged and the infirm and the unattached women and children amongst the displaced persons Sixty thousand persons belonging to these categories are at present living in about 95 Homes and in a number of camps, infirmaries and training centres The Centre at present bears, in full the expenditure on their feeding clothing, sanitation and medical, educational and other facilities.

AID TO STUDENTS TO CONTINUE TILL 1953

From the beginning of the refugee problem the education of displaced children has claimed the special attention of Government Countless new schools have sprung up in camps and outside, and extensions have been made to existing schools and colleges and other educational institutions Financial assistance has been given and continues to be given to displaced students in need of it, both in India and abroad Two hundred and fifty stipends have been sanctioned for training displaced girls in nursing and midwifery

Recently, it was announced on behalf of the Government of India that financial assistance to displaced students will continue till March 31 1953 For expenditure on education in 1950 51 a sum of Rs 155 lakhs has been provided. (This is exclusive of Rs 54 5 lakhs provided for technical and vocational training)

"NEW" REFUGEES FROM EAST PAKISTAN

The number of refugees who have come from East Pakistan after the disturbances of early 1950, together with those who came earlier, is now in the neighbourhood of 2,700 000 A special allocation of Rs 5 crores has been made for expenditure on relief and rehabilitation Roughly 200 000 are living in camps Rehabilitation schemes so far sanctioned will cost more than Rs 152 lakhs Many more schemes are under consideration Refugees are being spread over to several States, to facilitate rehabilitation work

NO EXCHANGE OF POPULATION

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'What was the country to do in the circumstances?' Asked Pandit Nehru during Indo Pakistan debate in Parliament "Any proposal for the exchange of population, he would repeat was impracticable and fantastic, and this Government will have nothing to do with it It is something which is completely opposed to the whole political, economic, social, and spiritual basis on which we stand, and so long as this Government remains where I is, it will not touch it with a pair of tongs or a barge pole'

Replying to those who thought that the Delhi Agreement had failed, Pandit Nehru said the Agreement had very largely done its job The approach of the Agreement was such which thrilled the country, and made a difference to millions of people, Hindu and Muslim, a friendly approach which made them feel that a great burden was lifted from their shoulders

assistence to displaced lawyers doctors and teachers to make a new start in life, assist students to continue their studies look after unattached women and children and the aged and the infirm amongst the displaced persons provide land and other facilities to agriculturists and arrange for the maintenance of those unattached old who depended so ely on income from property in Pakistan and who are not able to maintain themselves because of old age illness or infirmity All this is being done—to the limit of the Government of Ind a s capacity

But how much of this has been accomplished? I propose to give here only a bird s eye view of the efforts made by Government Before proceeding further a general observation may not be out of place

From East Pakistan the exodus of refugees still continues Over 3 700 000 of them have already come from there since Partition Obviously in such conditions there cannot be a Master plan for their rehabilitation The problem has necessarily to be dealt with piecemeal and rehabilitation schemes devised for blocks of displaced persons as they arrive The Government of India is committed to go to the utmost length in rehabilitating them and neither effort nor money will be spared in doing so

The case of displaced persons from West Pakistan is different Mass migration ceased long ago although a small trickle continues from Sind Movement within the country has to a large extent ceased Comparatively speaking it has been easy to plan for their rehabilitat on

NINE MILLION REFUGEES

Taking the country as a whole we have now on our hands about nine million refugees Th s is equivalent to three fourths of the entire population of Canada. It requires little imagination to visualize what would happen in a situation in which three fourths of the entire popula tion of Canada had to be physicall uprooted and rehabilitated elsewhere!

The factual information which follows relates to displaced persons from West Pakistan and those displaced persons from East Pakistan who arrived before the recent exodus started A separate paragraph has been devoted to those who have come from East Pakistan after the recent exodus commenced

RURAL REHABILITATION IS EASIER

Rural rehabilitation has been easier than urban Evacuee land was available in the Punjab PEPSU and other places in India and displaced persons are being resettled on this land and provided with financial assistance and other facilities to make a new start in life The quasi permanent allotment of land in Punjab and PEPSU has been completed Nearly 4 735 000 acres or 2 500 000 standard acres of land have been allotted to approximately 500 000 claimants This quasi permanent allotment has been a vast operation which required something like 15 000 *patwaris* hard at work for several months to complete the job

Displaced agriculturists have also been settled on land in Rajasthan Madhya Pradesh Madhyabharat Saurashtra Uttar Pradesh Vindhya Pradesh Bombay Ajmer Delhi and Himachal Pradesh The number of displaced families settled on land in areas other than Punjab and PEPSU exceeded 44 800 as at the end of May 1950 involving more than 2 20 000 displaced persons

As most of the displaced agriculturist families were without resources of any

kind, Government have had to bear the expenditure of feeding them until their first crop is ready, give funds for the purchase of bullocks, seeds, implements and for constructing and repairing houses and wells attached to the lands on which they are resettled. Rehabilitation loans are also advanced to rural artisans and petty traders who form an integral part of rural economy in India.

Up to the end of April 1950, Rs. 5,87,00,000 had been disbursed by way of rural loans to displaced agriculturists in 19 different States.

WHY URBAN REHABILITATION IS DIFFICULT

A much more complicated affair, bristling with difficulties, is the rehabilitation of urban displaced persons. It is sometimes argued that the number of refugees who came into India from West Pakistan being approximately equal to the number of those who left India for West Pakistan, better planning could have secured more satisfactory results in this field. Those who argue thus overlook an important fact.

Speaking generally, the economic status of the population which came into India was radically different from that of the population which went out of India. The bulk of those who went out from here belonged to the lower middle classes and working classes. Those who came in were traders, shopkeepers, businessmen, industrialists and others who could not straightaway fit into the economic vacuum created by the outgoing Muslims.

Take, for instance, the case of the Hindus and Sikhs who came from the North-West Frontier Province in West Pakistan. They constituted a bare seven per cent of the total population of the Province before Partition: yet it was this seven per cent which paid about 80 per cent of the income tax in that Province before the country was divided. In other words, these men must have been in the forefront there in the services, in business and in industry. How can they, on their arrival in India, take up the petty vocations followed by the outgoing Muslims? Where were the palatial houses and the *mohallas* to which they were accustomed and which they had left behind in Pakistan? Here came the rub. The inevitable readjustment is taking place, but this, necessarily, will be a lengthy process.

SOLUTION OF LIVELIHOOD PROBLEM

What have the Government of India done for the displaced persons in the way of employment?

A four-point solution has been attempted: (1) finding employment in Government and private offices; (2) making large scale arrangements for technical and vocational training; (3) constructing shops and markets and advancing small loans to serve as capital; and (4) providing financial and other assistance to middle and upper class businessmen and industrialists and men of professions who wish to begin life again.

Let us take these one by one. (1) Through the Transfer Bureau and the Special Employment Bureau set up shortly after Partition by the Government of India and through the Employment Exchanges, it has been possible to absorb nearly 1,41,000 displaced persons in Government and private jobs, ensuring livelihood to a displaced population of over 6,80,000.

(2) About 20,000 displaced persons have completed training and another 16,000 are undergoing training at the training centres run by the State Governments and the

There is, however, one issue remaining unsettled, the question of Kashmir. May I then take this opportunity of expressing the fervent hope that a solution will be reached, and that speedily, because the estrangement of India and Pakistan grieves all who, like myself, hold both countries in affection and esteem?

WORLD AFFAIRS

It is a sad accident of fate that at a time when India required, and deserved, a breathing space in which to devote all her energies to the consolidation of her own internal affairs, world affairs should have taken the turn that they have

I claim no gift of prophecy, but I think that I may take to myself some credit for anticipating the importance which we in Britain now attach to affairs in Asia. Time and again, both in the House of Commons and out, I stressed the need for examining the problems of the Far East, problems to which no country could close its eyes. In the last few years, indeed, the centre of world political gravity has been slowly moving towards the East, mainly because the efforts of Communism to dominate the world seem now to be centred in Asia All peace loving nations are to day faced with this simple issue. Are the democracies to continue to hold aloft the banner of freedom, or is the rule of law to give way to naked aggression, and the world to become a vast police state in which all freedom of thought and action will vanish?

We all appreciate the desire of India to avoid identifying herself too closely with either one of the camps into which the world is now, unhappily, divided, and we sympathise with her intention to pursue "an independent policy which will continue to be determined solely by India's ideals and objectives".

FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCES

But it seems to me that many countries to-day can be likened to the driver of the motor-car who said "It is not my driving that will cause an accident: it is the carelessness of the other fellow that I must look out for". It is the "other fellow" who, in world politics, is likely to cause any accident there may be.

In short, whatever our ambitions and ideals, force of circumstances may not allow us to pursue them; and I believe that when faced with the clear issue which I have mentioned above, none who believe in freedom will wish to stand aloof.

In his task of guiding Indian policy so that it may serve the true interests of peace Mr Nehru will carry with him the good wishes of us all.

THE POLICY OF "NEUTRALITY"

"India was accused of having left the path of neutrality she had pursued so far. At no time have we been neutral and at no time do we propose to be neutral Our policy is not to commit ourselves previously to follow a certain line Our policy is independence of action. That is to say at any moment we decided for ourselves what is in our interest and in the interest of world peace, or whatever our ideals and objectives may be If we say we are permanently neutral, it has no meaning except permanent retirement from public affairs in the national sense sanyas (renunciation) No country can do that and certainly we have no desire to retire from world affairs To some extent we have tried to the best of our ability to steer clear of outer entanglements because our capacity is limited, and we have our problems

"But, in spite of that, we get more and more entangled because we cannot get rid of the inherent importance of India There is no question of my having left the policy of neutrality I never had it"

Pandit Nehru in Parliament during the Korean debate.

THE PROBLEM OF THE REFUGEES

By Mr. MEHR CHAND KHANNA

Rehabilitation Adviser, Government of India.

FREQUENTLY, I am asked by friends anxious to follow the progress of rehabilitation: "How much of the problem has been solved? How much remains."

An answer to these questions is not easy to give. One thing may, however, be borne in mind. The losses suffered by the displaced persons now living in our midst, in terms of broken homes, of relatives lost and killed, of properties abandoned and looted, and of manifold other kinds of sufferings, will for all time defy measurement. They can never be made good—never, even if the Government of India were the richest Government on earth—which it is not.

With the best will in the world, therefore, Government can only undertake repair work.

If the will to solve this problem and the sincerity of effort behind it were the sole factors required for success, the problem would long ago have been resolved. Unfortunately for all of us, this is not so. Like any large scale repair work, this one has had its attendant vexations, delays, mistakes, even blunders. To some extent, these have been inevitable. Inexperience in handling such a colossal job must claim its toll.

What has been Government's record, any way?

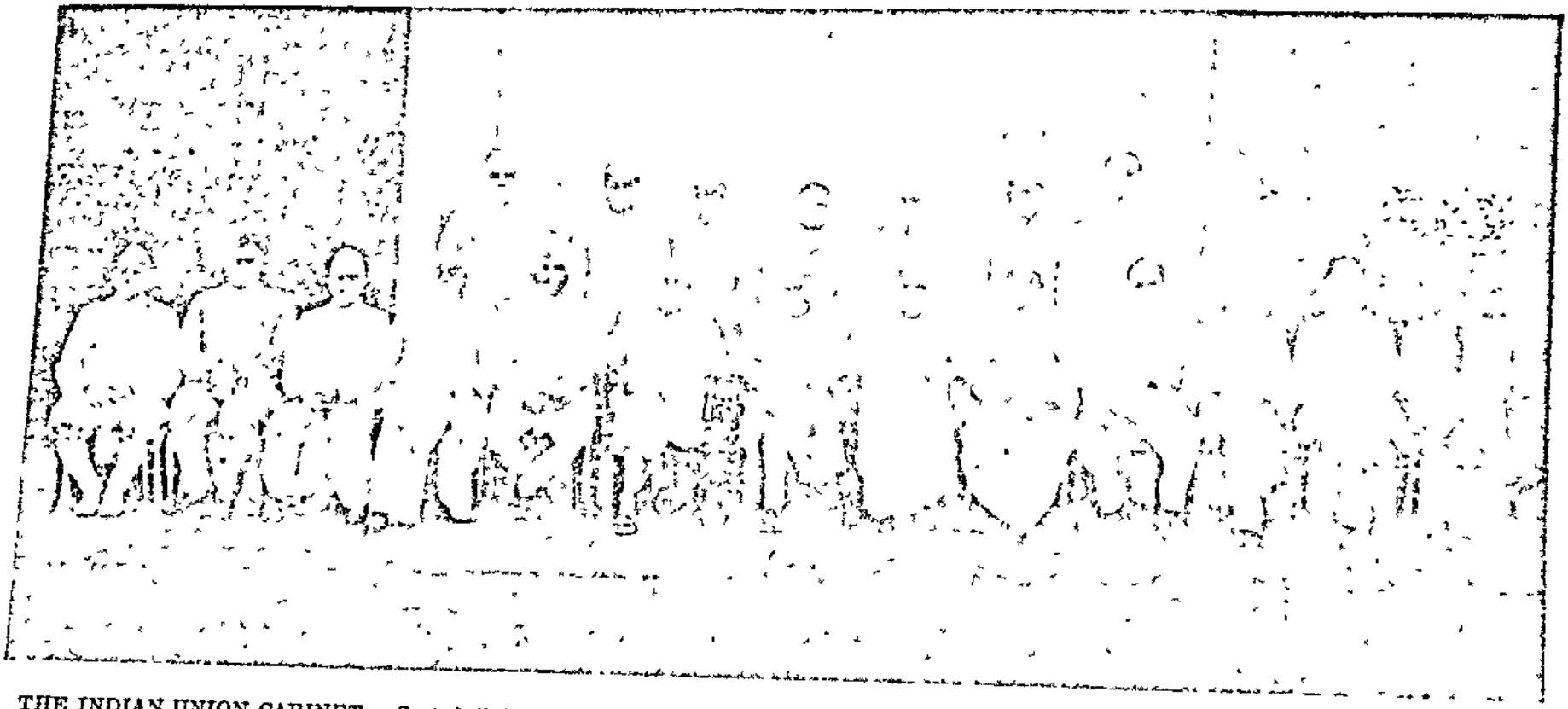
UNFLINCHING WELCOME TO REFUGEES

It is wellknown how, when refugees from Pakistan rolled into India by the hundred thousand, day after day, the Government of India, unflinchingly, "took on" every one who did not have a relative or a friend to go to, fed him, clothed him, and looked after his other primary needs—and did this for months on end. There were days in 1948 when Government were thus maintaining free of charge nearly a million individuals living in 200 refugee camps which dotted the whole country. Even now, the Government of India have accepted unlimited responsibility in regard to those who are coming from East Pakistan.

The Centre bears practically the *entire* expenditure on evacuation, reception, relief and rehabilitation of the displaced persons —from West or from East Pakistan. Already, a sum of Rs. 25,00,00,000 has been spent on evacuation and relief up to March, 1950. We have by no means seen the end of this totally unproductive expenditure. For instance, for migrants from East Pakistan alone, in the current financial year, to begin with, a sum of Rs. 2,00,00,000 has been earmarked for expenditure on evacuation, reception and relief. This brings the total expenditure on these heads to about Rs. 27,00,00,000. This is quite apart from the vast sums that have been spent and continue to be spent on rehabilitation.

WHAT "REHABILITATION" MEANS

Now, about rehabilitation. How much of the problem has been solved? A straight answer to this question cannot be given. As I have stated above, "rehabilitation" in its true sense is difficult to achieve. Government can at best build houses for those without shelter explore avenues of gainful employment; place financial wherewithal at the disposal of displaced traders, businessmen and industrialists; render financial



THE INDIAN UNION CABINET: Seated (left to right): Mr. Sri Prakasa Minister for Commerce, Mr Hare Krushna Mahtab, Minister for Industry and Supply, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power, Mr. R. A. Kidwai, Minister for Communications, Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister for Defence, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Labour, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister for Law, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister for Railways and Transport, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Minister for Food and Agriculture, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Minister for Finance.

Standing (left to right): Mr. Kurshed Lal, Deputy Minister for Communications, Mr. Satyanarayana Sinha, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. K. Santhanam, Minister of State for Railways, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Minister of State for Minorities, Mr. R. R. Diwakar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, Mr. A. P. Jain, Minister of State for Refugee Rehabilitation, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs.

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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Managing Editor : MANIAN NATESAN *Editor :* B. NATESAN

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INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIA

ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

By Rt. Hon. Mr. R. A. BUTLER P.C., M.P.

IT is a particular pleasure to me to send a message to the people of India on the third anniversary of her independence, because my own association with India has been long, happy and intimate.

My father served India for over 30 years. India was my birthplace and in 1932 I was privileged to become Under-Secretary of State for India. But apart from that, I have always taken the keenest interest in, and felt deep affection for, the people of India. It was, therefore, a matter of regret to me that, because of my absence in America, I was unable to take an effective part in the last great Indian measure to come before the United Kingdom House of Commons, namely, the Indian Independence Act of 1947. Had I had the opportunity of speaking in the closing stages of that debate, I should have ventured to make the prophecy that a free and independent India would in a short time attain to leadership among the countries of Asia.

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PROBLEMS OVERCOME

Three years is as nothing in the history of a nation, but in the short space that has elapsed since India started to frame her own destiny much has been accomplished.

The transition stage from dependence to independence brought with it a host of problems. Anyone who has moved house knows the upheaval created in the domestic sphere, and the transfer of power in India can be likened to house-moving on a national scale. Much of the machinery of government had to be reorganised. Departments, understaffed and overworked, were faced with overwhelming difficulties, accentuated by the separation of Pakistan. Gradually these were ironed out. A Constitution has been framed, and India's status in the British Commonwealth of Nations has been defined, to the great and lasting satisfaction of all its members. These are great achievements

Director General of Resettlement and Employment Ministry of Labour In addition to these training centres technical and vocational training is imparted also in work cum training centres where training is combined with production At eight training cum work centres run by the Central Ministry of Rehabilitation at Azadpur and Arab ki Serai in Delhi Gandhi Nagar in Bhopal Bhatinda Patiala and Samana in Pepsu Yol in Punjab and Rampur in U P 500 persons are engaged in production Similarly in work centres run by States 4 000 persons are engaged in production Training is altogether given in nearly 100 different vocations and trades

(3) Various State Governments have allotted nearly 27 000 evacuee shops and constructed another 2? 000 shops for displaced persons A sum of Rs 7 09 00 000 had been sanctioned up to April 1950 under the Small Loans Scheme to individuals and co operative Societies for setting up small trades re engaging in professions or in the case of students continuing their studies Under this scheme the maximum loan sanctioned is Rs 5 000 to individuals but this limit does not apply to co operatives

(4) Loans above Rs 5 000 and up to Rs 50 000 in the case of individuals and up to Rs 100 000 in the case of companies and co operative societies are sanctioned by the Rehabilitation Finance Administration specially set up by an Act of Parliament in 1948 to finance displaced businessmen and industrialists belonging to the middle and upper classes The Administration had up to April 15 1950 sanctioned applications of 3 750 such parties the total sum sanctioned being Rs 4 01 11 000 The average amount sanctioned works out to very nearly Rs 11 000 per recipient

Through the loans sanctioned by it up to December 1949 the Administration claims that it has helped to rehabilitate directly or indirectly 1 12 000 displaced persons

HOUSING

A much more difficult problem is of course that of housing Here the Ministry of Rehabilitation has had to contend with serious limitations of finance and building materials

Under a scheme of assisting State Governments with building materials the Government of India have so far been able to allocate 132 000 tons of building materials comprising of 47 000 tons of steel 76 000 tons of cement and 9 000 tons of A C sheets Two and a half million feet of galvanised iron pipes have also been allocated This material is valued at Rs 4 crores

Statisticians of the Ministry of Rehabilitation have estimated that of the two and a half million urban displaced persons who are believed to have come from West Pakistan more than two million or 80 per cent now live in roofed accommodation allotted by the Central and State Governments This figure of two million is composed of 14 5 lakhs living in evacuee houses 2 1 lakhs living in houses and tenements newly constructed by the Central and State Governments and 3 41 lakhs living in barracks in camps Government Quarters etc

During 1950 51 the Rehabilitation Ministry has been able to earmark a sum of Rs 9 crores for expenditure on the housing programme This is much too inadequate to meet the needs of the situation Hence the Government of India have set about exploring means of attracting private capital to supplement their efforts State Governments are being urged to negotiate with private

firms, like banks and insurance companies, for the purpose of launching housing companies in which both Government and private capital will participate. One housing company has already been formed in Delhi and negotiations are in progress for setting up one in Bombay. It is estimated that through large scale employment of private capital in this direction the output of new houses for displaced persons can be doubled or trebled.

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"What was the country to do in the circumstances?" Asked Pandit Nehru during Indo Pakistan debate in Parliament. "Any proposal for the exchange of population, he would repeat, was impracticable and fantastic, and this Government will have nothing to do with it. It is something which is completely opposed to the whole political, economic, social, and spiritual basis on which we stand, and so long as this Government remains where it is, it will not touch it with a pair of tongs or a barge-pole."

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oil instead of tempera was discovered by Jan Van Eyck of the Netherlands and a closer approximation to the actual appearance of humanity and nature in art came about

It is interesting in this connection, to remember that while Fra Angelico's tempera wall paintings in the monastery of S Marco in Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century preserve their fresh simplicity and beauty oil paintings of 200 years later, such as some of Rembrandt's, seem to have faded

Towards the end of the century Botticelli brought back the classical deities and in his effort to 'enhance the impression of an infinitely tender and beautiful being" (Venus arising from the sea) took liberties with anatomy—just as the Indian artists have done but the parallel escaped the author

The sixteenth century, 'the most famous period of Italian art' became "one of the greatest periods of all time Leonardo da Vinci Michelangelo Raphael, Titian, were in the full flower of their genius and in northern Europe Durer and Holbein, to name a few of the acknowledged masters of painting Leonardo's "Last Supper" even in its ruined state today "remains one of the great miracles wrought by human genius" not to mention his 'Mona Lisa" To stand in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican and become inhabited by Michelangelo's unspeakably marvellous ceiling is (as the reviewer can testify) not merely to view an immense picture gallery but to have an inexpressible imaginative experience Like Leonardo he was sculptor as well as painter, and the two of them alone would have made a century and a continent artistically immortal

In the latter half of the same century came the amazing craftsman Benvenuto Cellini whose autobiography is one of the classics of world literature Also came about the religious Reformation and the rise of Protestantism, with the develop ment of art into patient depictions of nature by the artists of the Netherlands The human comedy was translated into paint by Pieter Brueghel the elder who "discovered a new kingdom of art which the generations of Netherlands painters after him were to exploit to the full"

After the Renaissance came the Baroque style in building, which disregarded the rules of architecture, whence its title There is nothing in the Baroque church of Il Gesu in Rome (1575) "to s deliberate defiance of the classical ru But the way in which the cla elements are fused into a pattern s that Roman and Greek and even Re sance rules have been left behind" painting Claude Lorrain (1600 16 "opened people's eyes to the sublii beauty of nature," indeed, it became tl habit to appraise a nature scene acco ding to Lorrain's "dreams of beauty' Peter Paul Rubens arose and added another name to the list of pictorial giants The stolid seriousness of the past was superseded by his immense energy, and earned him a reputation "such as no painter had enjoyed before' Another giant was Rembrandt (1606 1669) who left us an amazing record of his life a series of self portraits ranging from the time of his youth . . to his lonely old age, when his face reflected the tragedy of the unbroken will of a truly great man"—in fact 'the greatest painter of Holland, and one of the greatest painters who ever lived"

From Baroque, architecture developed to High Baroque in a "process of piling up more and more dazzling new ideas for buildings and their decorations." Its chief architect, Borromini, was charged with over-ornateness and theatricality. But his idea was to conjure up a vision of heavenly glory," and he did so by the use of "pomp and display of precious stones, of gold and stucco" Some terminus in art evolution appears to have been reached in the ultra-Baroque style: after it, "painting and sculpture as independent arts declined in Italy and throughout Catholic Europe."

An "orgy of decoration" of interiors followed. Watteau (1684-1721), a Belgian, began thus; but he diverged to Paris, and found his work in depicting "his own visions of a life divorced from all hardship and triviality;" and "his dreams and ideals helped to mould the fashion we call Rococo"—"the fashion for dainty colours and delicate decoration which succeeded the more robust taste of the Baroque period."

English architecture of the seventeenth century, especially that of Wren who built St. Paul's Cathedral, was influenced by the Baroque groupings and effects; " yet "his forms adhere strictly to the best models of the Italian Renaissance." The Protestant churches did not aspire "to conjure up a vision of another world" but to provide an assembly hall in which the message of the Scriptures was preached. On the domestic side "the ideal of the English eighteenth century was not the castle but the country house." The temper of the time was that of "reason," and painting shared it. Hogarth, painting in the Puritan atmosphere, knowing himself to be as good a painter as the much praised continentals, took to sermonising in pictures. His "Rake's Progress" became a classic. The succession of first rank painters included such well-known names as Reynolds and Gainsborough.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century there came a break in tradition. On the continent there were attempts to revive both the Greek and Gothic styles in architecture. Painters and sculptors felt the change, and exhibitions of their works were first initiated. The set religious or heroic subjects of tradition fell away: "artists felt free to choose as their subjects anything from a Shakespearian scene to a topical event... that appealed to the imagination and aroused interest." The names of David and Goya appear. Blacke "was the first artist after the Renaissance who (thus) consciously revolted against the accepted standards of tradition . . . It was almost a century before he was generally recognised as one of the most important figures in English art." Turner was ambitious to "reach if not surpass" Lorrain. Constable found tradition a nuisance, and wanted to paint what the eye saw.

The Industrial Revolution in Britain "began to destroy the very traditions of solid craftsmanship; handiwork gave way to machine production, the workshop to the factory." The amount of building done in England in the nineteenth century was probably "greater than in all former periods taken together;" but it had no "natural style." The new Houses of Parliament (1835 and later) combined the Renaissance and Gothic styles, admirable in their own time and

THE STORY OF ART

By Dr. JAMES H. COUSINS

THE author of this monumental and exceedingly valuable book* introduces it with the confession that the readers he had originally in mind "were boys and girls in their teens who had just discovered the world of art for themselves" But he extended hi appeal



Dr. JAMES H. COUSINS

"to all who feel in need of some first orientation in a strange and fascinating field;" to show the new-comer "the lie of the land without confusing him with details," to bring "some intelligible order into the wealth of names, periods and styles which crowd the pages of more ambitious works, and so to equip him for consulting more specialised books." As a matter of fact the contents of "The Story of Art" would fit out not only boys and girls and well educated adults but long-time students of the arts, like this reviewer, with years of effort to absorb the information presented by the author, and particularly to press the essence intellectual and aesthetical out of his exposition and commentary.

Others, such as Orpen in England and Van Doren in the United States of America, have preceded Mr. Gombrich All three of them have looked with a blind or myopic eye on the eastern hemisphere of art. The present author writes: "During the centuries after Christ, Hellenistic and Roman art completely displaced the arts of the oriental empires, even in their own strongholds"—as if Ananda Coomaraswami or E. B Havell had never written a line on the art of India, or Van Erp had not dug out one of the most stupendous and beautiful pieces of architecture and sculpture in world history in the centre of Java. Two illustrations out of an incalculable gallery of sculptures available in the round and relievo are of Gandharan origin; a head of a Buddha, that may pass as a presentation of meditation made in the third century after Christ, but is weak beside the immense number of Hindu sculptures untouched by the Hellenistic sugariness from which examples of Hindu skill and psychology could have been selected; the other a second century A. D. presentation of the Buddha leaving his home on horseback to see the world. The author points out that the earliest Christian monuments never show Christ in person, but he does not draw the parallel with early Buddhist sculptures, such as Barhut, in which the Buddha is indicated by an umbrella held over his empty seat.

It is not easy to understand why a writer who has obviously done much

* The Story of Art by E H Gombrich. The Phaidon Press, London, 1950 462 pages. 372 illustrations, 17 in colour Large quarto. Canvas cloth binding. One guinea.

place, but incongruous in the new bourgeois conditions As regards painting, "the rise of a new middle class which often lacked tradition, and the production of cheap and shoddy goods which masqueraded as 'art', (had) brought about a deterioration in public taste" Artists broke into two classes, the suppliers of the debased demand in order to make a living such as it was and those who strove to maintain traditional excellence Paris became the centre of struggle between past and present "in successive waves of revolution, each generation trying to sweep away yet more of the conventions in which the official art of the academies had got stuck" Artists arose who took their place among the immortals everyone who knows anything of European art knows of Millet and his "Gleaners (1857) of Rosetti's "Annunciation" (1849) and of the Pre Raphaelites

Then came the Impressionists and variants with Manet Monet (whom the reviewer met at his home outside Paris in 1928 still working with half an eye at over 80) Renoir, Degas, Pissaro and others Whistler was on the edge of the aesthetic movement 'which tried to make out that artistic sensibility is the only thing in life worth taking seriously"—which may well be so, says the reviewer Men like Ruskin and William Morris tried to bring taste back 'to medieval conditions,' but the immediate future was against style or ornament and modernism arose Cezanne began it (1839 1906) He disliked the brilliant messiness of the Impressionists, but he got involved in mind and method, and made constant experiments which is apt to vitiate achievement Van Gogh followed with an exaggerated sensibility that led to violent mental upset and an attack on Gaugnin But these three lonely and unsatisfied men passed on their vision After them came a succession of 'isms in which Picasso and Matisse stand out among painters, and Giacometti and Henry Moore among sculptors And there the future waits for entrance, with the author's tag "It is we who must see to it that the thread of tradition does not break and that there remain opportunities for artists to add to the precious string of pearls that is our heirloom from the past" But, says the reviewer, in the translated words of Indian philosophy, "The addition of the finite to the finite does not produce the infinite" and it is the Infinite that the world needs for the solution of its problems, artistic as well as otherwise

AN ARTIST'S DREAM

—o—

"The origin of Robert Louis Stevenson's "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde" was a dream. "In the small hours of one morning," said Mrs. Stevenson, "I was awakened by cries of horror from Louis When I awakened him, thinking he had a nightmare, he said angrily: 'Why did you wake me? I was dreaming a fine bogey tale' I had awakened him at the first transformation scene"

Stevenson's dream life played a large part in his fiction, furnishing plots, scenes and characters even bits of dialogue, and directed to some extent the course of the story

Intercourse Between India and China

By Prof. B. BISSOONDOYAL, M.A.

THE spectacle that India and China presented in the days of their splendour is such as can do credit to the most advanced countries of modern times. It may even be no exaggeration to say that it will take other parts of the world, so little appreciative of cultural values, many decades more to deserve to be named in the same breath with these nations of Asia.

Students of psychology have a way of explaining how the mind of man works, how his feelings and emotions come to be suppressed. A child of a year or two, they tell us, is too careful of his environment and has too little of the egocentricity of the child to allow his feelings to go unsuppressed. If as he grows in years the lad succeeds likewise in suppressing the beast in him, he becomes what is called civilised.

Judged by this standard, India and China have risen very high in the scale of civilisation. We find India and China trading with each other from very early times. Under the Cholas who ruled over a vast territory in Southern India including Ceylon, commercial expeditions were sent to China. We have an account of these embassies in the 'History of the Sung Dynasty." The Cholas are well known in history for their maritime activities. They had very powerful navies. Perhaps the only reminder of their glory is the Coromandel Coast (Chola-Mandalam). A very ancient Tamil work has preserved for us a detailed description of the Coromandel Coast. We learn from it that about the Coast there were 'lighthouses built of brick and mortar.' There can be no question that Indian shipping was then at a very advanced stage. Indians and Chinese met in Ceylon, Baktra and other great emporia for trade between various countries. It did not occur to a single trader, whether Indian or Chinese, that he might extend the limits of his own territory by adding to it part, if not the whole, of his friend's country. Carping critics have been finding fault with religion only to justify more often than not the night revels and drinking bouts in which they participate. They do not require a better instance of the beneficial influence of religion on character if they are not impervious to facts. Religion is not divorced from life in Asia. The Philosophers and spiritual leaders of India and China have not only been of academic interest to the people for whom they wrote and thought. They have entered into the life-blood of their nations. They are philosophers who have left the world the better for their teachings.

The tendency of keeping aloof, of not mixing with others so as to preserve one's purity is discernible among the Indians only after the period of the decadence of Hindu society. Sea-voyage began to be tabooed so that when foreigners came to know of it they hurriedly concluded that Indians detested foreigners much in the same way as did the Greeks who believed that he who was not a Greek was necessarily a "Barbarian."

Along with the exchange of commodities, the two Asiatic nations were exchanging ideas. It is believed that the great Chinese philosopher Lao-Tsze visited India in the seventh century B.C. We have it on the authority of Manu that scholars and philosophers used to travel to India. There is every indication of

keeping up the interest. The Chinese did something more. They left highly interesting memoirs and thus illuminated a very important period of Indian history. Every serious student of Indian history has to go to those memoirs without which no attempt to reconstruct the history of that special period can prove successful.

Let it not be supposed that the contribution of India is limited to the sphere of religion and philosophy. Her fine art is not less worthy of admiration than her religion, letters and thought. The rise of Buddhism did not mean only the political ascendency of India. Along with it art developed. The Gandhara school of art owes its inception directly to Buddhism.

The people of China, like those of Japan, yielded to none in their love of the religion of the Buddha which means that they could not shut their eyes to the beauty of Indian art. Indian religion, art and even astronomy found admirers in China. It was under the Tang dynasty that Indian art was admired most.

The Tang emperors, especially Tai-Tsung, showed great interest in India. Their reign marks the entry of China into the political affairs of India. King Harsha sent a mission to Tai-Tsung in 641 A.D. The Chinese Emperor reciprocated by sending another mission which reached India only to learn that Harsha had passed away.

Chinese scholars have been unhesitatingly stating that China is indebted to India. One of them says: "India taught us to embrace the idea of absolute freedom, that fundamental freedom of mind which enabled it to shake off all the fetters of past tradition and habit as well as the present customs of a particular age—that spiritual freedom which casts off the enslaving forces of material existence. . . . India also taught us the idea of absolute love, that pure love towards all living beings which eliminates all obsessions of jealousy, anger, impatience, disgust and emulation, which expresses itself in deep pity and sympathy for the foolish, the wicked and the sinful—that absolute love which recognises the inseparability between all beings."*

The seventh century is very important in the history of the intercourse between India and China. It was in that century that Indian astronomers went out to China.

Skipping over some chapters of the history of Indo-Chinese relations, we come to the present times. At the very dawn of this century the world was made to witness an unprecedented event. A great European power was laid low. Young Japan bid fair to lead Asia. How the pulse of the Indian quickened when the news reached India of so great an achievement by so young a nation! A wave of enthusiasm swept over Asia. India and China were thrilled with joy as they had never been before in recent times. Rebellions had to be put down in French Indo-China: Lord Curzon called back all the Indian students who were completing their studies in Japanese universities.

Victory unfortunately turned Japan's head. The very nation that prided in Japan's success was made a victim. India was stirred. Rabindranath Tagore, who had been the pride of Asia (not excluding Japan), at once condemned in adequate terms the ghastly act of the aggressor. His admirer, the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi, commonly known as the Tagore

* *Visvabharati Quarterly*, October, 1924.

cost of your opinions? Remember that heroic virtues are only for heroes—who, when all is said, are apt to be cruel and inconsiderate in the relentless pursuit of their convictions Are not kindliness and consideration for others good enough for human nature's daily food? If you discard an old convention a new one will surely take its place—and one would rather abide by a tradition charged with poetry and sanctity than set up a new ritual without a background. Reasoning with a mind limited in its scope can hardly plumb the depths of the infinite. So the faithful have always believed, and the agnosts have continued to labour in their endless doubts. Swami Sivananda* has attempted to prove what many scientists have labelled "unsoluable problems" in the light of the teachings of the rishis of old who by precept and example had solved the mysteries to their own satisfaction.

Take this on the soul's passage after death:

> The materials like milk, curds etc, that are offered as oblations in sacrifices assume a subtle form called Apurva and attach themselves, to the sacrificer. The Jivas then go enveloped by water which is supplied by the materials that are offered as oblations in sacrifices
>
> The water forming the oblation assumes the subtle form of Apurva, envelops the Souls and leads them to Heaven to receive their rewards

Or this

> We read in Chandogya Upanished V-107: "Those whose conduct during the previous life has been good presently obtain good birth, such as the birth of a Brahmin, a Kshatrya or a Vaisya; those whose conduct has been bad presently obtain some evil birth such as that of a dog or a pig"

And then:

> The Soul is scorched on the way by intense heat, but the gift by his son on the eleventh day gives pleasant shade above his head The path is full of great thorns, but the gift of shoes helps him to go riding on horse The miseries of cold, heat and wind are dreadful there, but he goes happily along the way by the power of gift of clothes There is great heat and there is no water, but he drinks water when thirsty, through the gift of water pot by his son. The son should make a gift of a cow.
>
> Chitragupths, the recorder of fate, the Accountant General in the Kingdom of Lord Yama, informs the Soul of his good and bad actions in his earthly life after the end of one full year. The Soul leaves off its Pretatwa or the garb of a traveller on this day He is raised to the status of a Pitri or Ancestor.

Such *obiter dicta* may carry conviction to the faithful and even confirm them in their faith but they could hardly convince the seeker after truth who has to be argued out of his habitual mood of distrust in a creed outworn.

The fact is, no amount of book learning or mere teaching could be a substitute for what should be a matter of pure personal experience in self realisation. As in minor affairs of life one should have gone through that discipline and way of life which alone can illumine what is so dark and mysterious to the common mind. Alas such men do not come back to earthly life to tell us, doubting Thomases, of their visions of the Truth behind the shows of things! Sri Ramakrishna is said to have passed days and nights of agony to have a glimpse of the Goddess. Only those who thirst for the light in that agonising manner can have the vision splendid. Just as in worldly affairs only those succeed who throw themselves heart and soul into their endeavour for what it may be worth, so in matters of faith he alone has the reward who is one pointed in his devotion.

Stories of Nachiketas or Markandeya are bound to impress the thinking mind and the mind of the populace as well. But the appendix to the book in which the author has collected some striking instances of authentic facts must carry

* WHAT BECOMES OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH? By Swami Sivananda, Divine Life Society. Ananda

conviction in respect of the theory of rebirth. Here is a record of interesting cases which must baffle the cocksure tribe who are apt to make much of their rigorous test of rationalism.

Soldier Castor, the Burmese speaker-George Castor related some of his past experiences in the *Sunday Express*, London (1935) He was a soldier born in 1889 From boyhood he was speaking while asleep in pure Burmese. In 1907 he joined the army. In 1909 when he was 20, he was transferred to Maymyo (Burma) and there he felt that he had seen the land, lived in it, spoken the Burmese tongue, known the Irawady, and he told Lance Corporal Carrigon that on the other side of the Irawady, there was a large temple with a huge crack in the wall from top to bottom and near by a large bell—a statement that was found true to the letter

* * *

Jung Bahadur's daughter (Delhi)—Shanta' an 8 year old girl of Lala Jung Bahadur, a merchant of Delhi, used to say, ever since she could talk—that in her former life she was married to a man of Mathura whose address she gave When her former husband was informed of it he sent his brother whom the girl identified instantly Then her husband came and she recognised him at once and told him facts which were known only to him and his former wife She also told him that she had buried one hundred rupees at a certain place in her home

* * *

Devi Prasad's child, Cawnpore (*Amrita Bazaar Patrika* 1-5-3) A five year old child of one Devi Prasad Bhatanagar, living in Premnagar, Cawnpore says that in his previous birth his name was Sivadayal Muktas and that he had been murdered during the Cawnpore riots in 1931 when he was decoyed by two Muslim friends to a house and there murdered One day the child insisted on going to his old house where he said his former wife was lying ill He was taken there and he at once recognised his wife, his children and other articles.

And there are many such authentic cases on record. Swami Sivananda has provided a thought provoking book—a book dealing with a topic of vital concern to all thinking men. By means of seances and other apparatus the late Sir Oliver Lodge, a scientist, was able to prove to his own satisfaction that the spirit after leaving the body continues to hover round its late abode. The cases recorded by the Swamiji give further evidence of the continuity of life after death and the certainty of rebirth in fulfilment of unfulfilled desires.

A medical practitioner, writing in a recent number of *Kalyana Kalpatru*, records some authentic instances of ghosts finding their way into the bodies of deceased persons and prolonging their existence in life for their own satisfaction. Cases of spirits taking control of weakened bodies and patients cured of this kind of malady by methods of ultra medical exorcism are not uncommon among village folk. Surely there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy.

But that can be no reason for ignoring realities as we face them and dissipating opportunities of active life and service in pursuit of unearthly aims and in fruitless efforts to peep through the iron curtain which a wise providence has mercifully provided. For ought we know such efforts are apt to end in indolence and frustration, for the majority of mankind. As we grow in years we feel the span of life so contracting and the power to serve so ineffectual that we would fain concentrate on what is nearest to hand ere the night cometh. For life is for ever calling us to action and fulfilment, and with the limitation of our reason, all we need to know is that he lives best who serves, both himself and his kind.

PHILOSOPHER AND THEOLOGIAN

A philosopher and a theologian were engaged in disputation The theologian used the old quip about a philosopher resembling a blind man in a dark room, looking for a black cat—which isn't there "That may be," said the philosopher, "but the theologian would find it."

will stand out from the rest, and so, draw the boss's attention to you.' 'But I don't want the boss to notice me, it will only mean that I shall have to work harder,' he argued.

"Hard work never killed anyone,' I told him.

"Try telling that to donkeys," was all I could get out of him.

"You're no idea how I had to keep on prodding him, pushing him to do things. If it hadn't been for my making him go to the Rent Tribunal people, we should never have got the rent reduced by a shilling. And the times I had to nag him before he tackled the people next door about their dog coming into our garden. It wasn't my fault the man punched him on the nose, although he would argue that it was. It was the same when the people across the way kept playing the piano all the time. He simply wouldn't go over and complain to them. I practically had to push him to the door. How was I to know the man was an All-in Wrestler? Anyone would think I deliberately planned for him to get a broken arm—What do you think you are going to do?" she said suddenly as the burglar made to reach for the telephone.

"I'm going to ring for the police, lady," he said wearily. "There's a limit to what a blocke can stand, even if it does mean to-say his freedom."

IS DEATH THE END OF LIFE?

BY "B. N."

IS death the end of life? Does individuality persist after death? Are there other worlds to which the soul travels after stuffing off this mortal coil? Do gifts and oblations and ceremonies affect the course of the spirit after leaving the body? Is there any truth in rebirth? These are questions which haunt every thinking man, some time or other—mostly after one has witnessed the passing of a friend or relative or attended the rites following the final phase. Questions have been asked from time immemorial and will continue to be asked again and again for all time They have been answered by wise men of old in the prescriptive rites rigorously followed by the orthodox of all religions. Succeeding generations have generally answered these intimate problems by invoking the authority of the scriptures—the Gita and the Upanishads among Hindus. But reasoning is one thing and authority is another; and one is apt to say what Matthew Arnold once said of Cardinal Newman that "he (the Cardinal) has found a solution (for all our perplexities and difficulties) which to me is frankly impossible."

The rites are in the nature of a salve more to the living than to the dead. Some of us perform them out of respect and consideration for those nearest and dearest who profess genuine faith in their efficacy and some out of deference to the normal life of a society in which we have to live and move as a social being. A Morley or Spencer might attribute such conformity to want of intellectual integrity. But in a close knit clan with common habits and ways of life, is it so bad after all to be touched with kindly feelings for the susceptibilities of your neighbours even at the

JARGON

In his lectures on English literature Quiller-Couch made more than one frontal assault on what he called Jargon—a vicious kind of writing so common in the press and in parliament. Jargon is a way of beating about the bush without hitting the mark. It does not give a straight aye or nay to a question but affects a pontifical air with "The answer is in the or affirmative negative." It takes various shapes—circumlocution, the use of "vague woolly abstract nouns," and a superfluity of words without meaning. Even Lloyd George, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, answering a question, is reported to have delivered himself of this to an attentive Senate:

With regard to Mr. Noel Buxton's questions I cannot answer for an enquiry which is *of a private and confidential character*, for although I am *associated with it* I am not associated with it as a Minister of the Crown. . . Those enquiries are *of a very careful, systematic and scientific character*, and are being conducted by the ablest investigators in this country, some of whom have reputations of international character. I am glad to think that the investigation is *of a most impartial character.*

Commenting on this Q says :

It must be a comforting thought, that an enquiry of a private and confidential character is also of a very systematic and scientific character, and besides being of a most impartial character, is conducted by men of international character,—whatever that may happen to mean. What is an international character, and what would you give for one? . . . This way of talking, while pretending to be something pontifical, is really not prose at all, nor reputable speech at all, but Jargon.

ENGLAND

The simple pathos and the quiet beauty of these lines affect us more than the blatant vulgarity of most patriotic pieces like—"Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves—Briton never shall be slaves."

I travelled among unknown men
In lands beyond the sea;
Nor England! did I know till then
What love I bore to thee.

't is past, that melancholy dream!
Nor will I quit thy shore
A second time, for still I seem
To love thee more and more.

Among the mountains did I feel
The joy of my desire:
And she I cherished turned her wheel
Beside an English fire.

Thy mornings show'd thy nights conceal'd
The bowers where Lucy played,
And thine too is the last green field
That Lucy's eyes survey'd.

—*W. Wordsworth.*

HIC JACET

[*These are the last words in Sir Walter Raleigh's unfinished "History of the World" which he wrote in the tower of London.*]

O Eloquent, just and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hath cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawn together all the far-fetched greatness, all the pride, cruelty and ambition of men, and covered it all over with these too narrow words—*Hic Jacet.*

—*Raleigh.*

POLITICIAN AND PATRIOT

A politician is a man who wants his country to do something for him; a patriot is one who wants to do something for his country.

WALKING TOURS

A walking tour should be gone upon alone because freedom is of the essence, because you should be able to stop and go on, and follow this way or that as the freak takes you and because you must have your own pace and neither trot alongside a champion walker nor mince in time with a girl And then you must be open to all impressions and let your thoughts take colour from what you see You should be as a pipe for any wind to play upon 'I can not see the wit says Hazlitt "of walking and talking at the same time When I am in the country I wish to vegetate like the country—' which is the gist of all that can be said upon the matter There should be no cackle of voices at your elbow, to jar on the meditative silence of the morning And so long as a man is reasoning he cannot surrender himself to that fine intoxication that comes of much motion in the open air, that begins in a sort of dazzle and sluggishness of the brain, and ends in a peace that passes comprehension

—*R L S*

Nor love thy life, nor hate, but, what
thou liv'st,
Live well how long or short permit
to heaven

—*Milton*

I AM READY FOR THE JOURNEY

I have got my leave Bid me farewell my brothers I bow to you all and take my departure Here I give back the keys of my door—and I give up all claims to my house I only ask for last kind words from you We were neighbours for long But I received more than I could give Now the day has dawned and the lamp that lit my dark corner is out A summons is come and I am ready for the journey.

—*Tagore*

THE ORDINANCE OF FATE

In the anxiety of her heart a dove spoke to her spouse "Husband! Our death hour is now come! Below there stands a hunter with his bow and sharp arrows in his hand, above us hovers a falcon" So it was indeed but a snake bit the hunter, whose arrow pierced the falcon, and both forthwith departed to Yama's (the Lord of Death's) dwelling Wonderful is the ordinance of Fate!

—*Dharmavivcka*

GOD

I say to mankind, Be not curious about God
For I who am curious about each am not
curious about God
Why should I wish to see God better than
this day?
I see something of God each hour of the
twenty four and each moment then,
In the faces of men and women I see God,
and in my face in the glass,
I find letters from God dropt in the street
and everyone is signed by God's name,
And I leave them where they are for
I know wheresoever I go,
Others will punctually come for ever and ever.

—*Walt Whitman*

BOOK TITLES

Just after the First World War, Horatio Bottomley's partner turned on his former friend and published a book called *What Horatio Bottomley Did for Britain During the War* Every page was completely blank Similarly when the late Admiral Boddam Whetman, who had spent many years in China, was given a dinner by the local inhabitants prior to his return to Europe, he presented to each of his hosts a slim volume of plain pages with the titles *What I Know About China*

WORLD TRENDS: POLITICAL & ECONOMIC

By Mr. C. R. SRINIVASAN

(*President, A. I. N. E. C.*)

[In this article Mr. C. R Srinivasan, President of the A. I. N. E. Conference who has just returned after a seven-week tour of Canada, U.S.A. and England gives the results of his study of world trends, political and economic. He is convinced that the so-called war of ideologies between communism and capitalism is mainly a question of Dictatorship *vs.* Democracy. If the world is to be made safe for democracy, he says, the Western democracies should take note of the ferment in all under-developed and un-developed countries of Asia and recognise on terms of equality the part they are destined to play in the future set up of the world. As a veteran journalist Mr. Srinivasan brings, to the discussion of world trends a breadth of view and a freshness of outlook, with his wonted clarity and terseness which can hardly fail to impress the reader.—Ed. *I. R.*]

IN assessing political and economic trends during 1950, it is necessary first to realise that the world has shrunk in space during the 20th century and that although we live thousands of miles apart from each other we are much nearer each other than at any time before, thanks to the remarkable progress in civil aviation. The structure of economy has also transcended national bounds. We are in fact fast evolving a world economy. The independence of nations has begun to be imperceptibly qualified by the interdependence of nations. In the process of evolution we have discovered also, that both war and peace are indivisible, so also progress and prosperity. Two world wars and their aftermath have amply demonstrated this. It is not merely in the material sphere that we have discovered this truth ; in the moral plane also, a ferment is working for a rendition of values. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia and China have all become masters in their houses and their goodwill and co-operation are necessary today to assure the peace and security of the world. The colonial system of economy has been upset ; the weak and the oppressed will no longer submit to exploitation. A new civilisation based on a proper appreciation of human values is in the throes of birth.



Mr. C. R. SRINIVASAN

In the enunciation of these values, a new school of thought has come into the picture in the 20th century. I refer to Communism. It has dangerous potentialities, because it offers both an emotional appeal and an intellectual setting to the poor and down-trodden in life. Communism is often cited as the antithesis of Capitalism. All the evils that mankind has been heir to are blamed on the latter while the former is put forth as the panacea for all evils. Neither, I am afraid, is true to life. The basic concepts on which capitalism was founded were private property and free enterprise. May be, it developed unhealthy proportions for lack of care, caution and control. The corrective for it however does not lie in Communism which cuts

for the denuded states to recover their economic equilibrium. The second World War has been won; yet five years later we find peace has not been recovered yet. New sovereign states have sprung up, each with problems of its own, not easy to resolve in the atmosphere which prevails.

The only silver lining in the picture lies in the fact that American economy has moved up to the international front and firmly established itself as the arsenal of the world for the arts of war and peace. Not exposed to the ravages of war nor the penalties of peace, she was well placed to face up to the responsibilities of leadership of the world; and she deserves all praise for the way she proceeded to interpret her obligations. The safeguarding of her own interests, on a long view, lay perhaps in servicing others of a like view and if preference and priority were given to their own kith and kin in Europe by the Marshall Aid Scheme it was not difficult to understand. The East had slumbered too long and the Chinese adventure proved such a costly failure that the desire to lend a helping hand to democracy in the East did not develop the same dynamic proportions. This was unfortunate as the sequel has since proved.

Visiting Europe in 1948, 49 and 50, I have seen with my own eyes the progressive recovery of faith and hope, courage and confidence in the psychological sector. In the economic sector, production, both agricultural and industrial, has recovered its prewar tempo though once immediate home needs are filled, new patterns of international economy will have to be woven in a competitive market where sellers are bound to predominate. That position has not been reached yet and at the moment all that Europe prays for is a spell of peace after the trials and tribulations this generation has been subjected to. Peace however eludes our grasp and we seem to be nearer war than peace today. The machinery that was created to save peace once again showed fissures from the start, born of ideological differences among erstwhile allies. Elaborate precautions and prescriptions in respect of voting and vetoing in the United Nations Organisation sustained wishful thinking for a time but I am afraid the make-belief is fast becoming a mockery. Power politics intruded ere long and the UNO began to show symptoms of infantile paralysis. Both in West and East, State after State fell victims to communist penetration and under the cumulative shock to the system, the progeny of President Roosevelt seems to have recovered from its infantile paralysis in much the same way as the President himself did.

The major political event of the year is the Korean War. Its importance lies not in the visible front at Korea but in the invisible front thrown up to fence Communism. That the Korean War of aggression was communist inspired admits of little doubt, though opinions may differ whether it was wise to have divided Korea into North and South with a notional border at the 38th Parallel which was not willingly submitted to by either North or South. The interests of Korea were sacrificed at the time in the interests of peace for the world and it has today become the battleground for the safety of the world. That the North Koreans entered the war fully prepared is proved by the size of the army and armaments put into the operations. That these are well beyond their independent resources admit of little doubt

WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION

:o:

THE Soviet system, ushered in by the October Revolution, has brought full emancipation from social, economic and spiritual slavery to millions of women. Woman's great rights in the soviet land are secured by the Stalin Constitution.

The effects of woman's emancipation are especially salient in the national republics of the Soviet Union. The Uzbek, Tajik, Azerbaijanian and Armenian women have become equal members of the Socialist society. They have long swept away such of their bitter heritage of the past as ignorance, backwardness, illiteracy. Women of the Soviet East are on an equal footing with men actively participating in every field of their countries political economic and cultural life. They may be found among the members of the government; doing research work in laboratories; working in a factory, often holding there a leading position; or driving a tractor on the collective farm fields. The Soviet State has provided every possible condition for fruitful work and education of the women.

Kazakh women were all illiterate prior to the Revolution. Today, in Soviet Kazakhstan of teachers alone there are 24,000 women and 3,600 women are doctors. Many Kazakh women are successfully doing research work.

Thirteen of the best daughters of the Kazakh people were this year elected deputies to the highest organ of state power in the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. They include Naili Bazanova: Asma Kurmasheva, a school teacher; Zulkha Sabitova and Khanifa Alibayeva, engineers; Zeineb Isabekova, a a rank-and-file worker: Bagila Irguzbieva, director of a state farm: and other women engaged in diverse fields of public activity.

Many enterprises in Soviet Tajikistan are headed by women. Some two thousand women work as foremen and assistant foremen in industry.

Seven Tajik women are deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, over eighty are deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Republic, and more than 4,000-- to the local organs of state power, the Soviets of working people's Deputies.

Over 220 women in Soviet Uzbekistan hold doctors' or masters' degrees. Daughters of workers and peasants work as physicians and school-teachers. The Republic boasts of hundreds of talented actresses, poetesses, women artists and musicians.

Some 25,000 Uzbek girls are attending higher educational institutions and specialized secondary schools in their Republic. A good half a million girls go to general educational schools.

The Azerbaijan woman plays a prominent role in the cultural life of her Republic. Eighteen thousand women work in the field of public education, including 12,000 teachers. The public health services number 2,500 women physicians. Close to eighty women hold doctors' or masters' degrees and are engaged at the Academy of Sciences, scientific research institutions and higher educational establishments of their Republic. From among Azerbaijanian women there have advanced a good number of talented actresses, musicians, poetesses, composers and artists.

For obtaining bumper crops and raising the productivity of animal husbandry 102 Azerbaijanian collective farm women have

SCIENCE IN EDUCATION

By Dr. PREM NATH, M.A., Ph.D.,

THERE is urgent need for determining the role of science in education o that the products of educational institutions to-morrow may prove worthy of the age hat has given them the amazing gift of cience. Hitherto science has been assigned subordinate position in the educational urricula of our country and the emphasis as been more on the academic side of it han on the practical. There has been nd still exists considerable prejudice that cience is an isolated body of knowledge, omething technical and obtruse that has othing to do with the finer aspects of culture s literature, art, music and the like. The esult is that while on the one hand cientists have not been able to play their seful part in the solution of day to day roblems of the country the average student f science on the other, has not been ble to avail himself of scientific knowledge eyond its academic efficacy. On the whole, is reasonable to conclude that science as not graven on our minds the marks hat would have been the mainsprings of ur actions or let us say, we have been ore passive in our attitude towards science nd its spirit.

SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Cultural values of every age have been reatly affected by the discoveries and ndings of science. Science is an ntegral part of the body of knowledge nd it will be an illusion to think that ience is not a part of culture as music, nce, painting and literature are more anifestly supposed to be. In fact, the uality of culture goes with the capacity the people of a particular period to make e use of science to the advantage of lture. Science has always given freshness d richness to culture in as much as it has been responsible for giving decidedly improved outlooks on multiple problems of life.

It follows therefore, that science has to play a marked role in the education of young boys and girls in India. Curriculum reform must therefore be taken in hand without any delay therefore.

THE AIM

The aim of such reform is to give students the benefit of scientific knowledge. In the first place, they have to be trained in the observation of phenomena, thinking in relation to the same and correlating such process of observing and thinking co-herently in a pattern of thought. It implies generalisation from observation of individual instances and *vice versa*. Both the methods of logic, deductive and inductive need be taught to them. A hypothesis is to be tested on the strength of impartial observation of facts rather than on personal prejudices. This should form the basis of the super-structure of scientific education.

In the second, students have to be acquainted with the effects science has had on the political and economic evolution of society and how largely it is capable of enriching the same. The new method of scientific approach to all human problems has unfolded to us a new picture of history. The history of mankind is bound to receive new interpretation at the hands of the rising generation imbued with scientific spirit. In the interest of world peace, political and economic problems have to be studied and tackled with the best scientific approach and not narrow-mindedly, sentimentally and light-heartedly. In the present texture of the world order, scientific understanding of the issue of war and peace will be of especial advantage.

SCIENCE IN EDUCATION

By Dr PREM NATH MA PhD

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of the crystal and has indeed been used to control the oscillations of the quartz crystal. Such an atomic clock far outstrips in precision the rotation of the earth about its axis, which after all is our primary standard of frequency. With the help of such an atomic clock, it is indeed easy to study the random and other deviations from uniformity of the rotation of the earth.

Even without invoking the precision of the atomic clock, one can compare today two frequencies to better than one part 10,000 million, which is uncannily precise indeed.

As the other example, I take the case of energies. Taking the magnitude of energies involved in the usual chemical reaction as unity, the energies involved in nuclear reactions, as for example in the ultimate conversion, or fusion, of four hydrogen nuclei to one of helium, or in the disintegration or fission of heavy atoms, are some millions of times greater. Indeed both these types of production of large scale energies have been familiar to us long before laboratory production of atomic energy was considered feasible, and there is an interesting history behind.

Nearly a century ago Lord Kelvin on the basis of certain simple calculations, based on the known rate of cooling of the earth, estimated its age (the epoch when the earth separated from the sun) at about 50 million years. It was realised even at the time that this was far too low an estimate, and of course we know now how low it is. But the low estimate of Kelvin received strong confirmation from some straightforward estimates by Helmholtz of the age of the sun. Attributing the enormous energies radiated out by the sun into space, to gravitational contraction, Helmholtz found the even if originally the mass of the sun as we know it had extended over the whole of space, and had contracted from an infinite size to its present size, even so the energy liberated could last for only 20 million years at the rate at which the sun is expending energy.

Since the earth cannot be older than the sun, this seems to support the short age estimate of Kelvin. We now know, however, that both the estimates are incorrect, that in the earth the presence of appreciable amounts of radioactive material forms a considerable source of energy which naturally had not been taken into account by Kelvin, and in the case of the sun, the source of energy is the fusion of hydrogen nuclei into nuclei of helium, which is possible under the conditions of high temperature and pressure occurring in the interior of the sun, and is going on continuously.

Thus in Nature we have on one side the fusion of light atoms into a heavy one, responsible for enormous production of energy in the sun, and on the other, the disintegration or breaking up of heavy nuclei into slightly lighter ones, which also can produce large energies and is keeping up the temperature of the earth. In both cases, the source of energy is atomic, *i.e.* is due to conversion of matter to energy.

Though the fusion of lighter atmos into heavier ones is not yet feasible in the laboratory, the production of energy from the fission of some of the heavy elements, both in the laboratory, and on a semi-industrial scale is already well-known, and promises soon to compete successfully, with the usual sources of power. Since the technical development of a country is directly measurable by the consumption of energy, and energy from atomic sources is likely to be the major supply of the future, it would be quite appropriate to designate the coming age as the atomic age. But the designation atomic age is also suggestive of the radical change in scale of magnitudes that I referred to in an earlier part of this talk as characterising modern trends in science, both the very large and the very small.—[*A. I. R.*]

WRITING

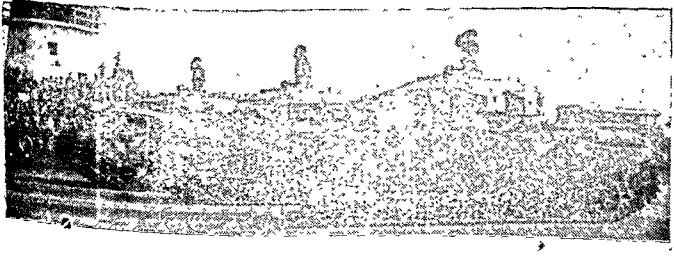
Some persons get eye strain and headache in writing. A Rani of a native state had good eyesight but suffered from great strain and headache while writing and the trouble made it impossible for her to write even a letter to her father. Doctors prescribed various devices and she had accumulated number of spectacles. When she demonstrated the way of her writing I quickly observed that while writing she was trying to look at the back letters already written. It was the improper way to write forward and try to read the already written words. I gave her a piece of blotting paper to shut the written words while writing and lo ! there was no complaint and she wrote about ten pages at the very moment.

SEWING

Many Girls and ladies complain of eyestrain, fatigue and headache while sewing or doing needle work or after finishing work. They are advised by their guardians and the experts to stop sewing but this is not the remedy. Moreover it is not practical because they have to pass some leisure time or do necessary stitching. In fact fine sewing or stitching is an aid to eyesight. The right method of sewing is to move the sight with the needle. When the needle goes up the sight goes up and when the needle comes down the sight comes down. Look at the picture. The shifting of the sight with the needle keeps the eye under relaxation. In continuous stitching or machine work frequently and gentle blinking is necessary.

CINEMA

Cinematograph pictures are commonly supposed to be very injurious to the eyes and it is a fact that they often cause much discomfort and the lowering of vision. They can, however, be made a means of improving the vision. When they hurt the eyes, it is because the subject strains to see them. If this tendency to strain can be overcome, the vision is always improved and if the practice of viewing pictures is continued long enough, many eye troubles are relieved.



BRITAIN PLANS TO INCREASE DEFENCES

New measures to support the United Nations in Korea and to increase the preparedness of the Fighting Services have been announced by Britain's Minister of Defence. The new 40-ton "Centurion" tank is now in full production. They carry the heaviest guns ever put into British armour, 20 pounders, and have a top speed of 21 m.p.h.



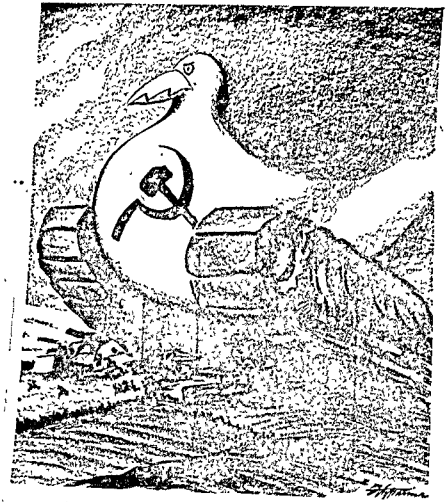
"MORALE BOOSTER"

The Atlantic Pact Nations now bound together for defense are shown as a rolled-up document with a man's features, it firmly holds a rifle, labelled "Coordinated Defense Plan," referring to agreements recently reached in London by Atlantic Pact Nations' officials. "Theoretical Defense," is shown as a child's toy gun, discarded at the image's feet.



"BY THE WAY, HAVE YOU SIGNED OUR PETITION TO OUTLAW NEW WEAPONS?"

Leaning from the turret of his tank as it rumbles into the Republic of Korea, a Communist soldier presents the petition to his victim. —*Washington Post.*



"PEACE" MOVEMENT IN KOREA

A Communist dove rides into the Republic of Korea on the treads of a huge military tank which is crushing homes and people in its path.

—*St. Louis Post Dispatch.*



"DESTINATION MOSCOW"

A Cartoon that appeared recently in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. It shows a starving Chinese family watching a Soviet train heaped with foodstuffs of China, being moved out of their country.

The Cartoon shows a soldier, riding on a tank, t
induce "Germany" to join him on the Sov

"WANT A RIDE?"

"CLOSING IN"

Cartoon refers to recent actions by the Czechoslovak
nment against United States representatives in their
y. The Czechoslovak people kneel behind heavy gates,
as the "Iron Curtain," being closed by hands labelled
Communists" shutting off the people from the United
and imprisoning them in darkness (the black background)

—*Cincinnati Times Star.*

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Fourth Year

AT the end of three years of freedom we naturally look back to take stock of the situation. Has the National Government achieved the ideals of Swaraj it promised the country? Three years is a short period in the life of a nation. Yet on looking back we can take comfort in the thought they have not been altogether years of idleness and frustration. Unforeseen difficulties have been met with firmness and tact. Our leaders have not only preserved the administration intact but have pulled the country though a morass of psychological and material confusion. Freedom of course, brought with it fresh responsibilities and troubles which are being tackled with patience and energy. Much yet remains to be done. The Kashmir debacle is still causing concern. Our food front is anything but satisfactory. Though internal disorders are faced with firmness and fortitude sporadic outbursts of violence and sabotage tending to upset the normal life of the nation have become disquieting features. In spite of the Indo Pakistan pact our relations with our disgruntled neighbour are yet anxious and uncertain. The tale of woe that refugees bring from East Pakistan is rending the heart of Bengal which refuses to be satisfied with the efforts of the Central Government. All these add to the debit side of the government, though few but the utterly thoughtless or malignant detractors would go so far as to charge the government with either incompetence or negligence.

Thus we face the fourth year of our freedom with mixed feelings of hope and disappointment. And none is more realive to this mixed feeling than the leaders themselves. Naturally therefore India observed the third anniversary of her Independence with subdued enthusiasm, austerity being the keynote of the celebrations everywhere.

The Swaraj of Gandhi's Dream

Pride in our new won freedom must not obscure the fact that we have yet to realise what Gandhi called the Poorna Swarajya of his dreams. It is worthwhile recalling his words. The Swaraj of my dream, he said

is the poor man's Swaraj. The necessaries of life should be enjoyed by you in common with those enjoyed by the princes and the monied men. But that does not mean that they should have palaces like theirs. They are not necessary for happiness. You or I would be lost in them. But you ought to get all the ordinary amenities of life that a rich man enjoys. I have not the slightest doubt that Swaraj is not Poorna Swaraj until these amenities are guaranteed to you under it.

My notion of Poorna Swaraj is not isolated independence but healthy and dignified independence. My nationalism, fierce though it is, is not exclusive, is not devised to harm any nation or individual. Legal maxims are not so legal as they are moral. I believe in the eternal truth of 'sic utere tuo ut alienum non aedas' (Use thy own property so as not to injure thy neighbours')

Shall we live up to that lofty ideal? At any rate we could strive for it.

Kashmir

The failure of Sir Owen Dixon, the U.N. mediator in Kashmir, though regrettable is by no means surprising. From the beginning neither the Security Council nor its deputees on the spot quite faced the one question that was posed by India—Who is the aggressor? What a contrast to the United Nations' handling of the Korean affair where within 24 hours of the North Korean violation of the 38th parellel, the aggressor was named and an expeditionary

The Veto Question

Now it is said that article 27 of the Charter is quite unequivocal, that the Security Council can take decisions only with the concurring votes of the permanent members and that unanimity is essential But the wilful and persistent absence of Russia makes such unanimity or any decision impossible By its continued absence Russia has "in effect waived its power of Veto If absention of one of the powers could prevent the Council from making decisions on matters of substance—Russia is prepared to be absent so long as such absence could serve her interests—nothing can be done by the Council when open aggression is launched Is that desirable ? The Council in such a case might as well not have been brought about

First Things First

It is of course absurd for America to sponsor in the Council the effete Chiang regime with no country to call its own while denying representation to the real Govern ment of China But that is another question which must be settled independently Now North Korea is guilty of a reckless act of premeditated aggression and Kremlin's support to its puppet in this offensive is inexcusable That is the first immediate subject before the Council, and we must have an answer to it before bringing other matters which could wait—as they have waited so long If the Council should give way to Russia's demand for inclusion of Red China as a precondition for the discussion on Korea would it not be a palpable piece of appeasement before which the Munich appeasement itself would be a virtue ? The British wish to see Communist China recognised remains but it is hard to see, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out how we can put pressure on the United States to follow our example so long as the North Korean aggression is tolerated and encouraged by Russia

The Security Council Session

Kremlin has after all realised that there is no better forum for Soviet propaganda than the United Nations After seven long months' absence she has dramatically entered the Council, if only to make of it a pear garden The behaviour of her delegate in the chair—doubtless from instructions from Moscow—is such as to make a school boy's meeting respectable It is perhaps inevitable that there should be heated discussions on controversial topics But that statesmen and diplomats who should know better, should behave in this unseemly way without restraint or responsibility is a deep scar on our civilization That a gathering of international delegates chosen for their position and dignity should muster together to amuse themselves in this primitive fashion is deplorable It is all like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning How could such a Council give a unanimous decision on any matter, least of all on the Korean issue ? The Council has made a laughing stock of itself in the eyes of the world and the future Open war itself with all its gruesome consequences would seem preferable to this degrading spectacle

Evidently Mr Jacob Malik, the Soviet Chairman of the current session had come determined to obstruct the work of the Council and the U S delegate Mr Warren Austin was equally determined to push his resolution through Mr Austin went so far as to warn the Soviet Union in the Security Council that if it did not change its tactics of obstruction the other Council members would "consult to determine what steps can be taken to assert the authority of the Security Council"

Sardar Patel on the Communist Party

The Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said in Parliament that Government's policy towards the Communist Party remained unchanged by the policy statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party Whatever shifts might have taken place in the tactics of the Communist Party he said there had been absolutely no change in their fundamental strategy of seizing power through violent revolt

Referring to the Communist leader Mr S A Dange's recent suggestion that violent means are not unconstitutional and any suggestion of constitutional means is an innovation in the Constitution of India Sardar Patel said that Government would give no quarter to any such attempt and would use all the resources at their disposal to put it down He went on to add that in Hyderabad State alone since August 15 1947 upto February this year the Communist Party had murdered some 2 500 persons including women and children often in circumstances of fiendish brutality

Earlier during the debate on the President's address the Home member told the House that besides the communists there were on the other hand people who through vulgar and violent and vituperative speeches sought even in Delhi to rouse communal jealousies and on the other there were those who in the guise of championing the cause of linguistic provinces promoted communal hatred At the same time there were those who exploited the distress of the refugees for political purposes The Sardar declared that the Government of India were determined to preserve law and order and fight with all their strength all these evils whether they raised their heads separately or in combination

Pandit Nehru on Indo-Pak Agreement

The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in one of the strongest speeches delivered by him in the House condemned proposals to solve the Bengal problem by annulment of partition cession of territory by Pakistan and exchange of population The personal intimate tone of his speech made a profound impression on the House

Early in his speech he took the House into confidence and revealed how in March —when reports of tragic happenings in East Bengal reached him and the Pakistan Prime Minister rejected his offer to go on a joint tour—he felt greatly upset and was about to lay down his office

> I came to the conclusion then that perhaps I have exhausted my utility as Prime Minister I told my Cabinet that my duty was to go to East Bengal. I had not been able to go there in my official capacity But perhaps I could go there as a simple citizen of India and nobody could prevent that
>
> Perhaps my going there might affect some people's minds and might give some relief to me
>
> But it so happened soon after that events took a new turn and Mr Liaquat Ali came here at my invitation and for seven days we discussed matters and those discussions emerged in the agreement of April 8

Pandit Nehru told the house that because of that responsibility he could not see his way to laying down the Prime Ministership

> The moment my mind feels that I cannot serve the country better to some other capacity I shall adopt the different course

Pandit Nehru added that the only possible solution for their difficulties in Bengal lay in two lines of approach first to try to rehabilitate those who come from East Bengal and secondly to try our utmost to reduce the feeling of insecurity among the minorities Any other course would lead to increased insecurity worsening of the situation and even war

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

THE POET WORDSWORTH—By Helen Darbishire. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 7sh. 6d.

Matthew Arnold used to warn us of the perils of the personal estimate and the historic estimate in judging the works of a poet. Literary criticism, in our own day, has shown another more irrelevant tendency. The private life of the poet has become a favourite theme with writers who cater to the popular craze for sensation. And then we have the psychological interpretation—a sort of post mortem dissection of action and character which is supposed to throw a flood of new light. But for all that, we are able to see no farther into what the poet wrote, and we are no nearer to the secret of his art. Helen Darbishire, in her Clark Lectures on Wordsworth delivered in 1919 at the Trinity College, Cambridge, wisely concerns herself with the poet and his poetry—and with Wordsworth himself only in so far as a knowledge of his life and character deepens our understanding of his poetry.

Now Wordsworth's claim to the title of a great poet—his contemporaries put him next to Milton, an estimate corroborated by Arnold—rests mainly upon the work of a single decade between 1798 and 1808—the period of the great "Ode", "Tintern Abbey," "The Lyrical Ballads" and "The Prelude." Every student of Wordsworth knows that not only "The Excursion" but much of what he wrote before and after that fruitful period, is padded with vast tracts of pedestrian stuff. Now this critical study is concentrated upon the output of the most prodigal period when the poet enjoyed the close and constant companionship of that other poet of genius—Coleridge—whose influence is so marked in the style and mood of so much of Wordsworth's lyrical pieces. In four chapters of critical study and appreciation of this particular period the writer shows the wide sweep and range of Wordsworth's unique genius and his wonderful mastery of the technique of his art.

Wordsworth was an inveterate reviser and it is interesting to observe what extensive changes had been wrought in "The Prelude" of the revised version of 1850 as compared with the original version of 1805. There are variations in thought as in diction. Sometimes the bold simplicity of the original gives place to a more decorative and more conventional form. Sometimes the tender and personal touch is transformed into an impersonal statement of philosophical import. Altered and omitted passages, marked out by the author after laborious research and comparative study of the versions, bear silent witness to the change. New light is thus thrown upon the poet's art from early Mss. housed in Dove Cottage to which the writer has had access during her long sojourn at Grassmere in the heart of the Wordsworth country.

As poetic artist Wordsworth's diction moves with ease from the low style of Lucy Gray to the Miltonic heights of "The Recluse" "Tintern Abbey." He reach expression in the simplest of

KASHMIR SPEAKS By P N Kanta and K L Dhar S Chand & Co, Fountain Delhi Rs 5 8

With the failure of Sir Owen Dixon, the U N Mediator the prospect of settlement of the Kashmir dispute seems receding Kashmir is still on the brink of a volcano The cease fire was ordered on Jan 1 1949 and another year has passed by and the deadlock continues with unrelieved tension At such a time it is of distinct advantage to have an objective factual representation of her case This we have in the book before us which gives facts and figures touching her geographical social economic and political conditions Sheikh Abdullah s leadership has done much to stabilise conditions in the valley and put courage and hope in a people desperately struggling for freedom from marauders In the 200 pages that comprise the book we have a full and detailed account of conditions before Kashmir s accession to the Union of Pakistan s brutal invasion and the destruction following the loot of the raiders The ameliorative measures envisaged in Sheik Abdullah's New Kashmir are fully discussed and we have succinct accounts of the life and political activities of outstanding personalities who are to implement the blue print of the New Kashmir

Kashmir is part of India and no power on earth can separate it from India' said the Kashmir leader on May 29 1949 And only a couple of days before that the Prime Minister of India declared that "the accession of the State to India is unconditional and complete ' Much water has flowed under the bridge since then, currents and cross currents have operated in devious ways and only the future will show how far these declarations are fulfilled

THE SILENT FORCES By V T Neelakantan Premjee Kennerjee & Co 62 Mint Street, Madras Price Rs 2

Here are pen pictures of over a dozen sages and saints in India—most of them well known and some not so well known —who have had a silent but nonetheless powerful influence on contemporary life Leaving the beaten track of politicians and patriots who are well in the lime light Mr Neelakantan has struck out a new path in attempting to throw light on some personalities who choose to live far from the madding crowd but yet attract them by some strange power of spiritual healing He writes with personal knowledge and conviction of the Aurobindo Ashram of Pondicherry and the Ramana Ashram of Thiruvannamalai and other centres of ' Silent forces The sketches are marked by deep devotion and no little enthusiasm for the cloistered life of the saints

But the opening Prologue or ,' in lieu of the Prologue', as the writer puts it is out of tune with the temper of the book which is wholesomely devout

MAPS AND MAP MAKERS By R V Tooley B T Batsford Ltd, London New York, Toronto, Sydney

Though every one going to school, gets introduced to the many coloured Maps at a very early age it is a pity that very little is taught in our schools about the ' History of the Map' and the makers of the maps It is even doubtful whether our students are aware of the existence of literature on the subject

The volume under review therefore fills a gap in our school studies It is something of a directory of Maps and map makers The volume is beautifully got up with many illustrations, both coloured and plain The scheme adopted in the book is very simple The countries of the world have been taken one by one and the history of the various map makers in each recorded along with their works with attractive description wherever necessary,

READERS' DIGEST

GANDHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNIQUE

"Gandhism is not a cult but a philosophy and a way of life," says Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Head of the Department of Philosophy of the Madras University, in an article on "Gandhism, its philosophy and technique", contributed to *Common Cause*, a journal devoted to "One World," published by the University of Chicago Press, U. S.

"Though it arose in India, or rather in South Africa, and has its roots in Hinduism, it has an import which is universal and is meant for the practice of all, irrespective of differences in race and colour, class and sex, politics and faith," he adds.

"Mahatma Gandhi, its author, evolved it in his struggle against a racial policy and a political system both of which he was convinced, were expressions of evil; and he found in it a solution for all problems of men and individuals in groups.

After referring to Mahatmaji's work in South Africa and India, Dr. Mahadevan continues: "Gandhism grew not in an ivory tower, nor in a church or temple but in the context of social service and political struggle. . . .

"Truth and non-violence constitute the

"What was his life mission? It was to show to the world that truth and non-violence could be employed as weapons to achieve political and social ends and that in such employment lay the salvation of humanity.

"India has attained her independence by following in the main Gandhiji's gospel of non-violence. And the great leader was hoping that ere long non-violence would be accepted as the means for the regulation of international realtions."

THE QUEST FOR PEACE

There are four principal and primary rules for mind discipline, says R. V. C. Bodley in *Tomorrow*, a New York Journal: "First: never fuss over things which do not matter. As Plato said: "Nothing in human affairs is worth any great anxiety," which may be an exaggeration but one that is worth considering. Second: never fuss about what *may* happen, for, as Jesus declared: "Take, therefore, no thought for tomorrow, for tomorrow shall take care of the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," which may also be an exaggeration, but one which can, likewise, be taken into consideration. Third: never fuss about

SHEEAN S EXPERIENCE

Extraordinary was the conversion of Vincent Sheean noted author and journalist, to Gandhi s attitude and philosophy Sheean has a great following as a hard thinking hardhitting American columnist but something happened to awaken his interest in the Mahatma s thrilling life writes *Prediction* London and adds

In his latest book he tells how moved by a premonition that Gandhi s death was imminent he travelled half across the world He was actually present when Gandhi was shot and this is how he proceeds

What follows must be told just as it happened to me—*me*! Inside my own head there occurred a wave like distur banco which I can only compare to a storm at sea—wind and wave surging tremendously back and forth I remember all this distinctly I felt the conscious ness of the Mahatma leave me then—I know of no other way of expressing this he left me

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KEEP INDIA GREEN

Mr M S Randhawa thus sums up t tree plantation plan for India in *Indian Farming* for July 1

1 Bio esthetic planting for compounds of private houses dak bungalows banks hotels universities colleges schools public offices town roads public parks and plat forms of railway stations For these places we should select trees with beautiful flowers and foliage to beautify them and to give pleasure to the people *Kachnar*, pink cassia erythrina milletia *amaltas* and *gul mohur* come under this category

2 Roadside avenues of our national provincial and district, highways The sole criteria for selection should be shade plus economic utility For this purpose trees which yield timber or fruit and are also shady should be selected such as *mahua* mango tamarind *neem* and *sheesham*

3 Canal roads We should plant all canal roads with fruit trees like mango *jaman kathal* etc The stones of varieties like *langra dussehri sufeda* and *fajri* yield excellent fruit trees which are better than the desi mango There are thousands of miles of canal roads which can be planted with fruit trees thus adding a valuable source of vitamins to the deficient dietary of our people

4 Village plantations Fruit timber and fuel are the main requirements of villages Fruit trees like mangoes lemons *papaya kathal* and sweet limes are recommended for planting in the compounds of village houses *phulwaris* and along the bullock runs of wells fitted with Persian wheels The plantation of *bakain* and mulberry trees in the compounds of cattle sheds should be encouraged

FUTURE OF INDIANS IN S A.

"Never has the future of the Indian community in South Africa seemed darker than it does at the present time," declare the South Africa correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in a despatch from Capetown

Ever increasing restrictions and threats are combined with a higher emigration bonus in the clear hope that the Indian Government itself will come to the conclusion that to assist in repatriating them is the best way out of an impossible situation

The writer, however, emphasises that "this will not happen" For 90 per cent. of the Indian population it would not be "repatriation" but "expatriation' Some are in the fourth generation of life in South Africa The wealthy merchant class and the not so wealthy merchant class are together much less than one fifth of the total Indian population

Nothing short of force will remove the very many Indian agricultural labourers and industrial workers who, despite lack of money, will not be tempted by the repatriation bonus It is the writer remarks, unlikely that even economic pressure can be used to any extent against them for they are an abundant and useful source of cheap labour to Natal, as their ancestors were

The growing non trading professional class in also independent of economic pressure, because Indian doctors, lawyers, and teachers find a living mostly among their fellow Indians Segregation will not end this

The only section of the Indian community, therefore, on whom economic pressure may possibly be strong enough to make them wish to leave the Union are the merchants Those demand on

The provisions of the Group Areas Bill, if applied drastically, may reduce some of them to poverty, and not all of them can make an adequate living by selling to their fellow Indians

Although, however, much injustice will undoubtedly be done, much resentment caused and many people faced with a reduction of income there is no reason to think that the merchant class will be affected so deeply and on so widespread a scale as to make them decide to leave South Africa

The only possible political justification of the Government's policy, says the correspondent would be its success and that success depends on voluntary expatriation on a large scale which will not happen

The effect of the Government's legislative measures and policies will thus be to leave the Indian comunity possibly somewhat poorer, in virtually the same numbers as at present, with a burning sense of resentment at the injustice which has been done to them, and a determination to work for equal rights, or at any rate, for better treatment than they have had"

THE WHITE TAPE

With the introduction of white tape in the Delhi Secretariat, 'red tape' first coined by Dickens and popularised by Carlyle goes out of vogue in the Indian Republic, says Robin Hood in *Sunday News* But the Daily Civil Service shall still remain the same as when the anonymous genius first posted it up in the Calcutta United Services Club —

"O Lord grant that this day we come
to no decisions,
Neither run into any kind of responsibility,
But that all our doings may be ordered
to establish

SHEEAN'S EXPERIENCE

Extraordinary was the conversion of Vincent Sheean, noted author and journalist, to Gandhi's attitude and philosophy Sheean has a great following as a hard thinking, hardhitting American columnist, but something happened to awaken his interest in the Mahatma's thrilling life, writes *Prediction* London, and adds

'In his latest book he tells how moved by a premonition that Gandhi's death was imminent he travelled half across the world He was actually present when Gandhi was shot and this is how he proceeds

'What follows must be told just as it happened to me—*me*! Inside my own head there occurred a wave like disturbance which I can only compare to a storm at sea—wind and wave surging tremendously back and forth I remember all this distinctly I felt the consciousness of the Mahatma leave me then—I know of no other way of expressing this he left me"

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EXPANSION OF MONROE DOCTRINE

America has its famous Monroe Doctrine. No body can interfere in the Americas. But Monroe Doctrine has now been expanded, says the *Orient Illustrated Weekly*. Although none can interfere in the Americas, America can interfere everywere. America is there in West Atlantic; America is there in the Middle. East; America is there in South-East Asia; and Amercia is there in the Near East.

'America enters the Korean War' runs the head line in the newspapers. So the cold war is now a bold war. Of course the U N O order is to 'hold' war. Russia might well protest that this U.N.O. order is null and void in its absence But what is this U.N.O.? Said Louis XIV *"L'e tat Ce Moi."*, "I am the State". America may well say, "U.N.O., it is I." So America has set aside all procedural niceties and without the cumbersome process of sanctions and then ecomnic blockade and what not and then the last step of armed intervention 'through the agency of the United Nations Organisation', has taken the most practical step of entering the war herself. Certainly Amercia could not allow the resolution of the U N.O. to turn into irresolution All this, of course, is a short cut to Democracy.

Amercia, out of kindness, has entered the war to save the world. Korea may or may not be saved—that is another matter. At any rate, Formosa will be saved, and Chiang has been commanded not to throw bombs on China It is expected, of course, that courteous Red China, will, in return refrain in future from throwing bombs on Formosa But if they do, Amercia will again have to enter war to save the world Pertinently, one may ask, if the world is saved at this rate, how much of it will remain unsaved? Pious disciples may answer, "Christ saved the world, but Himself he could not save."

INDIAN EMBASSIES ABROAD

Nearly four crores of rupees have been allotted to expenses of the Indian embassies abroad and out of this a very large slice, of about half a crore, goes to the High Commissioner for India in U. K., writes the *Hitavada* and adds:

The scales of pay of our ambassadors are considered by many as inordinately high for a country like ours where poverty is a chronic disease and the standard of living notoriously low. If, as reported in a section of the Press, our scales of pay are on par with those of U. S. and U.K. then there is ample scope for reducing the top-heavy expenditure. A salary of Rs. 6,000 for instance for our representative in Egypt, is out of all proportion to that country's political or commercial importance. Some of our Latin American embassies are also ripe for economy. Life at one of these was described by a Bombay weekly as being truly regal and reminiscent of "oriental splendour." If that is true drastic economy measures to cut down the expenses of some of these embassies should be immediately taken.

DR. MALAN REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA

The French Socialist Party news-paper *Le Populaire* describes the Malan regime in South Africa as "racialism inspired by Hitler." Commenting on reports that India will demand the expulsion of South Africa from the U.N. the paper says: "It is decidedly not always necessary to go beyond the Iron Curtain to find intolerance and complete contempt for mankind.

"The Senate of the African Union has approved by a majority of one the law of zone grouping which creats the most brutal vile and systematic racial segregation existing in the world today."

"It is already incredible," the paper adds "that disciples of Hitler are today in power in a country of the British Commonwealth. It passes imagination that in 1950 they have the audacity to vote one's new Nuremberg laws.

"If the words of the U.N. Charter are to have any meaning, it is not a gratuitous admonition that the U.N. should give Dr. Malan. It should act efficiently against the brute and his partisans until they understand that it is they who are the greatest savages of the African bush."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

R T C ON INDIANS IN S AFRICA

Pakistan has written to India sugges ting that India should reconsider her earlier decision not to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference between India Pakistan and South Africa

This communication from Pakistan PTI understands is the result of an assurance given by South Africa to Pakistan that provisions relating to the proclamation of the Group Areas Act would not come into operation before December 1950

South Africa is further understood to have expressed its willingness to partici pate in the Round Table Conference before that date—December 1950—without prejudice to the respective standpoints of the three parties

INDIANS IN GRAVE CRISIS

The South African Indian community is now immediately faced with the gravest crisis in its history Of this there can be no doubt whatsoever writes *Indian Opinion* a weekly newspaper founded by Mahatma Gandhi

It adds Up till now we have fooled ourselves with the notion that the threats regarding our effacement were too bad to be true Now we know better We have either to get out or go completely under

Calling upon Indians of all classes to stand together and appealing to the wealthy not to take advantage of the poor the paper adds It seems that all is lost except honour

It urges all Indians to fight to retain this intangible something which is at once so very real and so very precious We look to India for moral support

S. W. Africa

ADMINISTRATION OF S W AFRICA

The International Court of Justice—the highest tribunal in the world—unanimously decided that South—West Africa was still a territory under international mandate and that the Union of South Africa was not competent to modify its international status The Court held that such com petence rested with the Union with the consent of the United Nations

(The South African Prime Minister Dr Daniel Malan told the Union Parliament in April that its passing of the South West African Affairs (Amend ment) Act giving the territory representa tion in the South African Parliament meant that his Government no longer recognised the existence of the League of Nations mandate)

The International Court to which the question of the status of South West Africa was referred by the United Nations held by 12 votes to two that South Africa still had the international obligations resulting from her League of Nations mandate including the obligation to submit reports and transmit petitions from the inhabitants of that territory the supervisory function to be exercised by the United Nations

The Court also unanimously decided that the provisions of Chapter 12 (remak ing of trusteeship) of the United Nations Charter were applicable to South West Africa in the sense that they provided a means by which the territory might be brought under the trusteeship system

By eight votes to six the Court decided that the Charater did not impose on the Union of South Africa a legal obligation to place South West A under

THE POPULATION OF INDIA

India s population has increased by over 28 millions during the last ten years from 319 millions (of the present Indian territory) in 1941 to 347 34 millions on March 1 last an annual increase of 3 19 million according to an estimate made by the Census Commissioner for purposes of the coming general elections

The figure represents the total population of the 27 States included in Parts A B and C comprising the whole of the Indian Union

These estimates have been prepared by means of two methods First after taking into account the population figures of 1941 census after making due adjustment for births and deaths since then and also the movement of persons displaced from the original places of residence by reasons of the setting up of India and Pakistan and secondly on the basis of the mathematical projection of the trend indicated by the populat on figures as ascerta ned at the last five decennial censuses after taking into account the movement of displaced persons

Of this increase the largest of nearly 5 per cent occurs in the States of Bengal B har Rajasthan Orissa and Punjab while the lowest of less than 1 per cent occurs in Madras Travancore and Cochin The variation in Bombay and C P is est mated to be about 2 per cent

The populations of different States as estimated by the Census Commissioner in millions on March 1 1950 are as under

Pa t A—As am 8 51 B har 39 4° Bombay 3° 68 Madhya Pradesl 20 9° Madras 54 °9 Or ssa 14 41 P njab 12 61 Uttar Pradesh 61 6° and West Bengal °4 3°

Pa t B—Hyderaba l 17 60 Jammu an l Kashm r 4 3 Madhya Bharat ~ 89 Mysore 8 06 Pat ala and Last Punjab States Un on 3 3° Rajastl an 14 60 Saurasl tra 3 96 and Travancore Coch n 8 58

Pa t C—Ajmer 0 73 Bl opal 0 8o B laspur 0 13 Coorg 0 1° Dell 1 61 H machal Pradesh 1 08 K tch 0 55 Man pur 0 54 Tr p ra 0 58 an l V ndhya Pra lesh 3 89

ATOMIC BLINDNESS

Atomic blindness is developing among the Japanese who survived the atomic bombings of 1945 This delayed radiation effect was reported recently by the Atomic Energy Commission

The Commission reported the findings by the National Research Council s Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission which had been working in Japan since 1947 The report said it may take generations for all long range effects of the bombings to show up Since the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are the only group of human beings in the world who have been exposed to an atomic burst the medical findings of the AEC—supported Casualty Commission have important significance for scientific and for military and civil defence planning in the United States

The discovery that some of the Japanese survivors were going blind developed from a special investigation started at Hiroshima last year This study was initiated after seven American scientists began to lose their sight as a result of exposure to radiation generated in pre atomic bomb experiments with atom smashers It was reasoned that the atom bomb s similar radiations might have caused similar injuries

It turned out that the Japanese survivors like the American scientists developed cataracts a malady in which the lens of the eye becomes opaque Sight can be restored by removing the injured tissue and supplying the victims with special glasses

The AEC reported that an examination of a thousand persons who were within 3 000 feet of the point above which the atom bomb exploded at Hiroshima led to the discovery of about 40 certain cases of radiation cataract and an additional 40 suspected cases

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

KASHMIR DISPUTE U N MEDIATOR'S STATEMENT

Sir Owen Dixon, United Nations' Mediator in the Kashmir dispute, announced on August 22, that he had come to the conclusion that there was no immediate prospect of India and Pakistan composing any of their differences over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and that he would shortly report to the Security Council

Sir Owen disclosed that during the tripartite talks in Delhi, he found that there was no hope of any agreement being reached upon measures preparatory to an overall plebiscite Besides, the two Governments had no proposals of their own to make He, therefore suggested to the two Prime Ministers other possible solutions which did not involve an overall plebiscite

One of the solutions was, Sir Owen said, that wherever the desires of the inhabitants were known, the territories should be partitioned between India and Pakistan in accordance with those desires, due regard, however, being given to the geographical, economic, topographical and demographical considerations But where the desires of the people were unknown, a plebiscite should be held and the voting should be confined to that area

India, he said, was prepared to consider a settlement on those lines but Pakistan continued to stand upon the agreed resolutions of the United Nations Commission specifying an over all plebiscite as the manner of settlement

IMPROVEMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

Improvement of administrative organisation and methods should go hand in hand with improvement of organisation and methods of financial control, says Mr N Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister for Transport, in his report on the organisation of the machinery of Government

Mr Ayyangar submits a basic plan of reorganisation for the approval of the Cabinet, the main changes involved in the plan being

(1) The Central Secretariat should be divided into 37 primary units of organisation consisting of 28 Departments, eight Central Administrative offices and bureaus at Secretariat

(2) A distinction should be drawn between a department as an organisational unit and a Ministry as an organisational unit, 28 departments should be accommodated within 20 Ministries

(3) A new grouping of Ministries responsible for economic and social services should be established under the name of bureaus There should be a Bureau of Natural Resources and Agriculture a Bureau of Industry and Commerce, a Bureau of Transport and Communications and a Bureau of Labour and Social Services

(4) The Cabinet organisation should be strengthened by the establishment on a permanent basis of certain standing committees of Cabinet, in addition to 'ad hoc' committees set up from time to time

As regards the suggestion for the division of the Central Secretariat the Cabinet has agreed to it but has left pending the question of splitting up any existing department or redistribution of its responsibilities to be examined in each individual case

The Cabinet has taken action on the suggestion of the Cabinet Secretariat being strengthened by an effectively organised economic wing and of a Committee of Secretaries to advise and assist the Economic Committee,

West Indies

INDIANS IN WEST INDIES

Mr Satyacharan Sastri, Indian Commissioner in British West Indies addressing the Indian Council of World affairs in New Delhi the other day said that the Indian population in the West Indies Islands were economically well off but politically much behind time

In the proposed Federation of the British West Indies he visualized the position of Indians would undoubtedly be rendered difficult Numerically Indians would be about half a million against the Negroes who were about 2½ millions Having taken full advantage of the facilities of education the Negroes were also politically advanced and were holding key positions in the administration Nevertheless Mr Sastri explained sectional interests should not be allowed to impede political advancement of these colonies

The Indian population in these islands came mostly from East U P and West Bihar (besides also a small number of Tamilians), who were taken there in the 'thirties of last century as indentured labour" for the sugar plantations Some of them knew Hindi while most of them retained intact many of the Indian customs, habits and cultural forms

East Africa

E A INDIAN CONGRESS

The 20th session of the East African Indian National Congress met on August 5 at Mombassa Eldoret under the presidentship of Mr J M Nazareth a leading advocate of Nairobi Among those present was the Indian Commissioner, Mr Pant

Mr Kenyatta President of the leading African political body Kenya African Union, pledged full support to the Indian Congress and promotion of Indo African relations and expressed appreciation of Pandit Nehru's part in 'cementing real, lasting Indo African friendship'

Amongst the resolutions passed was one protesting against Government's indifference towards Indian education another protesting against the policy of handing power to European settlers, and a third dealing with South African racialism

The Congress also supported Uganda reforms pledged support to the U N and demanded separation of Tanganyika from the reactionary Kenya administration Strong condemnation of the White settler policy was also voiced

Malaya

INDIAN RUBBER WORKERS

About 160 000 Indian Rubber workers in Malaya and an equal number of Malayas and Chinese will benefit if negotiations for a revision of rubber workers wages which their trade unions are commencing, are successful

Mr P P Narayanan, Indian born President of the Malayan Trade Union Council says that the negotiating committee of the Rubber Workers Union is preparing the case for an upward revision of wages, for presentation to employers soon

A 12 per cent increase in wages was secured for rubber workers in April this year following the rise in the price of rubber from about 35 cents per pound to 53 cents Rubber has now touched a dollar a pound and though this is a peak price which is not likely to be maintained it is expected that the level will remain sufficiently high to justify the revision of wages

The present wages agreement expires in September and the negotiating committee hopes to secure its substantial rise in wages for the men

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THE LATE MR. BARDOLOI

The sudden death of Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Chief Minister of Assam deprives the province of the services of a veteran patriot and a tried and trusted leader of the Congress. He was sixty and he died in harness as it were, as it was only the evening before his death that he was entertaining a group of pressmen at his residence and talking to them of the problems facing India and Assam.

Mr. Bardoloi joined the bar in 1916. During the non-co-operation movement he suspended legal practice, In 1922, he was sentenced to one year's S.I.

In 1926, he was Assistant Secretary of the Gauhati Congress. For four years, 1934-1938, he was the chairman of the Gauhati Municipality. From 1937, he was leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly. He became Premier of the Congress Coalition from September 1938 to November 1939, when he resigned on the Congress mandate.

He was detained as a security prisoner from August 15, 1942 to January 26,1944.

In 1946, he was again elected as the leader of the Assam Assembly Congress Party.

PORTUGUESE OUTPOSTS

The Portuguese Government have told the Government of India that they could not discuss the future of Goa as "it is an integral part of Portugal", although they desired to co operate with the Government of India and to build up friendship between the two countries.

This was disclosed by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. B. V. Keskar, in a written answer in Parliament.

The Portuguese reply was to a communication of the Government of India conveyed to the Portuguese Government by the Indian Minister in Portugal last February.

PUNISHMENT FOR HOARDER

Parliament on Aug. 14 passed the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill which provides for more drastic punishment of those guilty of hoarding of foodgrains and profiteers in foodgrains, cotton textiles and other essential goods, before it adjourned *sine die*.

The punishment prescribed by Parliament for hoarding of foodgrains was seven years imprisonment, and a fine not less than 20 times the value of hoarded foodgrains and its forfeiture. In regard to textiles and other essential commodities, the term of imprisonment prescribed extends to three years, apart from fine and forfeiture in the former case.

The House accepted an amendment to limit the extension of the period of operation of the Act upto December 31,1952, instead of December 31 1954, as originally contemplated. It rejected the proposal made by Mr. Mahavir Tyagi to introduce whipping as a penalty.

Provision for expeditious disposal of cases of hoarding has also been made.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

M. Lambert Sarvane, French India Deputy in the National Assembly of France, said that he proposed to introduce two Bills in the French Parliament meeting on Oct. 17.

One Bill seeks the transfer by the French Government of its sovereignty over South Indian settlements to the Government of India, and the other to secure general amnesty to political prisoners in French India, including those concerned in alleged incidents during the 1948 Municipal elections in Mahe.

M. Sarvane, who is the Secretary of the French Indian Republican Party, said that his Party had given him a mandate to sponsor these two Bills.

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Provision for expeditious disposal of cases of hoarding has also been made.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

M. Lambert Sarvane, French India Deputy in the National Assembly of France, said that he proposed to introduce two Bills in the French Parliament meeting on Oct. 17.

One Bill seeks the transfer by the French Government of its sovereignty over South Indian settlements to the Government of India, and the other to secure general amnesty to political prisoners in French India, including those concerned in alleged incidents during the 1948 Municipal elections in Mahe.

M. Sarvane, who is the Secretary of the French Indian Republican Party, said that his Party had given him a sponsor these two Bills.

EDUCATIONAL

DR D R BHANDARKAR

The death of Dr D R Bhandarkar the well known historian at the age of 75 is a distinct loss to the cause of learning

A resident of Poona Mr Bhandarkar came to Calcutta in 1917 to join the Calcutta University as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture Before coming to Calcutta he was a Lecturer in the Bombay University from 1913 to 1917 While in Bombay he was also the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle (1911 17)

During his association with the Calcutta University Dr Bhandarkar was the officer in charge of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum for about three years Besides his manifold connections with various learned societies in India and abroad he was a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission a Vice Chairman and member of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum

The son of the celebrated Dr Bhandarkar of Poona research might be said to have been in his blood Dr Bhandarkar was also a valued contributor to this *Review* and we join his many friends and admirers in bemoaning the loss to Indian scholarship and learning

U S SCHOLARSHIP FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

Applications are invited for some scholarships for study at the Teterboro School of Aeronautics in New Jersey U S A The value of the scholarship will be $1123 per annum This covers tuition fees Applicants are expected to supplement this amount with passage money and about another $1200 per annum Applicants are requested to give their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications

HINDI & MARATHI AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

Higher education in Madhya Pradesh academic as well as technical will here after be mainly through the media of Hindi the national language and Marathi the regional language

A top level conference of educationists of Madhya Pradesh under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister Pandit R S Shukla has recommended that Government colleges of Arts and Science affiliated to Nagpur University should provide instruction in Hindi as well as Marathi The conference also recommended that institutions affiliated to Saugor University should provide instruction through the medium of Hindi

The conference recommended that the medium of instruction and examination at the post graduate stage should be Hindi but stated that English could be retained as medium for science subjects in the absence of suitable textbooks in Hindi

Nagpur University introduced Hindi Marathi media for the intermediate Arts examination last year and extended it to Science course this year An exception has been made however for one year in the case of students whose mother tongue is neither Hindi nor Marathi The Saugor University also introduced Hindi as mudium of instruction this year

S AFRICAN STUDENTS REFUSED PASSPORTS

Two South African students Mr W T Zondo and Miss M C Nongauza awarded scholarships at an Indian university have been refused passports by the Union Government states the Indian High Commissioner in Pretoria

The scholarships were for medicine and education

—o—

MADRAS JUDGMENT ON COMMUNAL G. O.

In our last issue reference was made to two applications for the issue of *writs of mandamus* preferred on behalf of Mrs. Champakam Dorairajan, a candidate for admission to a Medical College, and Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, a candidate for admission to an Engineering College, to restrain the Madras Government from applying the Communal G. O. for the regulation of admissions to the Medical and Engineering Colleges in the State.

A Full Bench of the Madras High Court delivered judgment on this case on July 27 giving its unanimous decision that the Communal G. O. regulating the admission of students to the Medical and Engineering Colleges was opposed to the Fundamental Rights conferred under Part III of the Constitution of India and that Article 46 of the Directive Principles of State Policy coming under Part IV could not override the provisions of Articles 15 (1) and 29 (2) of the Constitution or justify any law or Act of the State contravening their provisions.

In the result Their Lordships the Chief Justice Mr. P. V. Rajamannar and A. V. Viswanatha Sastri and N. Somasundaram JJ, who constituted the Bench, allowed the two applications and issued the *writs of mandamus* as prayed for directing that the applications of the petitioners should be considered without any discrimination being made against them on grounds of religion, race or caste.

As soon as Their Lordships pronounced the judgment, Mr. K. Kuttikrishna Menon, Advocate-General, prayed for the issue of a certificate for leave to appeal against the judgment to the Supreme Court of India in view of the constitutional questions involved. This was granted.

PROHIBITION LAW IN BOMBAY

A Full Bench of the Bombay High Court held certain important provisions of the Bombay Prohibition Act relating to possession, use, and consumption of non-intoxicant liquors void.

Their Lordships declared that Section 23 (A) and (B) and Section 24 (1) of the Prohibition Act relating to publication, soliciting, or commending the use of intoxicating liquors amounted to an infringement of the freedom of speech and expression under the Indian Constitution and were, therefore, void.

The Court declared as void the clause in the Act exempting Military personnel and Defence services. Their Lordships held that the Section 39 relating to exemption of messes conducted by the Military and Navy was void, inasmuch as India was not a military State and the classification offended against Article 14 of the Constitution. (Fundamental Rights).

Section 136 (1) of the Prohibition Act relating to the power of the State Government to arrest and make orders detaining or restricting the movements or actions of persons gave extraordinary powers 'not justified' under the Constitution, and was, therefore, void, on the ground that the prohibition law, did not deal with public order, security of the State or maintenance of essential services and supplies.

Their Lordships granted the prayer of the petitioner that he need not declare himself as an addict before a Medical Board for a liquor permit.

TRADE AND FINANCE

FAVOURABLE BALANCE OF TRADE

The Finance Minister Mr Chintaman Deshmukh said in Parliament that India had a favourable trade balance to the extent of Rs 6 crores in the nine months ending June 30 1950 since the devaluation Devaluation might claim to be the main factor in the improvement of India s exports

Mr Deshmukh who was replying to Mr B P Jhunjhunwala said India s balance of trade had improved by Rs 172 crores as compared with the corresponding months of the previous year Only Rs 74 crores of this he said could be attributed to betterment in exports the rest being due to considerably smaller imports as a result of stringent restrictions particularly in the period immediately preceding devaluation Even in regard to exports he added the slowing down in the demand from overseas countries and the resulting contraction in exports during the months preceding the devaluation was to some extent responsible for the larger demand and increased exports after the devaluation Some of the increased could also be attributed to the special export drive By and large however devaluation might claim to be the main factor in the improvement in the exports This was likely to be neutralised by the increased provision for imports necessitated for certain essential commodities Devaluation was however resorted to not so much in the hope of improving the balance of trade as preventing its deterioration This might be said to have been fulfilled

The Finance Minister replied with an emphatic 'no to a question whether Government proposed to make any change in the exchange ratio

Increase in export since the devaluation had been particularly noticeable in cotton textiles and tea to soft currency areas and oil and oilseeds to the dollar areas Other exports showed an increase of a smaller magnitude There was no variation in the dollar price of jute since devaluation

The total exports for the nine months ending June 1950 were Rs 377 crores as compared to Rs 303 crores for the same period in the previous year and imports were Rs 971 crores and Rs 469 crores. As against an adverse balance of Rs 166 crores in the previous year the current period of nine months ending June 1950 recorded a favourable balance of Rs 6 crores

FOREIGN CAPITAL FOR INDIA

Mr Chintaman Deshmukh Finance Minister in a written reply to Mr Hanumanthaiya stated in Parliament that from July 1948 to December 1949 United Kingdom businessmen had invested Rs 611 lakhs in business enterprises in India and from January 1950 to June 1950 about Rs 23 lakhs

The calculations had been made on the basis of the information available in respect of remittances received from abroad for investment in India Remittances to an extent of Rs 17 lakhs were received from Canada for investment in business enterprises in India Rs 100 000 from the United States and Rs 100 000 from Hongkong during the period

The Finance Minister said that it was too early to assess the effect of the concessions given in respect of capital formation and investment in the current year s budget There had been no noticeable increase in foreign capital since April

PARLIAMENT OF WOMEN

The part women are playing in the business and the professions of the world today would surprise even those ardent feminists who less than 100 years ago clamoured at the doors of colleges and universities for the right to equal educational opportunities with men.

In this age, after two world wars in which tens of thousands of women took active part, the scope and diversity of their achievements is apt to be taken for granted—except on such occasions as the congress held in London at the end of July last which brought together women leaders from many countries to confer on their common interests.

In such a gathering could be studied the diversity of fields women have conquered, and what may be more surprising to such diehard anti-feminists as remain is that so many have been able to combine busy and distinguished careers with that of the successful wife and mother.

There were 2,000 such women from 20 nations at the Fifth Congress of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, which was held for the first time in Britain from July 31 to August 5. Of them 1,100 were from all parts of the United Kingdom, with the largest contingent from the Commonwealth—102—coming from Canada.

WOMEN JOCKEYS IN JAPAN

The Yamaguchi Prefecture Horse Racing Society is accepting applications for women jockeys.

Applicants must be between 16 and 30. They will be trained by men jockeys for three months and then take part in all-women jockey races.

WOMEN LEAD IN DIVORCE

More women than men have sought dissolution of their marriages during the last two years in U.P.

This was revealed by Mr. Charan Singh, Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister, in reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Mohammed Assar Ahmed had asked how many applications for marriage dissolution had been received during the past two years. Mr. Charan Singh said that 1,288 applications were received and out of this 1,231 were from women and the remaining 57 from men. As regards women, 1,058 had sought separation because of their husbands' cruelty. 48 had complained of the bad character of their husbands, 80 had charged their husbands with impotence, one had pleaded bad looks and the rest for other causes including venereal disease. Among the 57 applications from men, 51 had sought marriage dissolution, alleging that their wives were of bad character and six men had stated that their wives refused to live with them.

HOMES FOR DISPLACED WOMEN

Six *narishalas* (unattached women's homes) are being run by the Rajasthan Government to provide means of livelihood to refugee women and children in the State.

Two of these homes are located at Jaipur and one each at Kotah, Udaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner. About 900 women are provided with work and paid Rs. 10 per month in addition to their daily wages at these homes. The Amber home also provides residential accommodation to 79 women and 162 children. An orphanage school is attached to this home where, in addition to other subjects, handicrafts are to displaced children.

TRADE AND FINANCE

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Mr Deshmukh who was replying to Mr B P Jhunjhunwala said India s balance of trade had improved by Rs 172 crores as compared with the corresponding months of the previous year Only Rs 74 crores of this he said could be attributed to betterment in exports the rest being due to considerably smaller imports as a result of stringent restrictions particularly in the period immediately preceding devaluation Even in regard to exports he added the slowing down in the demand from overseas countries and the resulting contraction in exports during the months preceding the devaluation was to some extent responsible for the larger demand and increased exports after the devaluation Some of the increased could also be attributed to the special export drive By and large however devaluation might claim to be the main factor in the improvement in the exports This was likely to be neutralised by the increased provision for imports necessitated for certain essential commodities Devaluation was however resorted to not so much in the hope of improving the balance of trade as preventing its deterioration This might be said to have been fulfilled

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The total exports for the nine months ending June 1950 were Rs 877 crores as compared to Rs 303 crores for the same period in the previous year and imports were Rs 971 crores and Rs 469 crores As against an adverse balance of Rs 166 crores in the previous year, the current period of nine months ending June 1950 recorded a favourable balance of Rs 6 crores

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GENERAL

SALARY OF BANK EMPLOYEES

The Government of India have published the award of the All India Industrial Tribunal (Bank Disputes) in the disputes which were referred to it for adjudication in June 1949

The award affects about 200 banks and relates to a number of general questions such as pay scales dearness allowances bonus and individual cases of dismissal and victimisation

The award classifies the banks into three groups—banks with an average working fund of Rs 25 crores and above banks with a working fund below Rs 25 crores but not below Rs 7½ crores and other banks It also classifies the places at which employees are stationed according to the cost of living Bombay Delhi Calcutta and Ahmedabad constitute the Class I area Towns having a population of 50 000 or more in the Punjab and of one lakh or more elsewhere constitute the Class II area Others are treated as Class III areas

The Tribunal has prescribed separate time scales of pay for each class of banks in each area

The minimum pay prescribed for staff in Class A banks in Class I area is Rs 96 in Class II area Rs 82 and in Class III area Rs 70

The minimum pay prescribed for staff in Class B banks stationed in Class I area is Rs 92 in Class II area Rs 78 and Class III area Rs 66 The minimum pay for staff in Class C banks in Class I area is Rs 86 in Class II area Rs 73 and in Class III area Rs 62

The scales are related to the cost of living in 1944 and dearness allowance will be payable on the following slab system that is a certain percentage on every rise of ten points in the cost of living index figure above the level of 1944 (Indices being converted to the base in 1944—100) On salaries ranging up to Rs 50 a month dearness allowance will be paid at the rate of 9 3/8 per cent on every rise of ten points in the cost of living index figure on salaries up to Rs 100 a month, 8½ per cent on salaries upto Rs 150 a month 7½ per cent and those upto Rs 200 a month 6½ per cent Where the monthly pay exceeds Rs 200 the dearness allowance payable is five per cent

WEST INDIES CRICKET

The statistics of the four Test Matches played between West Indies and England revealed the superiority of the West Indies in an unmistakable manner The series of matches played proved that while the West Indies are on the crest of a wave of cricket supremacy England is in the reverse position her cricket strength being at a lower ebb than for many years past

TESTS PLAYED

First Test England win by 10 wkts 202 runs England 312

Second Test West Indies win by 326 runs West Indies 326 England 151

Third Test West Indies win by 10 wkts England 223 West Indies 558

Fourth Test West Indies win by an innings West Indies 503 England 344

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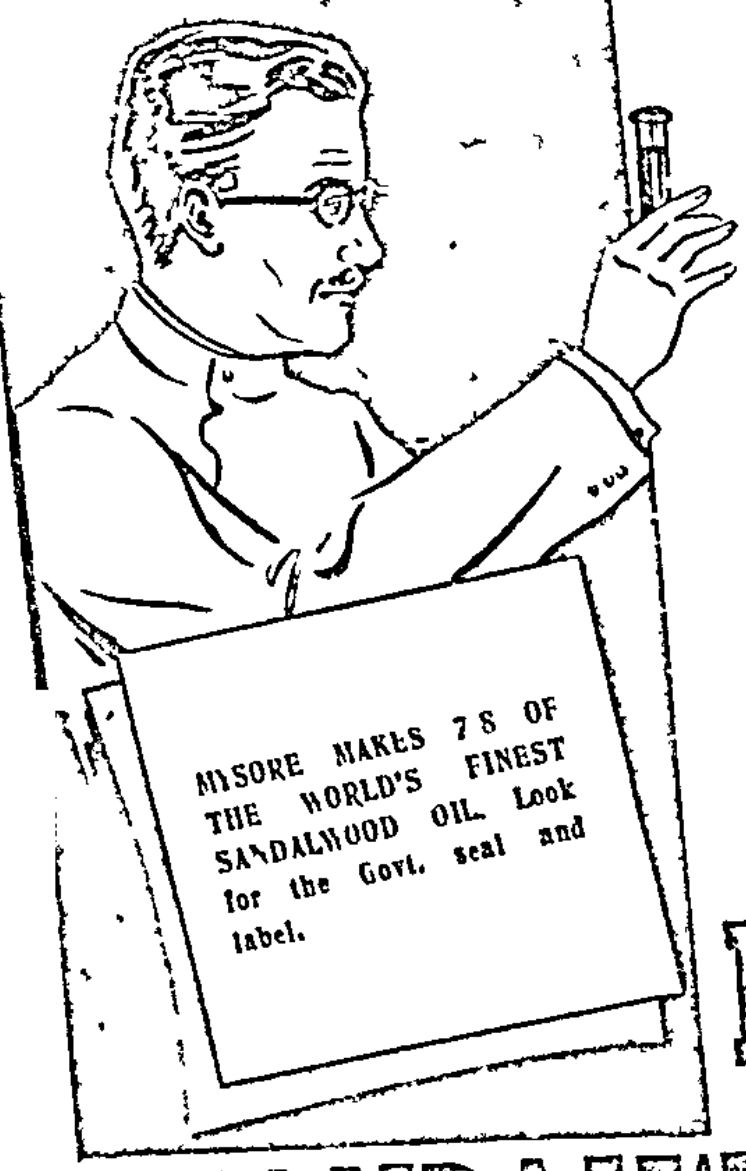
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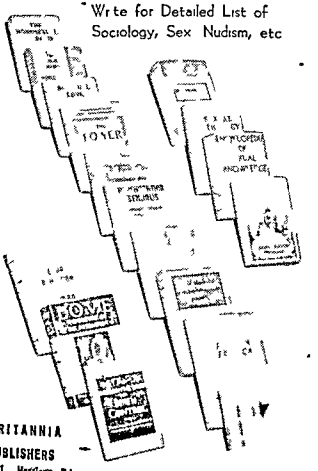
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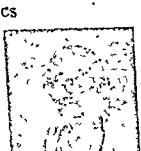
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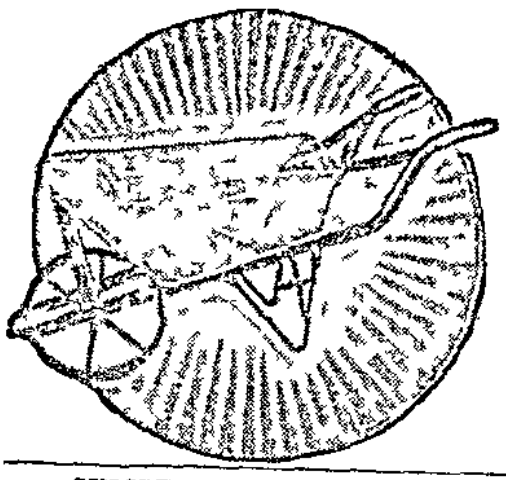
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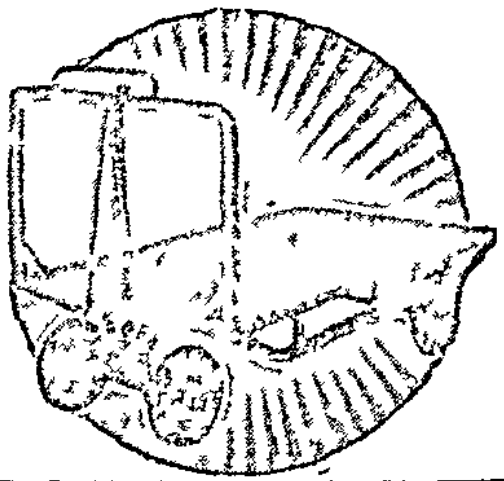
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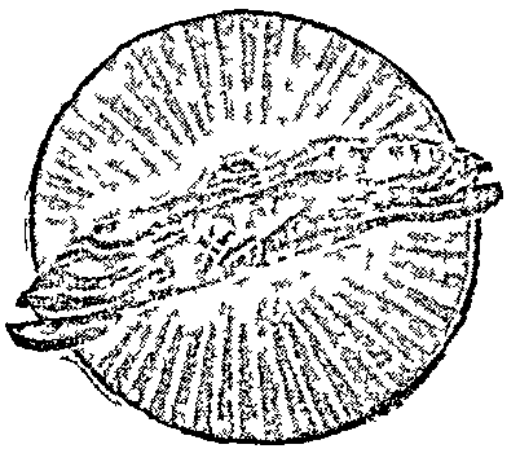
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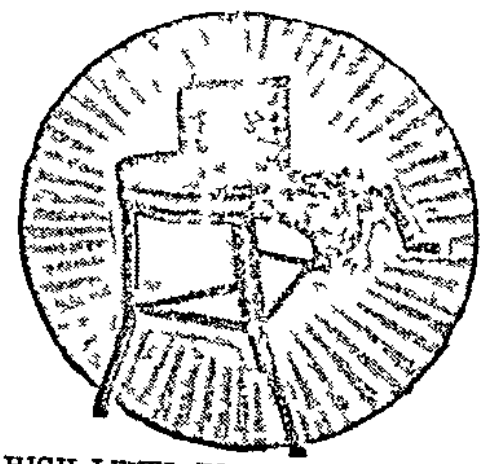
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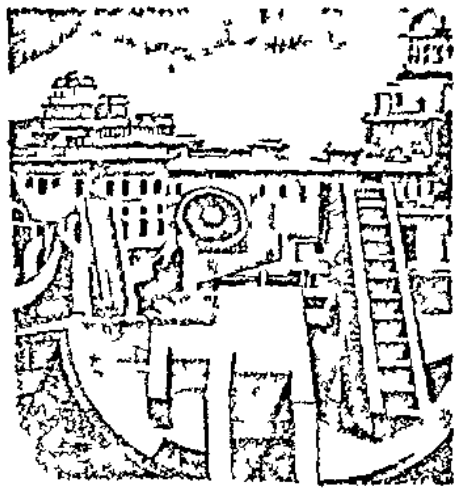


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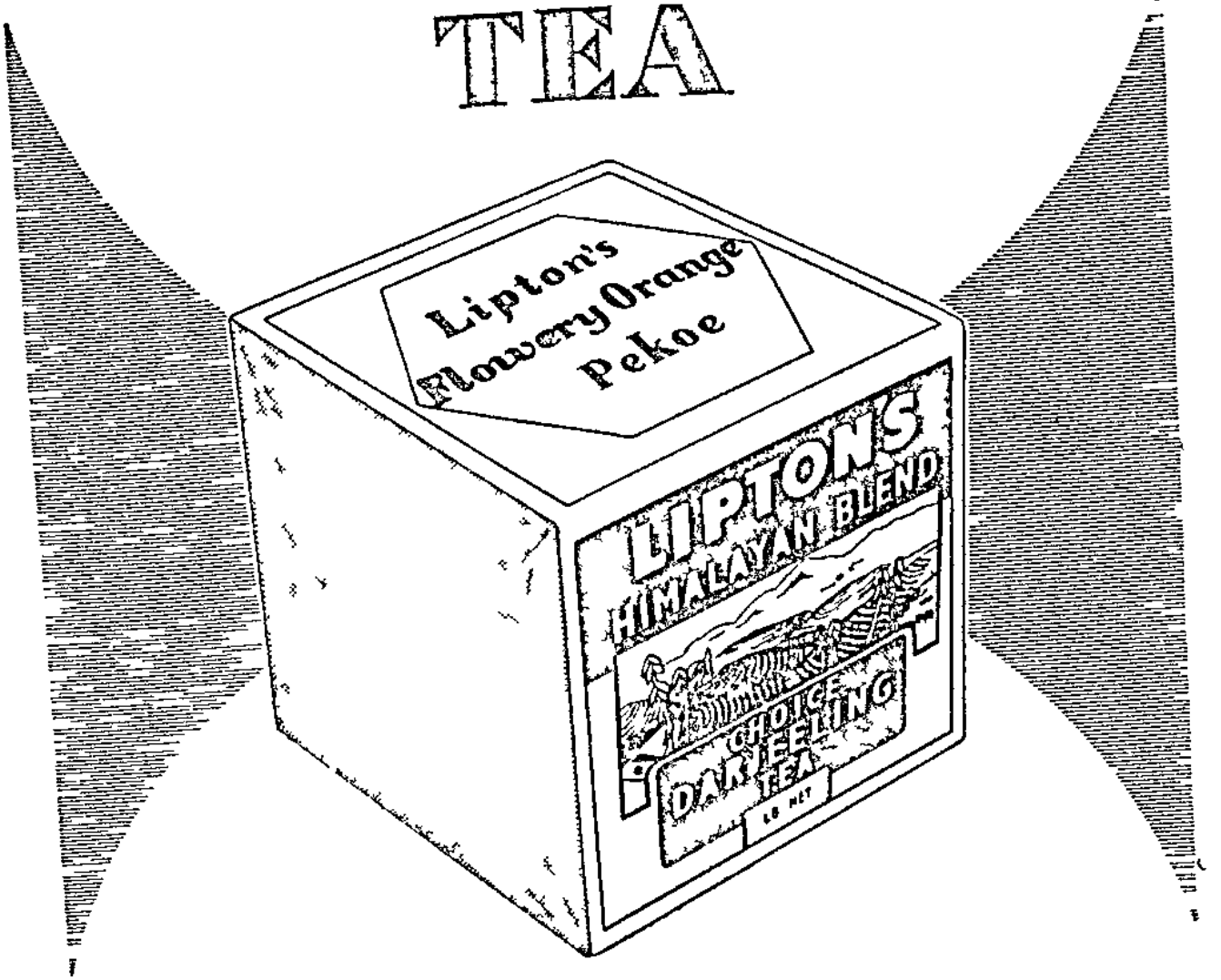
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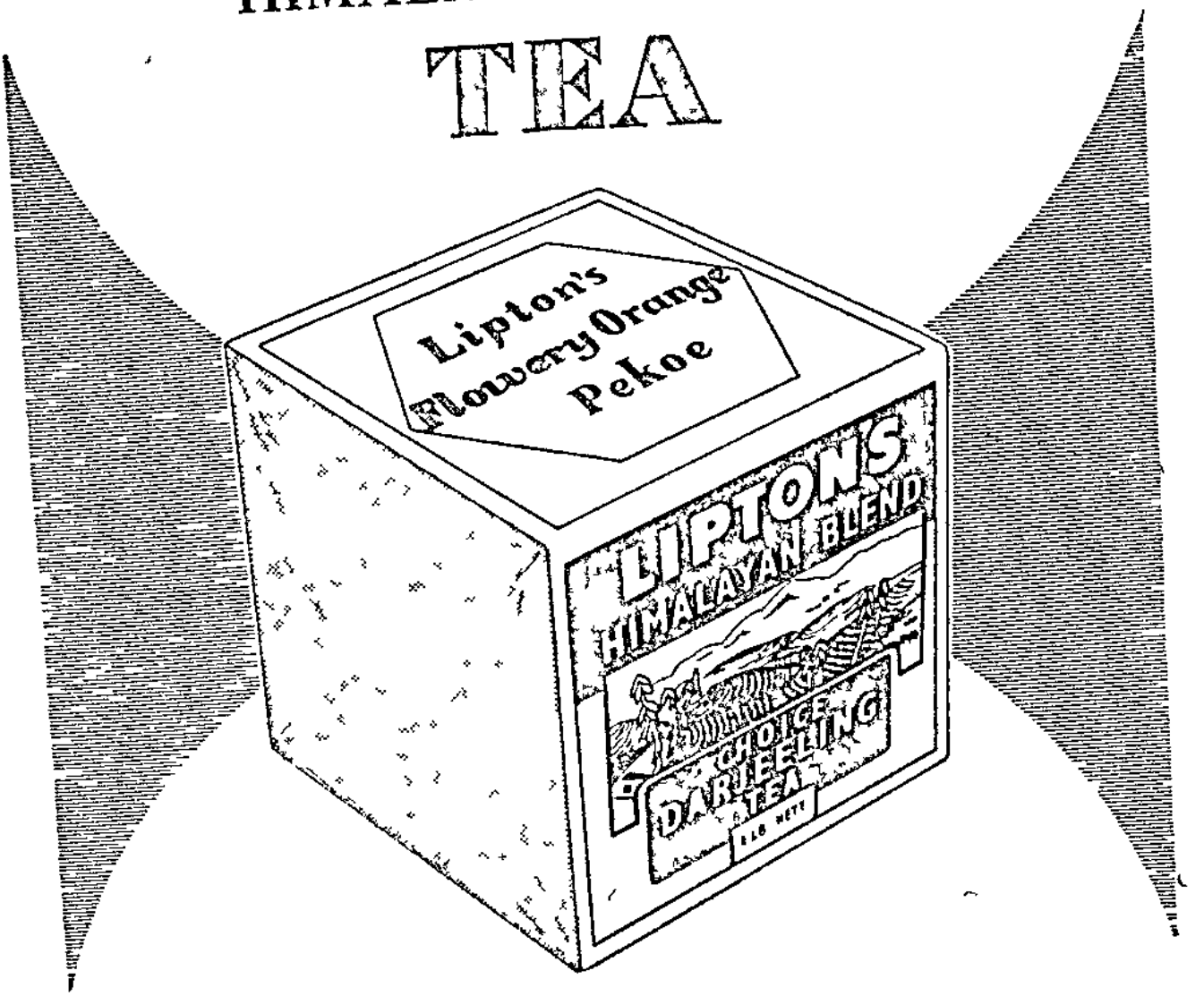
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Editor: B. NATESAN

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First Elections in the Indian Republic

BY PRINCIPAL SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A.

AN Election is a trial of strength between rival political parties for the right to conduct the country's government. Every political party aims at getting a majority of its members elected so that on the strength of the majority thus gained it may be called upon to form the government. This is true in democracies only under a totalitarian government. An election is usually a vote of confidence extracted from voters without permitting them any alternative.

An election may fail to be a fair deal on several counts. To begin with the franchise may be restricted. The qualifications for possessing the right to vote may be very high, they may even be eccentric and what is worse, they may not be uniform throughout the country. Some voters may enjoy the right to cast their vote in more than one constituencies. Sometimes the procedure for registration takes away the franchise the law confers. The value attached to the voters may differ in terms of representation conferred. In one constituency, 1500 voters may have the right to elect a representative, in another ten times their number may enjoy this privilege. Constituencies may be so formed deliberately as to favour one political party against another. Radical—or for the matter of that conservative—voters may be distributed in several constituencies making it impossible for them to elect representatives in fair proportion to their total voting strength. The casting of votes may be affected by the locations of polling stations and their distance from one another. The law may favour the richer candidates or richer party by making the casting of votes easier by their supporters or allowing the candidates to spend lavishly in elections.

Now that we are going to have our first elections in republican India in 1951, it is pertinent to ask what has been done—or is being done—here to secure that the elections when they are held will provide 'a fair field' to every party and confer 'no favour' on any.

The constitution gives every adult the right to vote without distinction of caste, creed, colour or sex. The Indian electorate will thus be the biggest in the world. The women will have the right to vote on equal terms with men, a right denied to them even today in democratic Switzerland. The franchise for the Union Parliament as well as the state legislatures is conferred by the Constitution and cannot, therefore, be taken away by any laws national or local on any ground except that of non-residence, unsoundness of mind, crime or corrupt or illegal practices. No Indian citizen or group of citizens can thus be treated in the way Negroes have been treated in some states in the United States where they have been prevented from exercising their votes by local laws. All constituencies in India are territorial and no citizen will, therefore, have an extra vote for being a University graduate, a trade unionist, a landed magnate, a businessman, a member or a former member of the military forces as he could have had till now. The procedure for registration is not unfair to any class or group of citizens. It provides for the preparation and publication of the registers of voters and makes provision for objections and additions to be made thereto. It is impossible to discover here even a tendency to deprive any citizen or section of citizens of his legal rights.

The constitution also does away with the present idiosyncracies of the electoral organization whereby a legislator could represent 10 electors at one end of the scale and 116 886 at the other The constituencies for the union will be so set up that every group from 500 000 to 700 000 citizens—not voters—would have the right to elect a representative The ratio between members and the population will so far as practicable be the same throughout India Thus an old constituency or two in a state may consist of a smaller number of citizens but this will never fall below half a million for the Union election and a lower fixed number for election for state legislatures Wide discrepancies in representation have been thus clearly avoided

Delimitations of constituencies has been entrusted by Parliament to the Chief Election Commissionor acting on the advice of advisory panels set up in every state and consisting of the sitting members of Parliament Their proposals will be placed before Parliament No doubt the panels consist usually of members of one political party only but so does Parliament for all purposes There is no reason to suspect that the delimitation of constituencies when made would be unfair to any political party Religious and linguistic groups may try to find fault with the proposals But party allegiance at present is so fluid that it would be impossible to devise constituencies which would permanently affect adversely one party as against another The communists may claim that Telangana or Kashi Hills divided in a particular way may not be able to return the member of members representing them adequately The Hindu Sabhites may ascribe their defeat in certain districts in Maharashtra to the delimitations of constituencies But it may be safely asserted that the vigilant public opinion that has already been roused on the question will make it impossible for the Chief Election Commissioner to associate himself with any proposals which will smack of partizanship For one thing the Chief Election Officer is a permanent public servant for another it is impossible today to foresee what would be the alignment of party allegiance when the elections are held in 1951 Gerrymandering on a large scale as in British India in 1921 is clearly impossible

Certain political parties seem to favour multi member constituencies as against single member constituencies Multi member constituencies have nothing to recommend them unless their creation is accompanied by proportional representation But inspite of the able advocacy of Dr Paranjpye proportional representation cannot be effectively worked by any political party in India at present The experience of its working elsewhere in the world during the last thirty years indicates that it will ill serve the purpose of the first election in India where adult suffrage has just been introduced in a population largely illiterate and incapable of delicate balancing of political forces which proportionate representation is said to call for Double member constituencies may possibly serve a useful purpose in areas where backward classes form a substantial part of the population in allowing them to secure seats reserved for them more reasonably than would be the case in single member constituencies It is an open question and can be decided only piecemeal after studying the actual list of voters

The history of elections in India during the last thirty years suggests that substantial efforts will have to be made to secure fair election practices on the day—or the days—of the election District collectors who supervised the arrangements were never averse to using their influence in favour of one party or another Some of them even gloried in the fact The richer candidates of all parties resorted to corrupt or illegal practices which went unpunished because almost every candidate was more or less tarred by the same brush Election expenses permitted were too high for the purposes for which they were allowed The use of private cars for conveying voters to the polling booths favoured the richer candidates and legitimately led to the power candidates spending money on the fares of their —or alleged to be their —partizans The fact that the voters were illiterate and some provinces did not adopt picture signs for candidates led in some case to the presiding officers

favouring particular candidates when these officers were requested to mark the voting papers It was alleged at least in one election petition that false bottoms to the ballot boxes were provided in order to make it easy to tamper with the ballot boxes Elections were also sometimes marred by religious caste tribal or even racial hysteria

Many of these evils could be checked by an enlightened public opinion or a roused public conscience Parties—though not the candidates—may realize that an unfair practice which favoured them in one election may favour their opponent elsewhere and may join together to stamp it out The fear that an exposure of malpractices through election petitions may ultimately lead to the loss of a seat thus won may also have some effect now that the judiciary has been seen to act independently and fearlessly All the election arrangements will be made by the Chief Election Commissioner He is an independent officer unconnected with the government national or state This is an improvement on the previous system and will make for fair elections every where He would be able to secure it is expected greater impartiality and fairness from all who would be associated with him in this work

But the arrangements for distributing and receiving ballot papers on the election day would be in the hands of the administrative officers The paucity of competent persons was said to be the main reason why elections in the past were spread over several days in a constituency Almost all parties are now agreed that this practice should stop and all over India election should be held on the same day The choice of polling and presiding officers has so long been confined to public servants This would be no longer possible or necessary Who should select the large number of polling and presiding officers needed for the next election? Despite past history the district collectors under direction from the Chief Election Commissioner form the only machinery capable of doing this work The District and Session Judges should not be dragged into this political affray because some of them at least may later on sit on the election tribunals The district collector now can be expected to be impartial and just in discharging his duty on behalf of the Chief Election Commissioner He stands to lose much more than does a candi date if he makes a bad guess in any constituency But the election of such officers should not be limited to public servants only To find competent and honest non officials for this purpose may be a difficult task but not one which a modern collector cannot be expected to discharge well now that he comes into contact with all sections of public opinion in his district If the parties are alert and arrange to safeguard their own interest adequately there need be no fear that the polling officers or presiding officers will be able to cook the result The polling officers issue the ballot papers to voters as they claim them The identity of every claimant for a ballot paper can be challenged by the agents of the candidates before the paper is issued to the voter If the candidates take reasonable precautions their interest would be safe In some provinces at least the representatives of the candidates were allowed to be present in the room where the voter filled the ballot paper and cast his vote This may—and it did —secure the candidates against malprac tices by a presiding officer in marking a ballot paper if requested to do so by a voter But if candidates adopt simple symbols—devoid of religious significance— the presiding officer will have no chance of interfering with the choice of the voters The presence of the agents of the candidates in the presiding officer s room would be superfluous it was strongly objected to in some place both by con scientious voters as well as presiding officers It is not necessary to continue it

The counting of votes should start the day after the election is over Again it may be necessary here as well to seek the co operation of non officials if the results are to be speedily compiled or announced Fewer persons would be needed They should be appointed by the Chief Election Officer

This would be the first election in republican and sovereign India The old

issues are dead, we are citizens of the Independent Indian Republic All parties should clearly realise this and shape their programme accordingly Emphasis on past performances should be avoided They are a matter of history where they should be allowed to rest Mr Churchill found the voters judge his party by his plans for the future and not by his past achievements even though he saved the English in their direst hour Ultimate goals decades if not centuries off are neither here nor there The election manifestoes should tell the voter what a party would do if it occupies the seates of the mighty The establishment of the rule of the proletariat by a bloody revolution or class war led by a communist Government of India could be a legitimate part of the communist programme on which the electorate could be easily asked to divide But a Hindu Sabha manifesto saddling the partition on the Congress without offering how the Hindu Maha Sabha proposes to undo it immediately it gets into power would be an insult to the intelligence of the voters The party programmes should contain no mental reservations which an ordinary citizen should be incapable of understanding A professor of philosophy in 1937 would not believe that after its success in 1937 the Congress would accept office because it had declared before the elections that it was fighting elections to destroy the constitution The voters should not now be presented with the strange spectacle of a political party doing exactly the opposite of what it had promised to do Such things may have been—and were—a necessary part of our struggle for independence they should form no part of our new independent life The political programme should be clear and definite, it should concern itself with immediate issues No party can get away with a negative programme Thus the condemnation of the government in power is not enough 'Keep them out at any cost' will win no votes for a party though it may lose it some

It is strange that several political parties in India have surrendered their true function in the face of the coming elections 'To return to Parliament a majority of its candidates and so to form the government of the country' should be the object of every political party It is surprising that not many political parties at present seem to be conscious of this role which they can assume only if they were to offer an immediate political programme of their own They are not even planning to keep out the party at present in power If this were so they could form a coalition with an agreed upon programme to put through the legislature But probably there is no common ground upon which they can be united They seem to be aiming modestly to diminish by their combined efforts the majority of the party at present in power Thereby they have already admitted defeat It is beyond ordinary human comprehension why a democratic party should so despair of the citizens' intelligence as to lose all in advance all hopes of converting a majority of them to its programme long before the election is due to take place But if this defeatist mentality is inexplicable more so is any sort of alliance among such elements in Indian political life as were till recently so viciously attacking each other They may again start doing so presently!

A good deal has recently been said about the place of an opposition in the legislature The lack of an effective opposition has been bemoaned and several of our political ills referred thereto The opposition is a creature either of the electorate or of the legislature If either of them refuses to bring one forth the Government in power does not become dictatorial and does not cease to be representative The strength of any opposition does not depend upon its numbers if that were so—the Labour party would never have come into power in England No opposition in a Parliamentary country has ever exercised appreciable influence on the course of administration Its function is not to correct the mistakes of its rival in the saddle Were it so it will grievously confuse responsibility for administration and saddle the opposition with the acts of the administration The opposition's main task is to use the legislature as a convenient forum for attacking its rivals and thus persuading the electorate at the next

election to its own point of view. This does not depend on the number of members an opposition party has in the legislature; it depends mainly upon the strength of its case and its powers of pursuasiveness inside and outside the house. Of course the presence of an opposition compels the Government in power to present its measures in a form in which they can best survive opposition's attack in invective, satire and ridicule. Its absence therefore may sometimes lead to loose thinking and shoddy work. But the 'fourth estate', the press, has now assumed this function so well that this danger is almost non-existent. But to go back to the next election, it may produce some opposition parties if any survive its scrutiny. It is a survival of an old age now happily past that some of us should be petitioning the government to let an opposition flourish. An opposition commissioned by the Government in power!

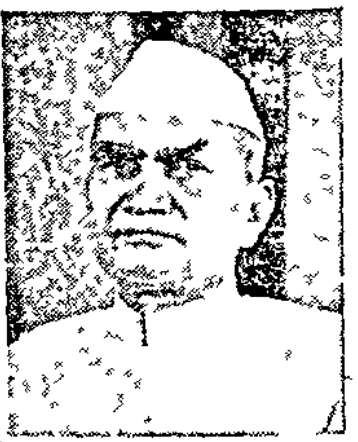
The Story of My First Real Client

BY H. E. DR. KAILAS NATH KATJU, M.A., LL.D., D. Litt.

Governor, West Bengal.

THIS is a story of 40 years ago and of my well-beloved first real client, Thakur Bachchi Singh. Its telling will involve plenty of self-praise, but the narrative shall be truthful regardless of all risks of possible misunderstandings and I will not allow it to become drab or colourless or to suffer in any way by any undue shyness on my part.

I was then very young, very youthful in appearance and very bashful in general company and a baby twelve months old in the Kanpur law court where I had started on my own, in a rented house situated in a very unprepossessing, mean-looking, small land.



I could not afford to furnish my working room with tables and chairs and the other usual paraphernalia and had adopted the old Indian style. My office furniture consisted entirely of a durree, a cotton carpet (a gift of my father) and a big pillow. One morning I was sitting cross-legged on my carpet when in walked unannounced, without any formality, a wild eyed, crazy-looking old man, semi-naked, in red clothes and a very short dhoti indeed. He sat down, stared at me and at my surroundings and then suddenly burst forth: "You do everybody's cases: won't do mine?" I was taken aback and before I could master my mind to say anything to him, he brought out of a small bundle under his arms two tin cylinders in which the villagers in the United Provinces generally keep their papers as a safeguard against fire and rain and damp and whiteants. He uncovered the lid of those two cylinders and took out two big rolls and throwing them before me, he burst forth again: "This is my case; do my case," I was literally fascinated, and instead of asking him verbally what the case was about—it was really impossible to talk with that old man in his then mood of frenzy—I lifted up the two rolls and began to unwind them. They were indeed very long, almost several yards long, and unaccustomed as I was at the time to the highly Persianised Urdu of the law courts of the United Provinces of the first half of the 19th century, I managed with some difficulty to make out that those two rolls purported to be copies of the proceedings of the District Judge's Court of Kanpur in the years 1847 and 1849. God has granted me a bent of mind for antiquities, and everything ancient—say a 100 years old—rivets my attention on its own merits. So, forgetting the old man for the moment I tried to read those ancient documents for their own sake. On a cursory reading I found that the two papers were decrees of the Court of the District Judge of Kanpur in a suit instituted in 1845 by one Maharaj

Singh of village Nadiha Khurd district Kanpur to redeem lands mortgaged to him with possession to some one for Rs 710 in the year 1821 He had instituted the suit on the allegation that the mortgagee and his heirs had been in possession of the mortgaged lands already for over 20 years and had out of its rents and profits recovered the mortgage money principal and interest in its entirety and the mortgagor therefore was entitled to get back his land without any payment The answer to the suit on behalf of the creditor was that rents and profits were insufficient even to meet the interest on the loan and therefore the principal and a good deal of the interest were still outstanding and the suit must therefore fail The trial Judge had decreed the suit The District Judge had however by his first order (Roll No 1) directed further enquiry and accounts and though even after remand the trial court had found that the entire loan principal and interest had been satisfied the District Judge had in a second and final order (Roll No 2) disagreed with the trial Judge and had held that even the interest (some Rs 105 were still due) had not been fully discharged and on that finding had dismissed the suit

This was the net result of my perusal of the two rolls I now turned to the old crazy man before me and enquired who he was and how he was concerned with this land and what he had to do with these papers He replied that he was the son of the Mortgagor Maharaj Singh who had instituted the suit of 1815 and the family was still out of possession of their ancestral land The land had also passed out of the possession of the original mortgagee had changed hands four or five times and was in the year of grace 1909 in possession of an industrialist millionaire of Kanpur This gentleman professed to be the complete owner of the property in his own right and under a purchase from the last holder as a free hold property He denied the existence of any ortgage and in all the official records was and even his predecessors had recorded as the full complete owner of the property which had of course since 1821 increased enormously in value at least 20 times over

I naturally asked the old man—I found his name was Bachchi Singh—about other relevant papers of the case, for instance, a copy of the mortgage deed and other ancient documents and title deeds He said that besides the two rolls he had nothing in his possession, not even a copy of the mortgage deed, to show that his ancestors had been owners of the property or were in any way connected with the land or had ever mortgaged it to anybody in the world Any reference to old records of this civil judicial proceeding was out of the question because in the Kanpur district during the disturbances of 1857 all official records had been completely burnt and destroyed and nothing could be had about them either from the civil courts or from the collectorate

Thereupon I meekly suggested to my wild eyed visitor that his was an exceedingly difficult proposition What could be done for want of papers? There was not even a copy of the mortgage deed available But he would not listen to anything that I would say He kept on repeating sometimes mumbling sometimes crying sometimes shouting— You fight everybody's case people fight all sorts of cases no one fights my case Why don't you fight my case?' I was nonplussed I didn't know how to get rid of him. The only thing that occurred to me was to ask him to leave the two rolls with me and to tell him that I would further study them that he had better come again and then we would discuss the matter further There was, of course no question of any fees or any kind of payment at that stage After he left I do not know what happened, what demon seized me but somehow the case possessed me I was obsessed by it I took the papers to the Bar Library and read them again with greater care and casually mentioned this incident to a colleague at the bar with whom I had become familiar (by God's grace he is still alive and is now like a blood brother to me) and he laughed at it 'Oh is it that old Bachchi Singh, he said 'Has that madcap been to you also? He is a maniac he has been going about with this case of his in the Kanpur Court grounds now for the last ten years, and

there is not a single beginner in the profession whom he has left untouched. Do not you worry about it! Shake him off." But this was easier said than done. I was now possessed by Bachchi Singh, I was possessed by some other invisible powers and the case would not let me alone. As I have said, I was then completely raw and green at the bar. My knowledge of the law of mortgages and particularly of the law and procedure as it prevailed in the days of the Sardar Dewani Adalat in 1824 and thereabouts, was almost nil. I cannot recount with accuracy how many books I read. In my senior's (Pandit Prithi Nath's) Library there was substantial literature, Rules and Circulars and Regulations—on this branch of the law. There were lots of old reports in the Bar Library. For days and weeks I literally pored over all the old text-books that I could come across and with the aid of indexes I went through practically every single reported case decided during the 19th century in any way relevant to my case. The result was that I became brimful, so to say, of the law and procedure as it prevailed between 1800 and 1860. Bachchi Singh all this time continued coming to me. When he saw the intensity and almost the passionate devotion of a young lover with which I was absorbed in his case, he became more tranquil of mind and a little less abrupt in his manner. I imagine such sympathy he had not experienced ever before in his life.

But mere sympathy could not go far. The question was what was to be done. It seemed to be literally a case of making bricks without straw. As I have said, there were no papers. I had not only gone through the law books and the law reports for instruction as to the old ---ocedure, but I wasted days and hours the office of the Collector going rough the settlement records of this rticular village after the year 1857. I ay mention here for the information my readers that Permanent Revenue ttlement is not in force in the Kanpur istrict of the United Provinces. Revenue ettlements occur every 30 years and hile in the revenue settlement made in he year 1901-1905 in the Kanpur district the record made no reference whatsoever to Bachchi Singh or his father and the name of the person then in possession was entered as a simple proprietor of the estate, the revenue settlement records of the previous settlement of 1870-1875 were much more revealing. I looked through indexes and registers and abstracts and fugitive papers and I found that before the year 1857 the name of the old owner, Maharaj Singh, had been removed from the revenue records as the mortgagor of the property, and the name of the mortgagee had been entered as the full proprietor of the estate. Twenty years later in 1875 during settlement proceedings Maharaj Singh had applied for the amendment of that entry in the revenue records, and for the restoration of his name as a mortgagor. To this the reply made on behalf of the proprietor in possession was that the mortgageee no longer subsisted, and that after the proceedings in the District Judge's Court in 1849 execution had been taken out of the decree for costs against Maharaj Singh, and in that execution his title and rights in the property as a mortgagor had been put up to auction and had been purchased by the mortgagee himself and thus the mortgagee had been completely extinguished. But these amendment proceedings were being held in a very summary manner before a Revenue Officer, and it appeared that on the date fixed for final disposal no one appeared on behalf of the proprietor, and the Deputy Collector ordered that Maharaj Singh's name should be entered as a mortgagor. This entry was made, I may say again, in 1875, but somehow in some way—I could not make out that—the order was again a few years later reversed, and Maharaj Singh and his family all disappeared from the scene completely altogether.

The revenue settlement records, however, contained a lot of other miscellaneous information in abstract form, such as the revenue assessed upon the mortgaged land and the recorded rent payable by the cultivators therefor from time to time. During the last 57 years the situation had completely changed, and not only the mortgage money must have been completely satisfied long ago but an enormous surplus

left in the hands of the mortgagee payable to the owner

Further examination of the two rolls however disclo ed another snag in the case They were obviously old documents but I found that while one of them was what we call in the law courts a certified copy namely a copy prepared and issued under official seal by the Court itself to a suitor the other was a purely unofficial copy which may have been made at any time by any one at home Certified copies of judgments and decrees are very valuable documents These are admissible in evidence without any further proof A plain unauthorised copy normally is of no legal value whatsoever and no court will admit it into evidence Now it so happened that the plain copy was that of the earlier judgment of the case The certified copy was of the final order In the first paper were reproduced in extenso according to the procedure current in those days the judgment of the trial as well as the appellate courts and both judgments contained essential details of the mortgage deed itself—name of the mortgagor and the mortgagee and the date of the mort gage and the amount advanced In the second paper neither court has considered it necessary to set out these details over again If you excluded the plain copy from the record then nothing would be left to indicate the date and nature of the mortgage transaction as well as the names of the parties thereto and on that point there was no other evidence available of any kind

Neither paper stated clearly the rate of interest payable on the principal lent This difficulty however I was able to overcome because about the year 1806 to check excessive usuries a Regulation had been passed that no court should allow more than twelve per cent interest per annum on a loan account between a debtor and a creditor So whatever may have been the orig nal rate of interest stipulated in the deed in 1824 for court purposes twelve per cent was the only admissible rate

Another seemingly insurmountable hurdle was the question of limitation Law allows sixty years to a mortgagor to redeem and get back his land from his creditor These sixty years had expired in 1884 Without entering here into a legal discussion I may just mention that an extension of the period of limitation is permissible by law provided the mortgagee or his heir and representative acknowledges in writing his status as a mortgagee and the right of his debtor in the land as the original proprietor For this acknow ledgment in writing I fastened upon the amended entry in the revenue register of 1875 in which the Assistant Collector had ordered Maharaj Singh to be described as the mortgagor and a lady, then in posses sion of the property as the mortgagee and when this document was prepared, then in accordance with the standing rules it was signed both by Maharaj Singh and on behalf of this Purdanashin woman by the official village accountant called a Patwari in the United Provinces The signature was rather curious It was stated to be of Mukta Kuar by the pen of Sheo Dayal Patwari

I was now absolutely full with the case and was determined come what may, to launch my little craft in the great Atlantic of litigation Bachchi Singh was as poor as a church mouse and therefore the whole thing had to be done on the most economical lines and yet I was also determined to value the case at a high figure so that it might go straight to the High Court on first appeal

On the basis of the two rolls and a certified copy of the 1875 revenue entry I reconstructed the mortgage deed and built up a pleading I asserted (without any real knowledge) that the stipulated rate of interest was only 12 per cent per annum I said that taking the judg ment of the District Judge as a starting point while the principal and a small bit of interest were outstanding in 1819 within ten years at best the whole of the mortgage money principal and interest, had been definitely discharged and then I alleged that the surplus in the hands of the people in possession for the past 60 years had amounted to an enormous sum and I ended by claiming that the land should be awarded back to Bachhi Singh (the son of the original mort gagor) and an account of rents and profits should be taken and he should also be awarded thousands of rupees of

surplus profits due to him. And to avoid the bar of limitation, I relied upon the 1875 entry as an acknowledgment of the mortgagor's title by the mortgagee. On the sum of Rs. 710, the original mortgage loan, I paid a Court fee of Rs. 53 and I valued the suit for purposes of jurisdiction at Rs. 5,200 and instituted it in the Court of the Subordinate Judge of Kanpur. I included as defendants in the case every single individual or his heir or legal representative who had ever been in possession of the land ever since 1824 ending with my friend, the industrialist millionaire then in possession: And so the die was cast.

When the news of this pleading and litigation spread there were literally shouts of laughter in the Bar Library. The claim was considered to be a crazy one. Bachchi Singh was crazy and so it seemed was his young pleader. Nobody took the claim seriously. It was absurd on the face of it. Many of the defendants did not even bother to put in appearance. The millionaire in possession, of course, engaged several leaders of the Kanpur Bar on his behalf. But I think Bachchi Singh's luck had definitely turned the corner and those leaders of the profession, I suspect, were much too complacent about the case. Neither they nor their client appeared to take it seriously. There was no mortgage deed; and plainly they thought there was no valid acknowledgment and the suit was clearly time barred. Then again who could ever hold that the acknowledgment had been (as the law required) signed by the mortgagee? The case was a frivolous one on the face of it. I think none of the defendants ever went to the Collectorate to make any enquiry or ever looked into any official papers about the case. Moreover they made one grave mistake. Without examining the two rolls carefully they assumed them both to be certified copies. And in the defendant's written statements it was clearly admitted that a mortgage deed had been executed on the date and between the parties as alleged by me in my pleading. This admission turned out ultimately to be a matter of vital importance.

Apart from the admission of the factum of the mortgage and its date, the defendants denied the claim completely in every way and urged that the mortgage, if any, had been completely extinguished and the claim was wholly groundless and a vexatious one.

The first hearing of the case was a striking one indeed in many ways. The learned Judge was a jolly old gentleman, a kind hearted judicial wit. As the case was opened before him and he read the pleadings for himself, he smiled broadly and thought definitely that it was certainly a very uncommon one. He took up my precious rolls and examined them closely with the interest of an antiquarian and then suddenly turned to me and said "Hallo, this one is not a certified copy at all. How do you let that in as evidence?" I confess I feigned complete surprise and said, "Sir, are you quite sure about that? May I have a look at it?". He turned it over to me and to keep up appearances I examined it most anxiously myself and then putting on an air of great unconcern, I said, "What does it matter? The paper is on the face of it genuine and the copy, even though unauthorised and unofficial, seems to be obviously a correct one. Under the special circumstances of the case you may please take it in evidence. I am sure the other side won't object." The other side were terribly excited and they objected most vehemently, and the Judge said to me, "Obviously it cannot go into evidence. I must reject it." The moment the paper was rejected the defendants' pleaders realised the implications and asked for permission to amend their pleadings and to withdraw the admission about the date and the factum of the mortgaged deed which they said were based entirely upon the rejected paper. Then came my turn and I protested strongly. I said admissions in the pleadings have nothing to do with any documents which may be filed as evidence on their side and this particular admission was unqualified. It would be a monstrous injustice if in such a case defendants were allowed to withdraw their clear and unequivocal admissions. I do not know, but very likely the Judge took pity on my crazy client and his crazy young pleader, and he was fire, and he would not allow the defendants to amend their pleading. The admission stood, and thereupon I did not

care a brass farthing whether my previous and unauthorised copy was on the record or out of it My object had been served

There was little oral evidence in the case and the case came on shortly afterwards directly for argument This was lengthy I do not know how I managed to survive those days It must have been in a fit of great self endurance—I was so full of the case and the Judge being a slow one and also a very kind individual he gave the young junior before him a very long and indulgent hearing I must have wasted I fear a good deal of his time but I made bridge after bridge to cover all the gaps in the case and on the very ticklish point of limitation I ventured to argue on the strength of a reported decision of the Allahabad High Court that the Court should presume that the Patwari was in law an agent authorised by the lady to sign the document on her behalf and it constituted a good legal acknowledgment and this acknowledgment by the widow was binding upon her successors The Judge heard me throughout with a smile flickering on his face and once he remarked with a twinkle in his eye Pandit Sahib Ap tokankavwakachine chage pare ura raha hain (You are trying to raise your kite on very thin untwisted thread or in other words you are building a house of cards) But I went on and put forward every argument I could conceive of in my favour I felt as if Bachchi Singh and his children were tugging at my gown and imploring me to carry on

The leading advocates on the other side tried to laugh the case out of court but without meaning any disrespect to them or rather to their memory because they are now all dead they took the case very much for granted and did not evidently consider that it required any careful preparation or any elaborate serious argument On the conclusion of the argument the Judge reserved judgment

This learned Judge was in the habit of taking most careful notes and then studying the file at home for himself for weeks before he delivered judgment For a month there was no news nor inkling of the working of the judicial mind I was in a state of great suspense and was not very hopeful either because though the Judge had been kindliness personified none of his remarks had been very encouraging He had throughout kept his own counsel and whatever little he had said had not been favourable to my point of view

Suddenly a month afterwards when I was apppearing before him in another case he just turned to me and in a casual manner said It seems that your kite will fly after all I understood the implication and my heart jumped Shortly afterwards judgment was delivered and lo and behold the claim was decreed not only for the possession of the property but also for accounts which ultimately yielded nearly Rs 20 000 hard cash as surplus profits to be paid to Bachchi Singh by all the defendants jointly This meant in substance by my dear friend the millionaire The decree was as good as gold To say that I was happy would be a great understatement I danced with joy I was then very young and my readers will appreciate—and I hope will also excuse—the exuberance of my feelings on the occasion In the Bar Library it was the talk of the day as if something incredible had happened

There was of course an appeal to the Allahabad High Court There again Bachchi Singh's luck stood by him and I fear the defendants suffered again from the complacency of their counsel The learned Judges when the case was opened before them expressed astonishment at the staleness of the claim but ultimately upheld the decree of the trial Judge and dismissed the appeal It is not possible for me to describe in words what Bachchi Singh must have felt on this great victory As another client once said to me when I suggested a compromise in a case about his ancestral lands—You don't understand what you are talking about These are not lands these are the bones of my ancestors Bachchi Singh was in this case getting back his ancestral lands after 90 years and I can figure to myself the tears of joy which he and his children must have

shed in the family circle on this great event in their life. Not only did he get his land back but he became a sane man. The judgment restored his sanity and thereafter whenever he came, it was not that wildeyed, old man in tattered clothing. This was another Bachchi Singh altogether—well clad, with four attendants, one of them carrying a hookah—and travelling in great style. What a grand man he then became.

But you ask what did I get out of the case? What did he give me? I got something priceless. He gave me self reliance; he gave me confidence in myself, and because of him I discovered myself as a lawyer and as an advocate, and I firmly believe that the foundation of all the success which I subsequently attained in the profession was well and truly laid on the old blessings and benediction of that crazy old man. Thus I owe Bachchi Singh a debt immeasureable. But you will say that this is all very sentimental. What about cash? Well, please remember, I was young and inexperienced and did not then know the rules of professional etiquette about fees fully and I thought, like Sherlock Holmes, that the case was its own reward, Bachchi Singh paid, I suppose, what he could. I got just Rs. 35 all told from start to finish, and when he won his case before the Subordinate Judge he one day came to me looking shy and awkward and with some words of gratitude he put something in my hands and that was another sum of Rs. 35. You must now add to this sum of Rs. 70 the pleasure of writing this story.

And finally before two years were out a Privy Council judgment was reported in the law reports which declared that the heirs were not bound by any acknowledgment made by a Hindu widow, and the whole of my argument on the point of limitation thus fell to the ground and the Privy Council really completely knocked the bottom out of my dear Bachchi Singh's case. But fortunately by that time the judgment in his favour had become final, and you know that an error of law is no ground for reviewing a judgment, so that was that.

A WOMAN OF AMBITION: A STORY

BY MR. MICHAEL OWEN

IN the course of many years spent in prisons as a political prisoner at British hands I have seen many curious things and heard some curious tales. I have seen a man with mild eyes who judging from his kindness to other prisoners assuredly must have been a man whose heart overflowed with the milk of human kindness, yet he turned out to be a man who with a brick had bashed-in the head of an aged woman for a paltry sum of money. I have seen a midget of a man who looked as though he could not say boo to a goose who was a notorious bandit with eleven dacoities and four murders chalked-up against him But most interesting of all I have seen and known a raving lunatic who for the sake of the lovely Lady Zubeida sustained the part of a lunatic for ten solid weeks, under observation day and night, displaying such stoicism and histrionic ability that nothing could break him, so that he earned the certification of raving but harmless lunacy from an alienist and obtained his release and that was the first act in the strange drama played out over a number of years which centred around the figure of the beautiful and ambitious girl who in time came to be known as the Lady Zubeida.

I saw him first in the prison square, stark naked, manacled by one hand and one foot to a gigantic neem tree, having just come through the horrors of solitary confinement. The assumption of insanity is a common artifice by which criminals endeavour to purchase immunity from the rigours of the law, for insanity, if adjudged harmless, brings transfer to a civil asylum and in due course if the family is influential and wealthy enough to distribute sufficient national currency, release. Yet every lunatic, real or not, is suspect

nd to bring him to the senses which he usually does po sess there is unrestrained use of the third degree and merciless floggings sanctioned as legal corporal punishment and thirst and starvation Most experienced jailors are adepts at the art of lunacy detection and prison superintendent and doctor are usually prepared to accept the jailor s word that a case is genuine In any event a man who survives the treatment he is undoubtedly a man of superlative courage and deserves to succeed in his purpose

The naked man in the prison square was a pitiable case He was a slim slightly built man rather fair and a Muslim by faith He was bound to the tree for two particular reasons One was that if immured in a cell in spite of the lack of implements and the handicap of a manacled hand and foot and sometimes both hands he succeeded in tearing away the cement surface of the flooring with his bare hands removing concrete and bricks tunneling into the earth but making no effort to effect an escape Clothing too apparently gave extreme annoyance to his distorted mind for no sooner was he clothed than he ripped the clothes to pieces Half the day he sang mournful love ditties from the films and the other half he alternately wept and cursed his jailors and fellow prisoners with a vocabulary that was scarifyingly vitriolic His food was placed upon the bare earth as though he was a dog Sometimes he ate tearing at the chappaties like a famished animal gorging himself At other times he pelted those within reach with food

He was a young man in the early twenties and he had a pleasant smile in spite of the wild gleam in his dark eyes His back was scabrous and bloody for he'd roll viciously on the stony earth till he reopened the wounds inflicted by merciless warders His name was Rashid Ahmed and his story was commonplace He had loved a woman but on account of family poverty and blood relationship she had been married off to another man and Rashid Ahmed had taken it so badly that he had become mentally unbalanced and a few days before the nuptials had disappeared from his native town He had been arrested in a cinema in a town a hundred miles away Entering the cinema half naked the madman had taken a violent dislike to one of the actors supposedly bearing a resemblance to the elderly and wealthy man to whom his beloved Zubeida was now married and had tried to set the screen on fire That was Ahmed s only crime

One day while a couple of other prisoners tormented the crazed unfortunate I intervened and I thought that in his eyes was deep gratitude Apparently there was for he never forgot me as I was many years later to discover Then finally the authorities came to the conclusion that Rashid Ahmed was genuinely demented and handed him over to his aged father I was glad that his misery was over It had been a moving and pitiable case indeed * *

Six years later I was in the capital of a certain Islamic State Indian trade commissioner for independence had come to India and those of us who had battled for freedom found our reward Being a Muslim myself I frequented a certain famous restaurant and one day before I had really learned my way around a distinguished and important party entered I saw the proprietor bow and scrape I saw the waiters scurry around and presently I learned that it was a certain famous minister of state accompanied by his private secretary and his wife and a few other friends The private secretary s wife the only one of the three unveiled women present all of whom were dressed fashionably and went unveiled who was a real beauty—a woman of really striking looks so that she held and riveted your attention After an hour or so the party left Then one came hurrying back

The man who came back was a slim and dapper little man dressed in European clothes and I was surprised when he came straight up to me and with a friendly gesture held out his hand I stood up and accepted his hand but looked polite bewilderment

The stranger gave me a pleasant smile and said You don t remember me then Sir You were once very kind to me

I confessed that he had the advantage of me

He smiled again and now there was something strangely familiar about that pleasant smile He said You have

forgotten a lunatic who spent some weeks chained to a tree in a prison square in an Indian town?" And then he went on to tell me his story, after we had seated ourselves and ordered some refreshments.

His story was amazing and he spoke without reticence, even with a hint of pride.

"I have got on," he said, "thanks really to my wife's driving energy I myself am inclined to be lazy, but she—well, she is an ambitious lady and from a mere petty tradesman's son without means she has made me private secretary to—the Minister for the Interior. I think you saw my wife"

"A truly beautiful lady, Sir," I said "I congratulate you."

"Of course you can guess now that there was never any question of insanity. I was fighting for freedom—for freedom and Zubeida. It seems so long ago, but I still remember it all only too vividly. We had loved each other from childhood and so when they planned to marry Zubeida to Ali Abbas, the wealthy oil swine, we took things into our hands. There are times when destiny needs a little jogging. It was Zubeida, of course, who planned everything.

A fortnight before the actual ceremony I assumed madness. I would not remain at home, wandering about the streets apparently out of my mind, tearing my clothes to bits, working towards the alibi I knew I would later need. Then two days before the marriage I disappeared, catching a train to Moradabad. In Moradabad I went out of my way to make my presence known. I kept to the environment of the station but would disappear for some hours at a time. . . . It was necessary that people should get so used to me and my little disappearances that they would be willing enough to swear that I had never left the town. I wandered around stark naked, I sang and I cried. I ate and I reviled those who fed me. In a few days I had established myself as harmless, one of God's afflicted and I took care that stall-keepers and porters and so on should learn my name and remember that I came from Bareilly.

"It had been brilliantly planned by Zubeida and I found that I had an unconscious gift for histrionics. Shameful though my nudity was I found a certain pleasure in so successfully putting the act across. Then came the day when Zubeida was married to old Ali Abbas. I waited impatiently, for she had warned me that it was to be the fourth day. After the ceremony Zubeida was mysteriously taken ill. There are so many emetics that it is easy enough to convey to ignorant hakims that one has the cholera. That was what my lovely and faithful Zubeida did.

"On the fourth evening I caught a train to my Bareilly, but not without having changed into clean apparel and disguised myself by putting on the clothes as well as the manners of a villager. At Bareilly I waited at the back of the railway station till after midnight, smoking a few cigarettes."

"But I notice that you don't's smoke," I said.

"I don't, but that was an artistic little touch which Zubeida had arranged. Then I made my way quietly to Ali Abbas's house, carrying a few cigarette ends with me. Zubeida let me into the sleeping household and it was easy enough to do what we wanted—to cut old Ali Abbas's wealthy old throat. Then I dropped the cigarette ends in the room, so that it would be concluded that the murderer was a smoker, and all the family knew that I was not, and Zubeida handed me a bag containing certain jewels they kept in the room. I was back in Moradabad, stark naked again, raving mad, by dawn. That was that.

"When daylight dawned there was I wandering crazily about my usual haunts. But even that was not enough. That evening I entered a cinema and attempted to set the screen on fire. I was arrested and brought to jail, where I succeeded in establishing the fact that I was mentally unbalanced. Of course, there was the usual investigation when the murder was discovered, but although both Zubeida and I were the natural suspects they couldn't pin a thing on us. Half a dozen witnesses swore that I was in Moradabad on the night the murder had been committed. Zubeida herself was down with violent cholera, the murderer was obviously a smoker and the crime was apparently one which had robbery as its motive. Then Zubeida gave a totally different description of the man who had entered their room, bound her down and gagged her and then cut the throat of her husband when he had awakened.

"But how on earth did she succeed in tying herself up?"

"Why, I tied her up before I left, of course, and in such a way that no human being could say she could have done it herself But best of all was the fact that I in the meantime was in jail, a raving lunatic as it was later certified . . . I am not sorry' Rashid Ahmed shrugged his shoulders Abbas was a lascivious old to swine old enough to be Zubeida's father He died because of his lust

"And how has it come about that I find you here in——— secretary to the Minister of the Interior'

Rashid Ahmed sighed "Zubeida is all that a man can desire but she is ambitious for me It is a strain After my release from the asylum we left separately for Bombay and then from Bombay sailed and here we are She is a wealthy woman, for she got all old Abbas's money, and she thought it wiser not to wed in India It was sound sense

A man who murders for the woman he loves is not necessarily one to avoid The more I saw of Rashid Ahmed the more I liked him and the more I came to the conclusion * * * * that it was the Lady Zubeida, as she was now known in court circles, who was the driving force behind Ahmed He himself was essentially easy going, Macbeth to Lady Macbeth He wanted little enough but his wife and a life filled with simple pleasure and little mental energy

A few months later a change came over Rashid Ahmed He began to look a genuinely worried man when I questioned him he sighed and murmured.

"Ambition, my friend My wife's ambitions—that is the trouble Zubeida now wishes me to become Minister for the Interior—or should I say that she wishes to become the wife of a man who is the Minister for the Interior"

"I should not think it would be very difficult? You have had a little practice in disposing of people who stood in your way"

"No doubt,' agreed Ahmed 'It is not arranging that little matter which worries me It is what will happen after I become the Minister Being——'s private secretary, it is natural enough that I will succeed to the portfolio The trouble is, my friend, that I already find my duties too irksome and onerous I am all for a life of peace and I am convinced that as Minister I should be a failure It is a difficult position. The Sheikh is an irascible man built in the old tradition and he has his own playful and traditional way of getting rid of inefficient ministers No, I fear it will not do This time I must put down my foot Stepping into the Minister's shoes will assuredly be putting a noose around my own neck"

Then I went on a prolonged tour and did not return to the capital for many weeks On the afternoon of my return I dropped into my usual restaurant. There seemed to be unusual activity and like other impatient patrons I could get no attention so being on good terms with the proprietor I sought him out. I found him in the midst of his chefs, looking very worried and harrassed. He said apologetically:

'I am desolated, Sir, but what can be done! We have orders to cater for the marriage of the Lady Zubeida and the Minister for the Interior this evening I dare not displease the lady. Everything must be perfect She is a beautiful— woman but a determined one, Sir"

"I don't understand The Lady Zubeida is already married Where is Rashid Ahmed?'

The proprietor shrugged "He met with a most unfortunate accident. He was sent on a secret mission and enemy agents broke into his carriage at night and slit his throat from ear to ear . . . " He looked significantly at me and added. "It is the story that was published in the newspapers It was most sad Rashid Ahmed was one of my best patrons. A charming man, Sir, but, alack! quite unambitious

'So the ambitious little lady becomes Ministress of the Interior today! A lady with a will"

The proprietor gave me a significant glance and dropped his voice. "Today she becomes Ministress of the Interior Tomorrow she may decide to marry the old Sheikh himself . . . When a woman is beautiful and has brains and ambition she has the strength of ten Who knows, Sir, perhaps some day the Minister for the Interior might go on a secret mission himself!'

TRADE UNIONS

By M G K

THE late Harold Laski was one of the keenest thinkers in the British Labour Party In the Spring of 1949 he was invited to deliver the Sydney Hillman Foundation Lectures in the United States These addresses have inspired the present volume*

The Changing Significance of Trade Unionism is an account of the historical evolution of Trade Unionism in the west While originally Trade Unions may have had the primary purpose of job control and many Unions still busy themselves with the social conditions of their members British Trade Unions constituted the foundation on which the Socialist Party was built while in Russia the Unions lost the power of strike and became merely the consultative machinery of the one Party Government But whatever the form of Government the authorities reserved the power to intervene in labour disputes in order to maintain vital public services Such power Laski contends is used both by Government and the Judiciary against Labour but not against employers These are pet themes cropping up again and again in the course of all the lectures Anyway admittedly the status and influence of Unions have increased since the end of the first World War in all countries except where there was successful counter revolution as in Germany Italy and Spain under dictators But the impact of the Russian revolution on trade unionism is of a different order It awakened in workers the consciousness that mass unemployment is unnecessary and established the urgency of democratic socialist planning With much of this we may agree But when he proceeds to demolish the view of the harmony of interests between employers and employed and yet treats the skilled capacity of the worker as capital which must be compensated if not used as much as the capitalist is compensated on nationalisation it does appear that after all this harmony is not so illusory The evolution of harmonious relations between the parties in American industry when bonus shares are presented to workmen and incentive thereby given for increased production for the common good is a proper answer to Laski's rejection of the theory of harmony

Trade Unions and the Public Laski returns to his thesis that State interference in labour disputes is invariably on the side of the employer and that the public was and perhaps still is apathetic in ensuring equality of treatment between employers and workers And here Laski would justify sympathetic strikes on the ground that it is legal and moral to create a general strike if it is in furtherance of a trade dispute Theoretically this stand is indisputable but there is an important condition precedent to it that neither the employer nor the worker should be his own advocate and judge and that where collective bargaining and contract cannot resolve an intractable trade dispute the only outside agency that can step in viz the Government should do so It is inevitable that in countries in which the economy is based on capitalist doctrines such intervention may occasionally and even often both on the executive and the judicial planes be consciously or unconsciously tilted in favour of capital The fault here is in the agency and not in the system though Laski thinks that with all its shortcomings the British pattern of a Government based on trade unions can satisfy the deficiencies rather than the American analogy of union sponsored power groups

The discussion on Trade Unions and the Law relates to the effort of the Courts ever since the seventeenth century to promote freedom of trade and thus to regard all limits upon freedom of contract with a growing malevolence The Common Law was interpreted to mean that a monopoly of capital restraining trade and even boycotting third parties trying to break the monopoly is justified whereas a similar combination of labour and more especially secondary strikes are declared illegal In other words although it is unpleasant to say it in so many words there is one law for the rich and another for the poor This cannot be denied as history and to some extent

* Trade Unions in the New Society By Harold Laski Allen & Unwin London

even as current history But once again the remedy is to evolve sound trade union practices and law and create a healthy and virile machinery for conciliation and not decry the system It is certainly untrue in this country to claim as Laski does that the strike weapon is presented as the final lever It is conveniently forgotten that the vast majority of trade union leaders will recommend any reasonable compromise for acceptance rather than run the risk in any strike of real magnitude On the contrary we are aware of many strikes which have no economic significance and are meant only to bolster up the waning prestige of a leader or to establish the comparative supremacy of a political party Laski is not unaware of such situations and condemns unwholesome practices but still presses for labour building up a political party evidently because such a party can frame labour legislation from a stand point that may not appeal to any other

The last article on Trade Unions and Democracy describes the inter war social revolution under which the era of unfettered competition was and is being substituted by planned public regulation because of the disproportion between the forces of production and the relations of production It is the extension of real democracy to the field of economic relations It involves increasing association of all agencies of production in the functions of production Labour should be interested in the efficiency of itself and also of management because higher standards of living must in the last resort be related to higher production The adjustment of the new relations can be facilitated only if the trade union movement accepts a political task along with its economic function Then alone will real democracy be established in the world

Political thinkers and students of economics will find Laski's—probably last—effort stimulating It is a plea for a new social order where after long exploitation workers will take over the helms of Government It is an appeal to trade unions to organise together into one political party in order to achieve this end If it succeeded—with admitted limitations—in Great Britain it might succeed elsewhere Only in this country with few political parties and plenty of political cliches controlled by self seeking havenots trying to replace the haves the prospect of trade union leaders sinking their differences fancied or real in an effort to achieve real democratic socialism appears remote To many of us Laski's theories appear unexceptionable and worth trying But more than that his lucid description of the futility of trade unionism in Russia the weaknesses of nationalised industries under any Government on party lines and the effects of unsound trade unionism on labour are thought provoking in the present context of India

POEM IN ABSENCE

BY LT R L COOK

And now that wintry circumstance
Has withered you and me apart
I lie upon a narrow bed
Pulling the roots out of my heart

Watching them slowly bleed and stain
The bitter thoughts that bower me
Where I lie on a narrow bed
Wrapped in a shroud of memory

But soon O soon the worm of time
Will nose apart the brittle pall
And lying on this narrow bed
I'll turn to face the flowerless wall

This barrier of space and time
Pressing around below above
And sealing off my narrow bed
From where you are my love my love

So where you are reach out across
The wounding wall to intertwine
The tendrils of your heart my love
With this uprooted heart of mine

HINDI AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

BY MR R SRINIVASAN M A

THE decision of the Madras Government to allow choice between Hindi and an additional craft or approved activity according to the desires and talents of students is not based on a realistic appraisal of the issues involved It fails to take note of the changes that are in the offing in so far as they relate to the official language of the Indian Union In 15 years time Hindi shall become the official language of the Union, and therefore the language of communication between Madras and other States and Madras and the Centre The President may authorise even during this period the use of Hindi in addition to English for any of the official purposes of the Union In 1955, a Commission shall be constituted to make recommendations (1) for the progressive use of Hindi and (2) for restricting the use of English for all or any of the official purposes of the Union A second Commission shall be constituted in 1960 to further report on the same questions Business in Dominion Parliament shall be transacted in Hindi or in English but the provision regarding English is a transitory provision which would expire after 15 years

That even after the decision to have Hindi as the official Language of the Union, that language is not to be taught as a compulsory subject for study and examination in Madras must occasion grave misgivings about the future of South Indians At present a large majority of them are ignorant of Hindi and the Government decision does nothing to remedy this deficiency The place allotted to Hindi should form the core of Govern ment s language policy statement The task of making up the leeway of hundreds of years in 15 years and catching up with those whose mother tongue is Hindi, should lend a new urgency to the problem of learning Hindi

By common consent the Constituent Assembly agreed to the time limit of 15 years to enable (1) Non Hindi speaking people to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language so as not to be left behind those whose mother tongue is Hindi (2) Hindi scholars to standardise Hindi spelling grammar script etc, to prepare a standard lexicon containing legal, political constitutional scientific and technological terms so as to make Hindi an efficient medium of communication so that it may successfully fulfil the needs and requirements of administration high educa tion, research philosophy law as well as the varied and complicated urges of national and social life' It is against cold realities such as these that the decision of the Madras Government should be judged If in 15 years time South Indians fail to catch up with the progress made by others they would have none but themselves to blame They should get the measure of the task confronting them and proceed to fit themselves into the All India picture as it would be after 15 years

The University Commission has recommended that Hindi should be studied as a second language from the secondary school stage and continued at the University Further, where the students mother tongue is not the same as the Federal language (as in the case of students in the South) Hindi should be studied from the first form The Education Minister Maulana Azad, has already announced that Government have decided to introduce compulsory study of Hindi in all schools at the end of the junior basic stage and continue it throughout the pre secondary period Madras must fall in line with the rest of the country

The Hindi ' States are going full steam ahead They have declared Hindi to be their State language and have made no secret of their intention to use it in Secretariat Law Courts and Legislature even during the interregnum of 15 years In pursuance of Art 346 Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat Governments are using Hindi as the language for inter communication In the former State, it is proposed to complete the change over from English to Hindi by 1951 In U P, Hindi is a compulsory subject for exami nations conducted by the State Public Service Commission

In fact their grievance is that the period of 15 years is too long, that steps have not been taken to introduce Hindi in the Central Administration, that the

official language decision has been hedged round with so many conditions as to limit the scope of Hindi They want Hindi to occupy the place of English long before the stipulated period of 15 years that Hindi scholars should be placed in charge of key posts Advocates of Hindi in Patna petitioned Dr Rajendra Prasad when he was President of the Constituent Assembly to amend the language clauses so that Hindi with its numerals may be immediately declared as the National language of India Sri Purushottamdas Tandon wants the introduction of Hindi immediately in all Government departments to be made an issue in the ensuing general elections It is easy to see that most of the members of the 1955 commission (also of the 1960) will solidly plump for immediate introduction of Hindi and the representatives of non Hindi areas will find themselves powerless to resist their combined might

Even non Hindi States are taking giant strides towards the objective of switching over to Hindi Both Punjabi and Hindi are court languages of P E P S U — in 3 districts Hindi is the Principal court language The East Punjab Public Service Commission have declared Hindi in Nagari script and Punjabi in Gurumukhi script compulsory subjects for competitive examinations from this year In East Punjab—as in Assam—the popular demand is to make Hindi a provincial language In East Punjab Hindi is a compulsory subject for Matriculation Examination In Bombay all complaints in the Police Department are recorded in Hindi

The question of medium of instruction has a very important bearing on that of change over from English to Indian languages in administrative legal and other spheres The Vice Chancellors of the six South Indian Universities are of the view that there were many drawbacks and difficulties in changing the medium of instruction and that a compulsory study of English should be insisted upon and encouraged at the University stage The Madras University Syndicate has opined that compulsory elimination of English will be detrimental not only to the interests of students but to the larger interests of the country that unilateral action on the part of Universities will retard progress that Universities should not take hasty steps in choosing a language in the interests of students but should encourage them to learn Hindi and that common action is an integral part of the efforts to spread Hindi

Unfortunately other Universities have not paid any heed to these wise word Nagpur and Saugar Universities have introduced Hindi and Marathi media at post graduate stage the medium of instruction and of examination will be Hindi and English will continue to be the medium for Science subjects in the absence of suitable text books in Hindi when these books become available even technical subjects will be taught through the medium of Hindi Hindi has been placed on a par with Regional languages for purposes of instruction and of examination from 1952 In Delhi University steps are being taken to substitute English by Hindi In U P the General English paper set at the pre medical test for admission to the I year class of Sarojini Naidu College has been abolished The Medical Faculty is considering steps to ensure that Hindi is the medium of all examinations conducted by it within three to five years Matric and Inter examinations will be conducted solely through the medium of Hindi from 1953 In the Agra University from 1952 the B A question papers shall be in Hindi or English but for B A and B Com students a compulsory paper in General Hindi shall be set

The question of the medium of instruction should be viewed as an over all All India problem which should not be solved piecemeal Dr Rajendra Prasad feels that the work of introducing the Regional languages as medium of instruction should not be slowed down at all If the Universities and colleges do not start teaching through Indian languages immediately it will not be possible to replace English even after the period of 15 years Maulana Azad says that the question will be decided after the University Commission reports have been fully examined by Government and

Universities themselves but as far as he could say it will be the State language obviously The Education Minister of U P. wants higher education throughout India to be through the medium of Hindi

Would English continue to form an important part of our educational structure? Should Hindi, once it is developed become the medium in all universities? The University Commission has recommended that the medium should be the Regional language with the option to use Hindi for some subjects or for all Further, the students at the higher secondary and University stages have to be conversant with their mother tongue Hindi and English It has set its face resolutely against any hasty replacement of English

More important than laying down that the change over from English to Indian Languages should be effected by 1952 or '53, is to take steps to make successor languages sufficiently advanced as to serve as suitable media and prepare text books of the required standard The Universities must fall in on a unified system, as in the absence of an uniform policy, the future of students is being thrown into confusion Is the mere coining of Indian equivalents for terms used in Physics or Zoology enough to enable Professors—themselves educated in English—to teach in Indian languages? It is said that higher technical studies throughout India should be through the State language Many scholars and scientists have expressed the opinion that Indian languages are not so far well equipped as to be able to express scientific terms clearly and that "the difficulty of writing books on science for use in the colleges in Indian languages was great, they could never probably translate into Indian languages a sufficient amount of scientific material to make science truly available in those languages' If those who have very elementary knowledge of Hindi are to prosecute higher studies in that language, the handicap of learning through the medium of foreign language—undue emphasis on cramming mark carrying and examination passing information—will continue to persist These problems which press upon us require common action in the light of common public interests.

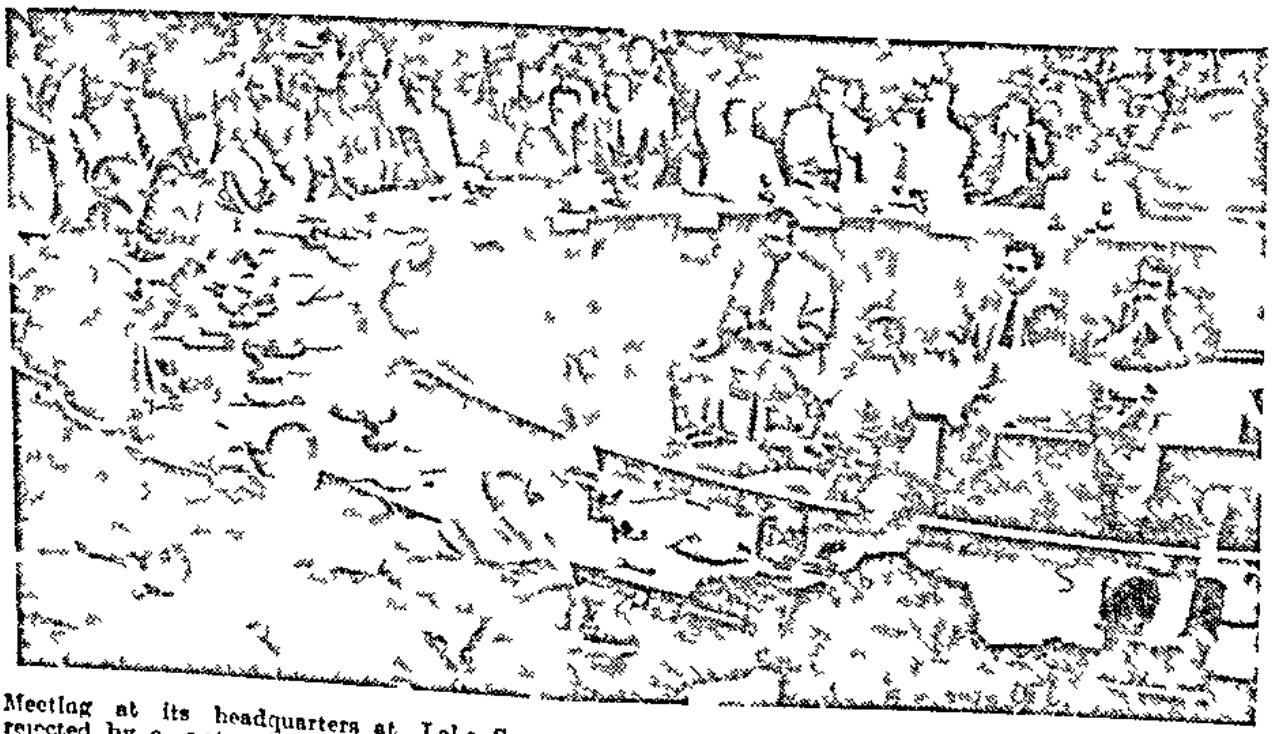
It is good to note that teaching of English is not to be discontinued in Madras Apart from other considerations, English is to be used for all official purposes for 15 years even after this period, Parliament may by law provide for the use of English language for such purposes as may be specified in the law As all decisions, rulings, judgments, authoritative texts of all bills and amendments, all acts, ordinances, rules, regulations orders and bye laws are in English, a sound knowledge of English will always be essential Study of English should never be considered to be anti national In Bombay, teaching of English in the first three standards of secondary schools was abolished the Report for the years 1947 19 says that a new approach towards the teaching of English will have to be evolved with a view to giving pupils within a period of 4 years a good command over English so far as ability to understand, read and speak English is concerned Why, then, was teaching of English abolished precipitately Is it possible to achieve in 4 years what was being done in 7 years?

The Education Minister of Madras has held out a promise that sufficient scope will be given to the study of Sanskrit and that those who wanted to study it could do so But in a recent editorial, the *Hindu* says "In the past two years, Sanskrit sections have been closed down in many schools on the ground that too few students were forthcoming with the result that even the minority who would have taken the language were prevented from doing so "The provision in the Language Articles that the vocabulary of the Hindi language shall be drawn primarily from Sanskrit is a great gain to the South 'It is a matter of history' remarked Mahatmaji once that contact in the old days in the South and North used to be maintained by means of Sanskrit Even South Indian languages have adopted a very large number of Sanskrit words so much so that I have not found it difficult, whenever I have gone South, to get a gist of what was being said in all the four languages' And again 'the reason why Hindi is so ridiculously easy is that all the languages including even the four

South Indian spoken by Hindus in India contain a large number of Sanskrit words To expunge Sanskrit words from Tamil is a suicidal policy Racial outlook should not warp the vision of Tamilians

Recently it was announced in the *Hindu* that the Departmental tests (in Madras) in Hindustani which was hitherto in Urdu script might be conducted in Nagari script also with effect from the examinations to be held in December 1950 The myth of the existence of any Language called Hindustani has been fully exploded A resolution advocating adoption of Hindustani could secure only 14 votes in the Constituent Assembly another favouring Urdu script only 12 votes There is absolutely no justification for any test in Hindustani in Urdu script The test should be in sanskritised Hindi and in Nagari script only

Soon the scope for choice for various posts will be restricted to those with a high degree of literacy in Hindi Henceforth much more than 'some' knowledge of Hindi will be required True unlike the people of Hindi areas whose mother tongue is the same as the Federal language South Indians are in the unenviable position of having to learn many languages But impelled by the urgency of the situation study of Hindi must be made compulsory in all schools Isolated efforts in a limited sphere by prachar sabhas cannot lead to satisfatory results Schools Colleges and Universities must draw up a scheme of priorities and Hindi must be given a very high place in the list of languages to be learnt Or else South Indians will be at a very serious disadvantage in competing for jobs in maintaining contact with men of other States and must generally be content with a back seat in the Central Administration in All India affairs and in the Dominian Parliament The Language Policy must therefore be realistically modified to provide for a long period of compulsory teaching of Hindi



Meeting at its headquarters at Lake Success New York the United Nations Security Council rejected by a vote of 8 to 3 the ruling by USSR Delegate Jacob A Malik President of the Council for the month of August that the Chinese Nationalist Government's delegate was not entitled to sit in the Council The photograph shows the representatives of China Cuba Ecuador Egypt France Norway the United Kingdom and the United States with raised hands as they voted against the Malik ruling

THE ART OF ABHAY KHATAU*

By Mr G VENKATACHALAM

———:o:———

WHAT is genius? Is it hard work or heredity? Or, is it memory? It may be any one of these or all put together, and even something more. Genius cannot easily be defined or explained. There are geniuses who take "infinite pains" to become one, there are others who inherit it from their parents or from the family. There is a third category which could only be explained by "memory." But more of course, of past efforts and achievements, even of past attempts and failures This presupposes past existence and memory of past life or lives There is nothing new or strange in this idea or belief more than half of the human race have believed in it since the dawn of human mind, and most great thinkers and artists have intuitively accepted it

For how can one intelligently explain a phenomenon like Abhay Khatau, the boy painter, who took the art world of India by storm a few years ago? He was hardly eighteen when he held a "one man" exhibition of his works in Bombay and compelled recognition as "a new phenomenon in the world of art" from critics and connoisseurs In sheer number alone it was one of the largest ever seen in Bombay, the variety of themes presented and the richness of the styles and techniques seen baffled both art students and laymen. Puzzle and amazement gripped the visitors, academicians and art teachers stood dumb before those astonishing attempt of a boy genius

For genius he certainly was, there was no doubt Only a born genius could have produced that freakish art which, both in form and content, revealed unsuspected depths of creative genius And whence this genius? Abhay Khatau had no need to work hard for anything, much less for art, for he was born rich, enormously rich His heredity was of a different kind, for he comes from a business community noted for commercial enterprise Though wealth has given this progressive caste a certain amount of taste for appreciating art and beauty, it has not produced any outstanding creative thinkers or artists. Abhay is a rare exception

Abhay, the only son of his father, was born in 1927, and had his early education as a child in Western lands. As a boy, he preferred paints to books and spent his childhood days scribbling, drawing, sketching and painting. The instinct to play with colours seems to have born with him and his boyhood dreams found fantastic shapes in lines and colours as he played with his brush Some of them were wild and weird, like the masterpieces of the "moderns" and some were incredibly conventional and sophisticated like the works of academy trained painters Even now, in his matured works, this unbalanced character, this uneven nature, is to be seen

As a child, he was too precocious, especially where art was concerned; and when he was taken to Europe at a very early age for treatment and education, the genius in him sprouted overnight like some tropical flower which blossoms into full fragrance and beauty at the magic touch of the cool moonbeams. It was lucky he was born rich; struggle for life might have smothered his budding genius His extensive travels in Europe enriched his mind and heart, and he reacted to his boyhood environments in a wonderful way. His soul began to expand under the influence of European music, and the opera had a special fascination for him.

Abhay is essentially a musician first—though he never made any serious attempt to become one—and a painter next. His paintings are visual music, they are more coloured rhapsodies than picture compositions He hears sounds before he sees colours,—so I imagine—and all his efforts at painting are mere translation of sound notes into colour notes His

*A chapter from "Present-day Painters of India" by Manu Thacker and G Venkatachalam Sudha Publications, Shantaram Lane, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

2 The Korean war led timid and unscrupulous people to hoard and to put up prices

3 Large numbers of refugees in Bengal and Assam had to be fed

4 The tremendous earthquake in Assam which not only ruined the crop in many places but also broke up the entire communication system by sinking roads and railway tracks

5 Some people started scares of famine in Bengal and Bihar which added greatly to the difficulties of the situation

6 Difficulty of availability of transport facilities due to havy strain on them

But we should have no suspicion or doubt in the sincere efforts of our Government to achieve the end in view Just a few weeks back Pandit Nehru called a Conference of Chief Ministers and Food Ministers This Conference decided

1 That procurement and production must be organized on a war footing and dealt with both by the Centre and States as matters of highest priority

2 That wherever administrative machinery is weak it is to be overhauled and strengthened

3 That procurement should be intensified in all the States both surplus and deficit

4 That the systems of procurement have to be coordinated and rigorously enforced

In a recent broadcast the Prime Minister said that the position has been and is serious Nevertheless it is absurd and foolish he said to talk of famine There is at present enough food to go round and our chief difficulty is the heavy strain on our transport with the result that scarcity pockets had been created where it took some time to reach The gravity of the situation he said demands that we face it in the spirit of war efforts and with the full determination to overcome every difficulty that comes in our way

The pessimists have no faith in the date They say that it might for India to be self sufficient in food had the calamities in the last two months not obstructed our way They hold that irrigation is not enough and development schemes intended to reduce the uncertainties of monsoons have been hamstrung by a financial policy, which in spite of all pretensions to economy can still permit uncontrolled expenditure in directions in which it produces little tangible return The country is committed to an expenditure of Rs 10 crores a year on the cost of the staff employed on food operations by Centre and the States Government should see that Grow More Food Campaign is not on paper only but real and sincere efforts must be undertaken But any reasonably thinking man can not endorse these views No work can be done without spending money Moreover the staff employed on food operations by the Centre and the States would have all been unemployed and would have created another problem

We should remember in the words of Nehru that the international situation continues to be critical and no one knows what the future might unfold We must therefore not rely too much upon imports from outside Indeed we must think even more than before of fulfilling our programme of self sufficiency not only because that is good for us and we have pledged ourselves to it but also because the compulsion of events demands it

It becomes very urgent for the citizens of India to recognize the seriousness of the situation We should whole heartedly cooperate with the Government to achieve self sufficiency by the end of 1951 and do not create any scare alarm or panic which may strengthen the hands of the hoarders and profiteers We should feel that we can and are capable of combating the situation with confidence We should bring home the words of Nehru our pledge of self sufficiency by the end of 1951 It was not a propaganda stunt but the firm policy of the Government behind which lay a great deal of thinking and well planned effort and see that the pledge does not fail

KAMBA RAMAYANAM

By "S. R."

THE late Mr. V. V. S. Aiyar was not merely a fiery patriot but a great scholar, learned in many languages and acquainted with many literatures. His chief love was, however, Tamil literature. To Tamil literature he devoted himself with a passionate earnestness and zest that were altogether unique in his time, even among those of his contemporaries whose patriotism burned as brightly as his. This love expressed itself in a desire to make known to the world at large the treasures of wisdom and beauty in Tamil literature, through translation of the classics of that literature into English. He brought out early in his literary career, a translation of Tiruvalluvar's Kural in English which was not merely a *tour de force* itself but indicated Tiruvalluvar's claim to rank among the thinkers of the world. This translation is now out of print. The loud protestations of devotion to Tamil literature that with a significant periodicity, find their way into the Press accord ill with the sad neglect to which we consign so many works of scholarship.

It is a matter for profound thankfulness that the Delhi Tamil Sangam has edited and published, from out of the literary remains of Sri V. V. S. Aiyar the study of the Kamba Ramayana, under review. It is unmistakably a venture of faith on its part. We earnestly trust its faith will be vindicated at least by the Tamil public.

Sri V. V. S. Aiyar, approaches the *Kamba Ramayana* primarily from a literary and artistic standpoint. This is noteworthy because it is an approach altogether unusual, if not also discredited and frowned upon in India in regard to the established classics of our literature and culture. It is well to remember that literary criticism of the applied kind, is somewhat lacking in India, though in our critical theory and poetic practice we have anticipated and even advanced well beyond the West. And we do well to remember also that the Rt. Hon. Sastri was the target of attack from various schools of orthodoxy for subjecting Valmiki's Rama to some of the tests literary criticism applies to an artist's characters. V. V. S. Aiyar is not merely a literary critic. Often indeed he, like the Rt. Hon. Sastri, confuses the search for moral meaning with the search for poetic beauty. This is not to be deplored altogether, for literature especially literature of the highest kind is a commentary and an illumination of life and often achieves the highest poetic beauty at the same time that it affords the profoundest lesson for life. The Ramayana of Kamban and even more the Ramayana of Valmiki are a matchlessly complete course of education in the meaning and beauty of life. And men like the Rt. Hon. Sastri and V. V. S. Aiyar, do well by us to expound in relation to their rich experience of life and literature the special features of Kamban's or Valmiki's handling of some vital issue or problem of our daily lives.

Sri V. V. S. Aiyar has however a few of the extravagances of the pioneer, in his estimate of Kamban's standing in the literature of the world as well as in a few other matters. He claims for Kamban's epic a place equal to that of Homer's *Iliad* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Few would care to quarrel with him on this. But he makes bold to assert that Kamban not *merely* equals but surpasses Valmiki, Kamban's acknowledged original. We would only say that there is no need to arrive at a precise assessment of the exact positions of Valmiki and Kamban relatively to each other. There are many kinds of greatness in literature. Kamban's work is indeed entitled to a high place among the great masterpieces of the world's literature. But this is not because he is the equal or superior of Valmiki but because he has, in his way, given immortal expression to the ageless saga of Rama. His way is not greater or less than that of Valmiki. It is vastly different from Valmiki's.

Valmiki's poetry has the atmosphere of the tremendous and awe-inspiring scenes and forces of mother Nature. It has the authentic quality of something with which mere human activity seems to have little to do. Kamban is everywhere the careful, conscientious, fastidious sensuous artist. Valmiki has a vigour and strength, almost primitive, untamed and untutored. Kamban proceeds by

colours pulsate with tones and his paintings are musical patterns in line and colour His compositions are not so rhythmical as symphonic and structural a distinct character of Western music For an Indian, he is very European in his art Even his Indian themes have a Western outlook and treatment He is a paradox and a puzzle like his pictures

Rich as is his art it is quaint in many respects There is definitely an abnormality about his art as there was also William Blake and his drawings and in Khatau's weird compositions and riotous colourings we see, as in Blake's suggestions and intimations of deeper consciousnesses and other worlds of forms and colours It is good that he was allowed to grow after his own desires without strict schooling or discipline, for that would have been the death of the creative artist in him He was lucky not only in his parents who encouraged him to develop along his own æsthetical way, but also in his art master Palin Dutt, who never attempted to impose his style or method on his pupil but handled him gently as Confucius would his followers—leave them severely alone

Abhay Khatau is as daring and reckless in his imagination as he is unconventional and unfettered in his art He has no fear of any isms 'schools' styles' or techniques He refuses to be labelled or catalogued as either this or that He wants to be himself paint as he likes, grow like a flower, natural free and direct His 'God given' instinct and talent find their natural expression in dreaming and painting and he has an immense quantity of pictures to his credit His themes range from a bursting bud to a solar eclipse, he paints portraits with the same gusto as he paints a big opera scene, a *prima donna* with all her paraphernalia interests him as much as a naked fakir He paints women in moods and nature in rage with the same detached emotion, as he paints a sun lit valley or a gorgeous monsoon sky To him subject matter is as interesting as patterning, and he is at home with abstract art as he is with decorative art His genius is versatile and brooks no restraint or limitation He handles both oils and water colour with the same ease and mastery of a trained artist and his pictures glow with an unearthly light and beauty

Young Khatau is an interesting study in psychology both as man and artist For one born rich, he is extremely democratic and unaffected He lives a simple life with just a couple of friends to keep him company He is mentally alert, emotionally rich æsthetically sensible and sensitive and spiritually aspiring The impression he made on me, when I first met him as a boy at his first exhibition in Bombay, was that of a shy silent sensitive lad with a lot of pent up energy awaiting release and when I met him recently, after his return from Europe, he seemed quite a different person, more self conscious, vital and expressive He was full of enthusiasm of his visit to Italy, where he spent most of his time exhibiting in Rome his works for which he went quite prepared, and visiting art galleries attending operas meeting artists and discussing art problems

This visit to Italy France and England has opened his eyes to the real nature of his own art He saw in the old master pieces of Italian art a reflection, paler and poorer but promising reflection of course, of his own creative efforts He found something in common with those masters their vision, their spontaniety of creation, their vigorous forms and their originality of conception and execution Operas were his early love and now as a youth he found fresh inspiration in them, for his own paintings revealed something of the dynamic dramatic nature of the operas He has painted several versions of the operas full of movement and action 'Lucia di Lammemoor", 'Carmen," 'Madame Butterfly,' "Norma', "Turandot," are some of his best pieces, rich with intense feeling and pulsating colours

His Indian themes are no less convincing and impressive "Indian Ballet" is a strikingly powerful composition full of dramatic effects He has used the stage technique of levels" to the utmost advantage, and his grouping of the dancing figures is worthy of a born choreographer There is another version of the same theme with more simple

decorative effects but with more animated figures His landscape studies are veritable moods of nature quiet and peaceful stormy and wrathful rugged and beautiful His sketches of Indian village scenes peasants markets and cattle are delightfully drawn with an eye for impression and not details

His figure studies too especially portraits are attractive not so much for their finish or truthfulness as for their truthfulness of character study His colours are at times loud and crude but the total effect is pleasing He would make a great hit as a pastelist if he took to that medium His colours require a little toning down a little more restraint in his drawings to give his pictures a more esthetic appeal As works of art they are vital naive sincere and direct the qualities of true art Abbay Khatau is hardly 28 now and one can confidently expect great things from him in the future

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD

BY MR LAXMAN SWAROOP PORWAL M Com

Head of the Department of Com Chirana College Chirana Rajasthan

NEARLY seventeen months ago our Government inaugurated a programme of self sufficiency in March 1949 There was an unfavourable balance of trade due to high cost of imports of food No country can trade on road to prosperity unless it is self sufficient in food clothing and shelter the bare necessities of life Nearly 5 years have elapsed since the termination of the World War II yet there are no chances of returning to normalcy Prices are rocketing up like anything due to undesirable deeds of black marketeers hoarders profiteers and above all owing to lesser production and discontented labour Realising all this the Government decided not to import any amount of food after the end of 1951

With half that period now over it is opportune time to assess the progress made so far and the prospects for the rest of the period A communique has also been issued by the Government last month on the achievements in 1949 50 providing the data on which this assessment can be based The following table gives the additional production figures in the last three years due to the campaign

Year	Production in lakh tons
1947 48	6 86
1948 49	7 71
1949 50	9 35

The Government claims that so much has been achieved due to Grow More Food drive reclamation of waste lands providing more irrigation facilities use of manure and fertilizers The yield in 1949 50 is much encouraging

Food imports in 1949 were also proportionately less costly than 1948 and procurement figures have also been on the increase But one should not be misguided by the above statement because Statistics can prove everything The amount of food imports in 1949 were greater in volume than 1948

The import programme for the year 1950 was 1 5 million tons but due to the adverse conditions prevailing it has not been raised to 2 million tons The reasons may be summarised as given below

1 Nature has been most unkind to us during these two months and more

(*a*) Premature rains ruined the main crops in North Bihar and then flood in the Kosi river

(*b*) The South east monsoon failed for the third time in several districts of Madras

(*c*) There were floods also in Saurashtra and lack of rain in three Bombay districts

These vagaries of nature suddenly made an immediate difference to the food situation in these provinces

2 The Korean war led timid and unscrupulous people to hoard and to put up prices

3 Large numbers of refugees in Bengal and Assam had to be fed

4 The tremendous earthquake in Assam which not only ruined the crop in many places but also broke up the entire communication system by sinking roads and railway tracks

5 Some people started scares of famine in Bengal and Bihar which added greatly to the difficulties of the situation

6 Difficulty of availability of transport facilities due to havy strain on them

But we should have no suspicion or doubt in the sincere efforts of our Government to achieve the end in view Just a few weeks back Pandit Nehru called a Conference of Chief Ministers and Food Ministers This Conference decided

1 That procurement and production must be organized on a war footing and dealt with both by the Centre and States as matters of highest priority

2 That wherever administrative machinery is weak it is to be overhauled and strengthened

3 That procurement should be intensified in all the States both surplus and deficit

4 That the systems of procurement have to be coordinated and rigorously enforced

In a recent broadcast the Prime Minister said that the position has been and is serious Nevertheless it is absurd and foolish he said to talk of famine There is at present enough food to go round and our chief difficulty is the heavy strain on our transport with the result that scarcity pockets had been created where it took some time to reach The gravity of the situation he said demands that we face it in the spirit of war efforts and with the full determination to overcome every difficulty that comes in our way

The pessimists have no faith in the target date They say that it might been possible for India to be self sufficient in food had the calamities in the last two months not obstructed our way They hold that irrigation is not enough and development schemes intended to reduce the uncertainties of monsoons have been hamstrung by a financial policy, which in spite of all pretensions to economy can still permit uncontrolled expenditure in directions in which it produces little tangible return The country is committed to an expenditure of Rs 10 crores a year on the cost of the staff employed on food operations by Centre and the States Government should see that Grow More Food Campaign is not on paper only but real and sincere efforts must be undertaken But any reasonably thinking man can not endorse these views No work can be done without spending money Moreover the staff employed on food operations by the Centre and the States would have all been unemployed and would have created another problem

We should remember, in the words of Nehru that the international situation continues to be critical and no one knows what the future might unfold We must therefore not rely too much upon imports from outside Indeed we must think even more than before of fulfilling our programme of self sufficiency, not only because that is good for us and we have pledged ourselves to it but also because the compulsion of events demands it

It becomes very urgent for the citizens of India to recognize the seriousness of the situation We should whole heartedly cooperate with the Government to achieve self sufficiency by the end of 1951 and do not create any scare alarm or panic which may strengthen the hands of the hoarders and profiteers We should feel that we can and are capable of combating the situation with confidence We should bring home the words of Nehru " our pledge of self sufficiency by the end of 1951 It was not a propaganda stunt but the firm policy of the Government behind which lay a great deal of thinking and well planned effort," and see that the pledge does not fail

KAMBA RAMAYANAM

By "S. R."

THE late Mr. V. V. S. Aiyar was not merely a fiery patriot but a great scholar, learned in many languages and acquainted with many literatures. His chief love was, however, Tamil literature. To Tamil literature he devoted himself with a passionate earnestness and zest that were altogether unique in his time, even among those of his contemporaries whose patriotism burned as brightly as his. This love expressed itself in a desire to make known to the world at large the treasures of wisdom and beauty in Tamil literature, through translation of the classics of that literature into English. He brought out early in his literary career, a translation of Tiruvalluvar's Kural in English which was not merely a *tour de force* itself but indicated Tiruvalluvar's claim to rank among the thinkers of the world. This translation is now out of print The loud protestations of devotion to Tamil literature that with a significant periodicity, find their way into the Press accord ill with the sad neglect to which we consign so many works of scholarship.

It is a matter for profound thankfulness that the Delhi Tamil Sangam has edited and published, from out of the literary remains of Sri V. V. S. Aiyar the study of the Kamba Ramayana, under review. It is unmistakably a venture of faith on its part. We earnestly trust its faith will be vindicated at least by the Tamil public.

Sri V. V. S. Aiyar, approaches the *Kamba Ramayana* primarily from a literary and artistic standpoint. This is noteworthy because it is an approach altogether unusual, if not also discredited and frowned upon in India in regard to the established classics of our literature and culture. It is well to remember that literary criticism of the applied kind, is somewhat lacking in India, though in our critical theory and poetic practice we have anticipated and even advanced well beyond the West. And we do well to remember also that the Rt. Hon. Sastri was the target of attack from various schools of orthodoxy for subjecting Valmiki's Rama to some of the tests literary criticism applies to an artist's characters. V. V. S. Aiyar is not merely a literary critic. Often indeed he, like the Rt. Hon. Sastri, confuses the search for moral meaning with the search for poetic beauty. This is not to be deplored altogether, for literature especially literature of the highest kind is a commentary and an illumination of life and often achieves the highest poetic beauty at the same time that it affords the profoundest lesson for life. The Ramayana of Kamban and even more the Ramayana of Valmiki are a matchlessly complete course of education in the meaning and beauty of life. And men like the Rt. Hon. Sastri and V. V. S. Aiyar, do well by us to expound in relation to their rich experience of life and literature the special features of Kamban's or Valmiki's handling of some vital issue or problem of our daily lives.

Sri V. V. S. Aiyar has however a few of the extravagances of the pioneer, in his estimate of Kamban's standing in the literature of the world as well as in a few other matters. He claims for Kamban's epic a place equal to that of Homer's *Iliad* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Few would care to quarrel with him on this. But he makes bold to assert that Kamban not merely equals but surpasses Valmiki, Kamban's acknowledged original. We would only say that there is no need to arrive at a precise assessment of the exact positions of Valmiki and Kamban relatively to each other. There are many kinds of greatness in literature. Kamban's work is indeed entitled to a high place among the great masterpieces of the world's literature. But this is not because he is the equal or superior of Valmiki but because he has, in his way, given immortal expression to the ageless saga of Rama. His way is not greater or less than that of Valmiki. It is vastly different from Valmiki's.

Valmiki's poetry has the atmosphere of the tremendous and awe-inspiring scenes and forces of mother Nature. It has the authentic quality of something with which mere human activity seems to have little to do. Kamban is everywhere the careful, conscientious, fastidious sensuous artist. Valmiki has a vigour and strength, almost primitive, untamed and untutored. Kamban proceeds by

selection and arrangement, with a meticulous eye for designed and desirable effects Take his handling of the meeting between Kumbhakarna and Vibhishana It is surpassingly moving But Valmiki achieves another effect far more wonderful The conflict between loyalty to a brother and loyalty to transcendent Dharma in Valmiki gives us a profound sense of the remorseless operation of the fundamental moral forces of the universe and of poor humanity s afflicted will struggling blindly and feebly with them Kamban s Rama says V V S Aiyar is a being of a decidedly superior stature to Valmiki s Rama and indeed in his view, even Kamban s other characters are superior to Valmiki s This is one of those ecstasies of literary criticism pioneers are prone to Where indeed is the comparison between the mighty embodiment of Dharma who is Valmiki's Rama and the Rama of Kamban? The latter belongs to the limited world of civilized and cultured beings whereas Valmiki's Rama transcends the highest that civilization and culture themselves can achieve in the sphere of human perfection

Sri V V S Aiyar's study reveals a keen critical insight, even if it be now and again betrayed into extravagance His discourse is interspersed lavishly with translations from Kamban and in a style which is redolent of the original. He has done a great service to Kamban and an even greater service to Tamil Literature by bringing into its hitherto limited and confined world, the treasures that lie concealed to all but the sincerely critical *sahridayas*

EARTHQUAKES—THEIR CAUSES

By Mr N K HALDAR

— 2 —

THE havoc of earthquakes is no strange phenomena to us Geologists say that earthquakes are often caused through volcanic activity, but almost invariably through what geologists term 'faulting"

Earthquakes generally follow movements along 'faults' or dislocations in the earth's crust They are also caused by thrust planes, in which case certain sets of rocks override others, instead of being merely dislocated

There are three causes of these quakes or tremblings The simplest is due to collapse of the roofs of great underground caverns which produces very local shocks examples of which are felt almost daily in one part of Yugoslavia When a volcano bursts into activity it often produces similar but more destructive earthquakes in the neighbourhood The outpouring lava leaves huge hollows beneath the crust and parts of the roofs or sides fall in The most widespread destruction is caused by the third variety, shocks from which can be felt and measured right round the world The earth is weaker in some places than in others and, just as you see dry wood crack or split under strain, so hidden parts of the earth (the crust of which is always under strain) split and break away suddenly, perhaps over distances exceeding 200 miles The land trembles violently and buildings fall down great fissures appear in the ground, or it may fall in The bed of the sea off Lisbon sank, about 600 feet in the great earthquake of 1755 Japan and California and other places are known to be on lines of earth weaknesses, and terrible convulsions occur in such places from time to time

Japan being an archipelago of volcanic islands experiences on an average some 15 000 terrestrial shocks per year. In the single month of December 1938 as many as 600 were registered Tokyo is said to experience a mild earthquake shock once in three days

The best known volcanic peak in Japan is 12 500 feet high—Fujiyama Among the active volcanoes are Asamayama in Honshu (the main island of Japan,) and Aosan and Kirishimayama in Kyushu Some rate Kirishimayama as the largest volcano in the world

The most devastating earthquake in Japan within memory was the calamity of September 1, 1923, which reduced Yokohama to ashes and consumed one half of Tokyo Its epicentre, *i e*, place of maximum intensity, lay beneath Sagami Bay which leads into the Bay of Tokyo Some idea of its intensity can be gauged from the fact that the island of Oshima was shifted 12ft 5 ins a little east of north, while the north shore of Sagami Bay moved about 9 feet East South East The displacements revealed that the whole district made a clockwise twist about a vertical axis in Sagami Bay

It has been reported that the Independence Day earthquake was the more severe than the gigantic disaster known as the "Great Indian Earthquake which occurred on the 12th of June 1897 It is sometimes termed the 'Assam earthquake as it was in that province that the effects were most severe and the shocks were felt over a large part of India and indeed far beyond its boundaries Mr R D Oldham the Superintendent of Geological Survey of India observed that the epicentral tract was of great size, having an estimated area of about 6 000 sq miles but the mischief was most severe in the neighbourhood of Shillong where the stone work of bridges churches and other buildings was levelled to the ground After the main disturbance, shocks of greater or less severity continued at intervals for many weeks It is supposed that this earthquake was connected with movement of subterranean rockmasses of enormous magnitude along a great thrust plane or series of such planes having a length of about 200m and a maximum breadth of not less than 50m

Eight years after the great Assam earthquake India was visited by another catastrophe on the 4th of April, 1905, resulting in the loss of about 20 000 lives This is known as the Kangra earthquake since the centre seems to have been located in the Kangra valley in the north west of Himalayas There were two regions where the earthquake was felt most—the vicinity of Kangra and another region near Debra Dun, whilst the effects of the earthquake extended in light measure to Lahore and other cities of the plain and were estimated to have been felt over an area of about 1,625 000m

Of recent visitations in India the most disastrous were the Bihar earthquake of 1934 and the Quetta catastrophe of 1935 Over 10,000 people perished in the first, and some 25 000 in the second The town of Quetta was practically razed to the ground, and the total area affected was about 100 000 square miles

One of the greatest known earthquakes of all time was the 1755 blitz which destroyed Lisbon The shock was felt as far as the south of France and north Africa, so that the disturbed area was probably over a million square miles A curious, almost unique, feature of this earthquake was that it agitated inland waters much beyond the limits of the disturbed area Pools rivers and lakes were affected in Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway

In the age of myths there was a tendency to import a supernatural element into the rational explanation of earth quakes Underground monsters and personages were said to be responsible Beliefs, or more properly perhaps, poetical fancies engendered by seismic or volcanic activity have exhibited themselves in various forms For example beneath Japan, there is said to be a catfish which when it is restless shakes the earth

In bygone times Governments have also recognized earthquakes as visitations of an angry deity whom they have endeavoured to appease by repealing stringent laws and taxes In other countries the sermons which have been preached to show that tremblings of the world were visitations consequent on impiety and the prayers which have been formulated to ward off disasters in the future far exceed in number the earthquakes which gave rise to them In 1755 many of the English clergy held the view that Lisbon was destroyed because its inhabitants were Catholics, whilst the survivors from that disaster attributed their misfortune to the fact that they had tolerated a few Protestant heretics in their midst. To avoid a recurrence of disaster certain of these were baptized by force!

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

THE LAST MARCH

We have lived through years of war and desolation The havoc wrought by man's inhumanity to man is writ in streaks of blood and tears Yet when we contemplate the strength and nobility of character displayed by heroic souls from time to time we cease to despair of a race with such greatness of mind and heart Scott's Diary of the Last March in his Last Expedition to the Antarctic gives us a measure of the infinite greatness of human effort and endurance There in the blizzards of the vast and desolate tracts of snow covered land Robert Falcon Scott and his team of explorers appear to us as veritable giants fighting against the fearful elements in their last struggle to discover the truth and enrich the stores of man's knowledge "There are few events in history to be compared for grandeur and pathos with the last closing scene in that silent wilderness of snow The great leader, with the bodies of his dearest friends beside him wrote and wrote until the pencil dropped from his dying grasp There was no thought of himself, only the earnest desire to give comfort and consolation to others in their sorrow"

They have reached the South Pole

Wednesday Jan 17 1912—Great God! this is an awful place and terrible enough to have laboured to it without the reward of priority (Amundsen has preceded them) . . Now for the run home and a desperate struggle I wonder if we can do it

Monday, March 12—We shall be 47 miles from the depot I doubt if we can possibly do it The surface remains awful, the cold intense, and our physical condition running down God help us! Not a breath of favourable wind for more than a week and apparently liable to head winds at any moment

Friday March 16 or Saturday 17—Lost track of dates but think the last correct Tragedy all along the line At lunch the day before yesterday, poor Titus Oates said he couldn't go on; he proposed we should leave him in his sleeping bag That we could not do, and we induced him to come on on the afternoon march In spite of its awful nature for him he struggled on and we made a few miles At night he was worse and we knew the end had come

Should this be found I want these facts recorded Oates last thoughts were of his Mother, but immediately before he took pride in thinking that his regiment would be pleased with the bold way in which he met his death We can testify to his bravery He has borne intense suffering for weeks without complaint, and to the very last was able and willing to discuss outside subjects He did not—would not—give up hope till the very end He was a brave soul This was the end He slept through the night before last, hoping not to wake, but he woke in the morning—yesterday It was blowing a blizzard. He said, 'I am just going outside and may be some time' He went out into the blizzard and we have not seen him since . . . We knew that poor Oates was walking to his death, but though we tried to dissuade him, we knew it was the act of a brave man and an English gentleman We all hope to meet the end with a similar spirit and assuredly the end is not far

My companions are unendingly cheerful, but we are all on the verge of serious frostbites, and though we constantly talk of fetching through I don't think any one of us believes it in his heart

Sunday March 18—We are 21 miles from the depot Ill fortune presses but better may come We have had more wind and drift from ahead yesterday, had to stop marching, wind N W., force 4, temp —35 No human being could face it, and we are worn out *nearly*

My right foot has gone,, nearly all the toes—two days ago I was proud possessor of best feet. These are the steps of my downfall

Monday, March 19—We are 15 1/2 miles from the depot and ought to get there in three days What progress! We have two days' food but barely a day's fuel All our feet are getting bad—Wilson's best, my right foot worst left all right There is no chance to nurse one's feet till we can get hot food into us Amputation is the least I can hope for now, but will the trouble spread? That is the serious question The weather doesn't give us a chance—the wind from N to N W and—40 temp to'day

Thursday, March 22 and 23—Blizzard bad as ever—Wilson and Bowers unable to start—to-morrow last chance—no fuel and only one or two of food left—must be near the end Have decided it shall be natural—we shall march for the depot with or without our effects and die in our tracks.

Thursday March 29—Since the 21st we have had a continuous gale from W S W. and S W. We had fuel to make two cups of tea apiece and bare food for two days on the 20th Every day we have been ready to start for our depot *11 miles* away, but outside the door of the tent it remains a scene of whirling drift *I do not think we can hope for any better things now We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course and the end cannot be far*

It seems a pity, but I do not think I can write more

Last entry *R Scott*

For God's sake look after our people

—("Pioneers"—Macmillans)

ON REPORTING

The other day a veteran journalist demanded a black list of ministers and other functionaries who generally take shelter on the plea of 'misreporting' when confronted with an inconvenient challenge from authorities to substantiate their reports. And he rightly illustrated his thesis with a verbatim report of a speech perpetrated by a bumptious speaker, which for sheer absurdity could hardly be matched. It is true that much of the tedious rigmarole of nonsense and bad grammar perpetrated by pretentious dunder heads is boiled down by talented subs to wholesome paragraphs of pith and point. But sometimes it is the other way about. G. K. Chesterton in one of his delightful essays furnishes a satirical parody of modern newspaper reporting. He takes the celebrated Funeral oration of Mark Antony in Julius Caesar and shows how a 'Daily Mail' reporter would handle it. "He would simply wait for any expression that struck him as odd and put them down one after another without any logical connection at all.' It would turn out something like this

Mr. Mark Antony wished for his audiences' ears. He had thrice offered a crown. Caesar was like a deer. If he were Brutus he would put a wound in every tongue. The stones of Rome would mutiny. See what a rent the envious Casca paid. Brutus was Caesar's angel. The Rt. Hon. Gentleman concluded by saying that he and the audience had all fallen down."

That, says Chesterton, is the report of a political speech in a modern, progressive, or American manner, "and I wonder whether the Romans would have put up with it."

DARWIN'S WISH

If I had to live my life again, I would have made it a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once every week, for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied would have been kept alive through use. The loss of those tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature.

—*Charles Darwin*

LOVE AND JEALOUSY

Most women would rather be preferred to another woman than be loved—*Mademoiselle de Lespinasse.*

THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS

One more unfortunate
Weary of breath
Rashly importunate
Gone to her death!

Take her up tenderly,
Lift her with care,
Fashion'd so slenderly,
Young and so fair!

Look at her garments
Clinging like cerements;
Whilst the wave constantly
Drips from her clothing,

Take her up tenderly,
Loving, not loathing.
Touch her not scornfully;
Think of her mournfully,

Gently and humanly,
Not of the stains of her—
All that remains of her
Now is pure womanly.

Make no deep scrutiny
Into her mutiny
Rash and undutiful;
Past all dishonour
Death has left on her
Only the beautiful.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT

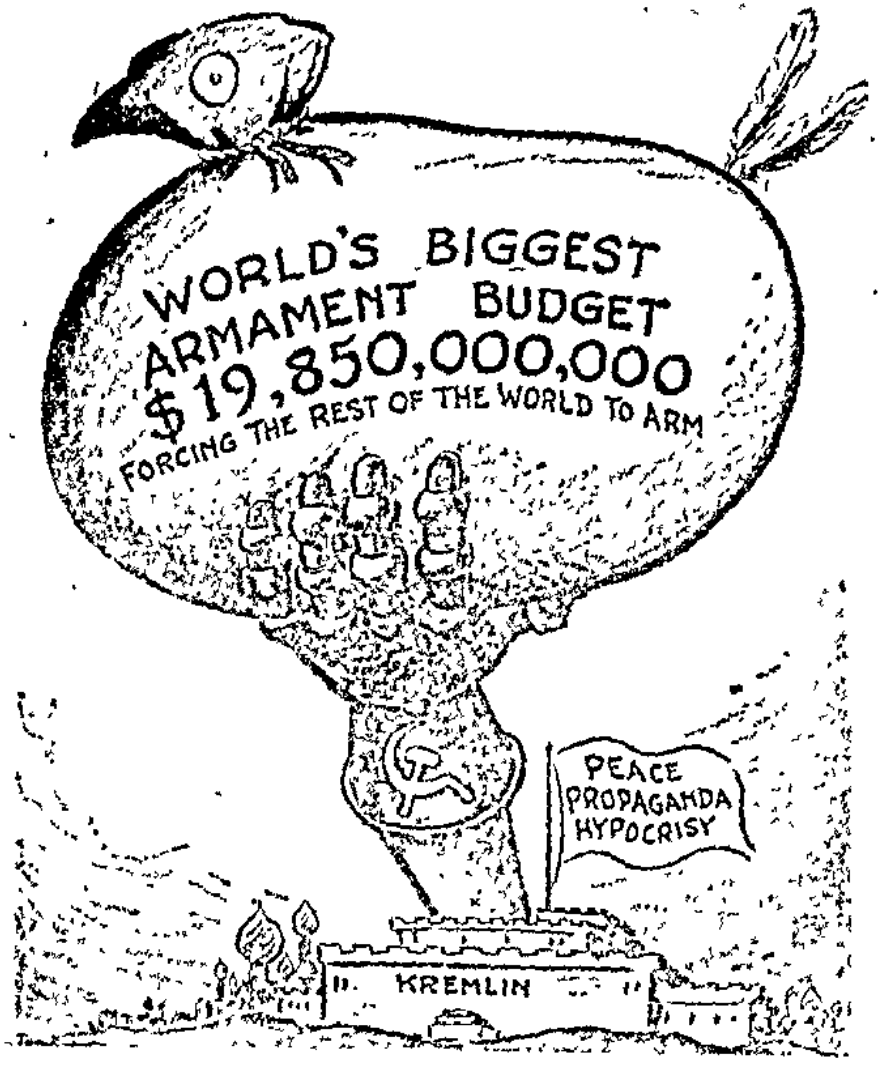
When, in wrath, Prince Albert one day had locked himself in his room, Victoria, no less furious knocked on the door to be admitted. "Who is there?" he asked. "The Queen of England!" was the answer. He did not move, and again there was a hail of knocks. The question and the answer were repeated many times, but at last there was a pause, and then a gentler knocking. "Who is there?" came once more the relentless question. But this time the reply was different. "Your wife, Albert," and the door was immediately opened.

—Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria.*

MARRIAGES AND MATCHES

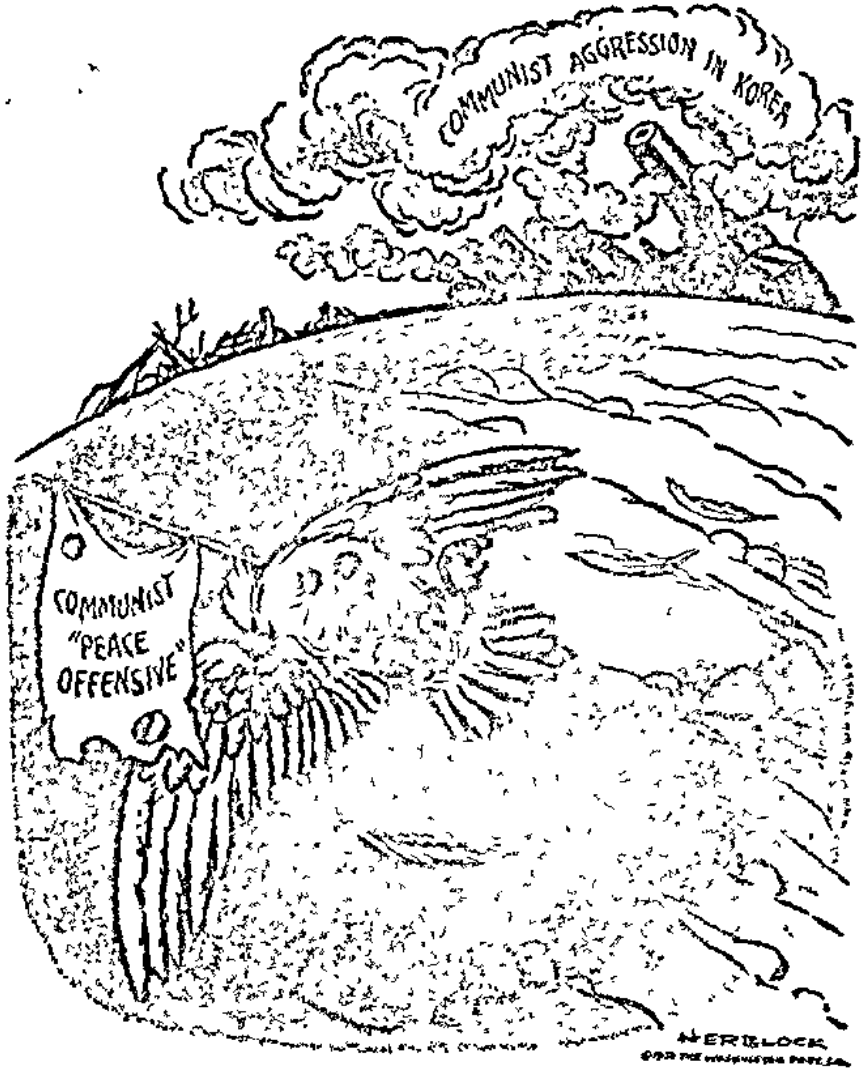
'Tis said that marriages are made above—
It may be so, some few, perhaps, for love.
But from the smell of sulpher I should say
They must be making *matches* here all day.

—*From an old farce "The Olympic Devils" quoted by Jowett, Master of Balliol College, in a letter to Margot Asquith.*



"STRANGE-LOOKING DOVE!"

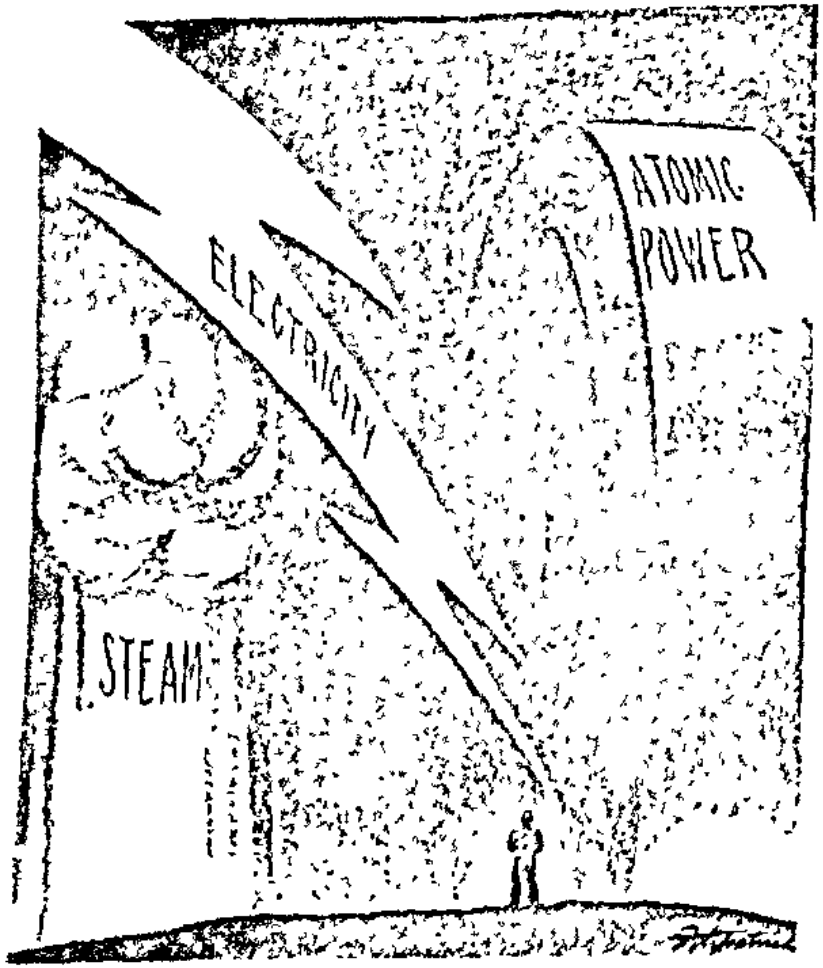
A cartoon printed recently in the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, a leading United States daily newspaper published in New Orleans, Louisiana. Rising from the Kremlin is the mailed hand of Soviet Russia on which rests a "peace dove" bearing the words "World's biggest armament budget, $19,850,000,000, forcing the rest of the world to arm." The flag flying from the Kremlin tower is labelled "Peace Propaganda Hypocrisy."



"CASUALTY"

A dove, carrying a banner marked "Communist Peace Offensive," lies dead after being shot down by guns whose smoke is labelled "Communist Aggression in Korea."

—*The Washington Post.*



"NEW SERVANT OF MANKIND."

This cartoon, printed recently in the "St. Louis Post Dispatch," a leading United States daily newspaper published in St. Louis, Missouri, shows Man as he envisions the peacetime uses of atomic power (the huge wheel at the right). At the left are two other servants of mankind, steam and electricity.



"THE LAST ONES CAME FROM KOREA"

The woman in the drawing, identified as the "World," has received numerous bouquets of beautiful flowers, all labelled "Peace." The one on the mantle is marked "Yours for Peace, Joe Stalin." But she is puzzled when she picks a thorny spray from a box labelled "Far East Aggression."

—*New York Herald-Tribune.*

Gen. Smuts: The South African Elder

A FOE WHO TURNED A FRIEND

(By Mr. V. KRISHNA RAO

THE Indians may smart at Smuts as the man who put Mahatma Gandhi behind iron bars in South Africa and did great injustice to the Indians settled therein. He was no doubt guilty of certain political excesses, but then it must be remembered that he was then in charge of the infant republic and that he was entrusted with its consolidation. South Africa was a coveted land. It was a land of the Africans and the Dutch were the first to settle therein under the Dutch India Co. Under economic pressure, the Boers moved about and established the Boer state, the Free state and Transvaal.

About 1870, diamond was discovered at Kimberly and gold at Johannesburgh and the British with their usual avidity annexed Transvaal.

Paul Kruger was then the leader of the Boers. Cecil Rhodes, that great imperialist, had by then consolidated his influence in South Africa and began exploiting its gold and diamonds. It is alleged that he instigated Jameson raid. Smuts was an admirer of Rhodes and had given him his allegiance. The exploiting career of Rhodes alienated his sympathies. Smuts turned hostile and organised the Boers and gave them a lead which finally resulted in the establishment of The Union of South Africa.

Smuts was born at Cape Colony on May 24, 1870. He was the son of J. A. Smuts, a Boer farmer. His mother was Catherine-De-Vries.

It is said of him that he did not go to school and could not read or write until he was 12 years. But his memory was prodigeous and his persistence great. He appears to have purchased a copy of a Greek grammar, learnt it in 6 days and passed his Matriculation. After some term at Victoria College, Stellenboch, he obtained his scholarship under some patronage and went to Cambridge in 1891, when he took a double first class in Law Tripos. He had qualified for the bar. He returned to Cape Town in 1895 and set up a practice at Johannesburgh.

President Kruger was much struck by the young barrister's capacity and though he was under age (28 years) he appointed him as State Attorney.

There was competition for South Africa's gold and diamond. The Utlanders including British and others joined the gold rush. Boer sentiment was outraged. Rebellious situations arose. Milner was then the Governor of the Cape. Kruger still led the Boers. Misunderstandings deepened between them and war was declared in 1899. The Boers were a tough people, to deal with. But when their capital, Pretoria was captured by the British, General Kruger fled to Holland. Smuts came into his place, organised Guerilla fights with the help of De Vet and De Roy, and successfully kept Britishers at bay for a long time. Lord Kitchner who was the British Commander found Smuts was a man of great mettle and an easy victory was not possible. Negotiations were started through General Botha and Smuts was given a safe conduct-pass and invited to peace parley. Luckily, the terms were generous and a co operation was effected between the Dutch and the British which finally led to the creation of the South African Union in 1910. Smuts held many responsible positions therein and became the Colonial Secretary under General Botha's ministry. He also held in succession, the ministries of the interior, defence and finance and gave evidence of higher statesmanship which drew the attention of the statesmen of England. In world War I, he led the British forces in East Africa in recognition of which he was made a Lt. General and subsequently a Privy Councillor. Lloyd George and Churchill found a place for him in the War Cabinet. The House of Lords entertained him at a Banquet where for the first time he mooted the idea of the British Commonwealth of Nations. "We are a system of nations, a community of states and of nations far greater than

any empire that ever existed We are not one nation or state or empire but we are a whole world by ourselves, consisting of many nations and states and all sorts of communities under one Flag This group this community of nations I prefer to call the *British Commonwealth of Nations* With this outlook he sailed into European statesmanship His counsel and guidance have since been continually sought He was associated with the creation of the Royal Air Force and for his sagacity he was requested to submit a report on London Air Defences He continued to be an important member of the War Cabinet

He succeeded General Botha as the Premier of the Union of S Africa and held the office between 1919 and 1924, when he had to resign after the defeat in the general election at the hands of the party of Hertzog He was again called to the Office in 1939 and commanded a large majority The star of Malan was in the ascendant and his intrigues gave Smuts a defeat in the General elections of 1948 Though Smuts resigned the office he became the Leader of the Opposition and had planned to counter and cure the excesses of the Malan regime when physical disability set in on him and deprived him of the finer chances of service to humanity

Smuts was great not merely as a soldier in recognition of which he was promoted a Field Marshal in 1941 He was equally great as a statesman a scientist and a philosopher The high calibre of his statesmanship is evident from the fact that he was frequently in requisition in England for War and Peace negotiations President Wilson was enamoured of him and sought his collaboration in the League of Nations It may be noted that Smuts was a reluctant signatory to the Treaty of Versailles

In recognition of his general and scientific culture Smuts was chosen as the President of the British Association in 1931 He was also Lord Rector of St Andrews University He was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1948 He was also offered the Order of Merit

Smuts had a hobby besides and that was biology His interest therein has provided us with a book on 'Holism and Evolution' published by him in 1926

Interest in the sciences was first awakened by Darwin who originated the theory of evolution in his 'Origin of Species' linking man with the amœba The French biologist Lamark added a formula to it that new characters acquired by use and habits will be handed on to future generations and emphasised the influence of the material environments Since then speculation has been rife and purposive trends conscious or unconscious have been read into it by the efforts of the Samuel Butler and propagated in literature by his admirer Bernard Shaw On a line with this have been the endeavours of Bergson in his creative evolution and Professor Alexander in his 'Space time, and deity,' Smuts gets a step further and regards biological progress as tending towards the integration of more and more elements to form larger and larger organic wholes The universe itself is like a biological organism a universe of whole making The universe is conceived as made up of separate units which are always seeking to perfect themselves according to the urge of their own nature But at the same time to be co operative in larger units without losing their personalities and individualities

Let me permit myself two extracts which this faith inspires him into —

1 This is a good world. We do not approve of all the items in it nor of the individuals in it but the world itself which is more than its part and individuals which has a soul a spirit a fundamental relation to each of us deeper than all other relations is a friendly world It has borne us, It has carried us onward It has humanised us and guided our faltering footsteps through out the long and slow advance. It has endowed us with strength and courage It has proved a real value of soul making for us humans

2 As between the nations a new spirit of human solidarity can be cultivated and economic conditions can be built up which will strike at the root causes of war and thus lay deeper foundation for world peace With honesty and sincerity on our part it is possible to make basic reforms for national and individual life which will give mankind a new chance of survival and progress

These sentiments are in utter discord with the records of his achievements in South Africa in relation to India One can only refer this to some malignancy of the Fates!

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

he Nasik Congress

THE momentous 59th session of the Congress—the first Congress session a Republican India—was held at Nasik on he 20th September, Sri Purushottam Das landon presiding. All the fears and umours of clash with the Government rere set at rest by the President's pening address which supported the Nehru lovernment in all essentials while making suggestions for raising the tone and prestige of the Congress.

Mr. Tandon said that the Constitution of India, unlike that of Pakistan, was not based on any religious book. The Government of our country is secular and all citizens have equal rights. This, he said, proves the wisdom and farsightedness of our country and we have to learn nothing from Pakistan in this respect. The cry of some people for a Hindu State was meaningless as our State cannot be run on the authority of one fixed tradition or religious book.

The Congress President supported the Government's foreign policy, admission of Communist China to the UNO, and Government's attitude to the Korean war and the Kashmir problem.

What more could the Prime Minister want in support of the secular State from the President of the Congress?

The Congress President touched on all major problems confronting the country. He gave primary importance to the growth of co-operation for the development of village self-sufficiency. There should be no person without work in the whole country.

Referring to the squandermania of the Union and State Governments, he said:

My belief is that the present expenditure in the Union and the State Secretariats can be reduced The need is that we should make use of our limited resources to their utmost capacity. No Government should allow its various departments to embark on schemes of their own. Ministers should, in consultation, decide as to which scheme should be given priority.

These suggestions are conceived in the best spirit of constructive criticism. Saying that unwanted controls should go, Mr. Tandon said the Governments should impose controls only when they became absolutely essential, and should ordinarily allow economic forces to work.

Winding up the Session, Mr. Tandon said:

This session has proved that the Congress is still very powerful. Critics of the Congress gleefully predicted that there would be a rift in the Congress and it would break up, and that they would be able to capitalise this in the coming general elections All these critics of the Congress must have been sadly disappointed by the enthusiasm exhibited during this session.

The Congress passed a resolution endorsing the foreign policy of the Government of India. As regards Korea, it stated that the objective "must be the establishment of a free, independent and united Korea whose future is to be determined by her own people." The Congress also passed a resolution expressing its strong opposition "to any foreign colonial powers continuing to hold any part of India" and declaring that "these territories should be incorporated in the Republic of India." Pandit Nehru, himself had a hand in shaping these resolutions. And the Nasik Congress did the right thing in according a virtual vote of confidence in the Nehru Government.

After all Congress and the Government are inspired by the same principles and wedded to the same policies. The difference between the Tandonites and Nehruites can hardly be a difference in substance but only a difference in emphasis. Government, curbed by their responsibilities, have been more cautious or more accommodating in their relations with Pakistan. But our neighbour has mistaken it for weakness and has continued to make more demands. This has aroused the ire of many Congressmen and perhaps a firmer attitude may succeed where generosity has failed. It is a question of strategy and Government stand to gain with Congress support and encouragement for a more definite and firmer action in their dealings with Pakistan.

Smuts and Gandhi

The death of General Smuts at the age of 80 removes a world figure who has played a distinguished role in the British Commonwealth of Nations Soldier scholar and statesman Smuts was a bit of a philosopher but the times were out of joint and much against his better judgment he had to act in a way of which in his calmer moments he could not have been happy The story of the conversion of a foe into a great friend is told in another page But for all his grandiloquent phrases about world peace and the fraternity of nations Smuts succumbed to the racial prejudices of his compatriots in South Africa and was doubtless responsible for the initiation of many discriminatory measures against Indians The reactionary forces have since assumed gigantic proportions under Dr Malan It is true that in the years following the defeat of his party he came to develop a more liberal outlook and opposed the notorious legislations which discriminate against the Indians and which have been passed by the Union Parliament in defiance of the UN s Charter of Human Rights

But then he ceased to be the great force he had been in the public life of his country and his voice of moderation latterly became no more than a voice in the wilderness

All the same Smuts was a great man and he was quick to recognise the greatness of Gandhi whom he had to clap in prison for reasons of State Yet between Smuts and Gandhi there was a bond as between great men who understood each other In an article which he wrote on the occasion of the Mahatma s seventieth birthday Smuts recalled how in gaol Gandhiji worked on a pair of sandals which he presented to the South African statesman when he was set free I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then wrote Smuts even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man The South African statesman s admiration for the Indian leader survived the test of years

Israel

The Government of India have done well to accord recognition to the Government of Israel—an action that was long over due Israel the new State was born about two years ago and it was immediately admitted to the United Nations membership Over fifty nations including Turkey and Iran had recognised this new born Jewish State The Government of India did not wish to embarrass the Middle East Muslim countries and were therefore postponing a decision on this question In India s Parliament this matter was frequently raised and the Government were pressed to recognise Israel India s recognition of Israel as has been rightly pointed out does not necessarily mean that she is not friendly to Egypt and other Muslim countries It was officially stated in New Delhi that as in the case of Communist China India s decision was the recognition of an established fact After being subjected to untold sufferings in Europe and in some parts of Asia the Jews at last created their own State by their grit and valour and found a home for themselves India should have accorded recognition to it long ago but better late than never

Sir Visvesvaraya

Sir Visvesvaraya like Bernard Shaw is an institution At ninety his mind is as alert and his interests as varied as Shaw s Starting life as an engineer in Bombay he became the most distinguished of the Dewans of Mysore where he initiated the Krishnaraja Sagar Dam and was the main source of inspiration for the Mysore Iron and Steel Works Indeed it is Sir Visvesvaraya s faith that resurgent India s hope lies in bold programmes of industrialisation of which he has spoken with an earnestness and passion which many youngsters might envy We offer our felicitations to this great elder and wish him more years of continued service if only it may enthuse another generation of his countrymen for economic progress and national efficiency

Prof. Hiriyanna

It is with profound regret that we record the passing of Prof Hiriyanna of Mysore The world of Sanskrit scholarship and Vedantic thought will be the poorer for his death Everyone who has had the privilege of sitting in his class or reading his books will bear testimony to the depth and accuracy of his learning And what specially struck those who have known him was that all this wealth of scholarship rested lightly on him "and had indeed been invested with a charming and benign respect by his innate modesty" His writings were as transparent as his character and there was a simplicity and clarity in his exposition of the most abstruse thought that readers often marvelled how vast tracks of thought and argument could be compressed into a few pages of limpid English prose—clear and concise Only the other day a reviewer in these pages brought out the shining beauties of his fine work — Essentials of Indian Philosophy—published by George Allen

The Professor was an old and valued contributor to this *Review*, and it is with poignant regret that we recall his letter acknowledging a copy of Carington s "Matter, mind and meaning" which we had sent him for notice "I have not been well for some time past,' he wrote in May last "and I am unable to read it now I shall gladly go through the book as soon as I get better, and shall send you, as desired, a signed review of it"

Alas! we are not to have that "signed review" any more

Kashmir Mediator's Report

At last we have the text of Sir Owen Dixon s report to the Security Council on the Kashmir dispute We must say the report, in tone and substance, is not exactly what we were led to fear from the mediator's speech on the eve of his departure from India Short of calling Pakistan the aggressor—which he was not called upon to pronounce according to the terms of his reference—the Kashmir mediator is convinced as all the world is, that the invasion of Kashmir by tribesmen on or about November 20, 1947 was contrary to international law and that the entry of regular troops of Pakistan into Kashmir in 1948, as admitted by Pakistan, was in contravention of International Law ' The only regret is he does not follow up this finding to its logical conclusion

Sir Owen, of course, says that all means of settling the dispute had been "exhausted ' and recommends that India and Pakistan be left to negotiate a settlement between themselves

Though Sir Owen's report may be regarded as a confession of failure his work is by no means barren Both India and Pakistan have been reminded "that third party interference will yield less satisfaction than a settlement reached between the countries that have already agreed to tackle the minority problem by peaceful methods'

But what with the intensification of military preparations and the campaign of hate against India that is now in full swing in Pakistan one wonders if our neighbour is in any mood for a peaceful settlement of this vexed dispute

The Tide of War in Korea

The tide of war seems definitely to have turned What is probably the fiercest fighting on the Korean front is going on around the capital. Troops of the United Nations are reported to have landed on the coasts far behind the scene of fighting. They have entered Seoul, capital of South Korea

It is clear that the North Koreans are no more finding it easy to press forward The weight of arms and ammunition rushed from Japan and America are telling and though the crisis has not yet passed the United Nations have every reason to hope that the defence box will be held until reinforcements and more supplies permit of a big counter-offensive

That offensive, it is said, will be launched in Spring next year Meanwhile President Truman is seeking U N advice if the defence forces could march beyond the 38th parallel

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

CONFESSION OF A REBEL by Jack R Clemo Chatto and Windus London

This autobiography should be read if only because it is so unusual It is the life of a village proletarian born in poverty of a clay worker father and Methodist mother reared in the background of the Cornish working class and refined in the stern discipline of bigoted Christianity

Clemo's father came from a family that produced more than its share of degenerates and he had a strain of brutality in him that is claimed to have vitalized and deepened the sensitive spiritual qualities inherited from the mother's family The brief schooling where Clemo was distinguished for being moody unsociable non competitive and mystic was terminated by the onset of blindness which has afflicted the author periodically ever since Subsequent deafness and perhaps a general sensory dullness confined him to clay works surroundings and compelled him to draw inspiration from the beauty of the bleak home atmosphere In this setting this self educated but precocious youngster filled reams of paper with his effusions which remained unpublished for years Publishers idiosyncracies are well known but the repeated rejection of the writings of an author handicapped by physical deficiencies and poverty would have broken any one not fortified with the faith in Christ that distinguished Clemo He developed for himself an unusual blend of Calvinism and erotic mysticism to sustain him for over two decades when the publication of Wilding Graft rescued him from obscurity and poverty

Clemo's handling of Christ—perhaps Clemo himself would put it the other way round—is an astonishing hybrid between unreasoning belief and unquestioning adulation Some of his angularities are to be read to be believed His aversion to Spurgeon and Powys and dislike of Dickens and Shakespeare reveal one streak in his make up We may be skeptical of the miracles of prayer the author himself is except of Calvinist prayer We may not understand his mystic eroticism We may smile condescendingly at his naivete But the vitality of his convictions the vigour of his style and the titled angle from which life is here portrayed justify our seeking acquaintance with this perverse egoist More than anything else we learn that sensory deficiencies need not detract from a full life and perhaps per contra that eyes and ears do not necessarily make a full life

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA by Trilochan Dass M A Co operative Book Depot Calcutta Price Re 1

Swami Vivekananda died in 1902 and nearly two generations have passed by But the inspiration of his life and teachings has not faded out Mahatma Gandhi acclaimed him and Subhas Chandra Bose was largely inspired by his teachings The Swami has been rightly claimed as the Patron Saint of Indian Nationalism His dynamism is as much needed today as it was half a century ago

The author Sri Trilochan Dass is a Research student and an enthusiast and his diligence has given us this small brochure which is sure to be welcomed by the young men of today

ALL ABOUT H HATTERR by G V Desani The Saturn Press London 9 6

If you like a hotch potch of Panchatantra Kama Sutra Laurel & Hardy & James Joyce Desani's Hatterr is it But it is not sustained fun We meet Alice's Mad Hatter alternating with flat jokes riotous laughter as in the circus story intermixed with the silly episode of the Assault below the Belt Irving's English has gone out of fashion and Desani has evolved a new pidgin that is often entertaining but occasionally irritating

BETRAYAL IN INDIA, by D. F. Karaka. Gollancz, London. Rs. 6-12.

For over a decade, Karaka has been systematically administering spiritual and mental shocks to the literate people of India by smear tactics and emphasising the extraordinary. As columnist, editor and author, his mixture of audacious profanity and devout loyalties has won for him as many adherents as enemies His latest work, though meant to be more serious and couched in less racy journalese, suffers from partialities, prejudices and inaccuracies.

The theme-song is that Indians have been betrayed by the very people who led them to freedom. The evidence is that there was a 'civil war' between Hindus and Muslims which was not averted, Gandhiji was assassinated because the authorities ignored warnings, public security measures were enacted and Karaka had to resign from the *Chronicle*, produce the *March*, resign and go on to the *Current*. The correspondence of discontented congressmen is quoted in support of anti-congress theses, Gandhiji is set up on a pinnacle of glory in contrast to his followers and the congress regime is condemned out of hand for the faults of some time serving camp followers. The Press of India (outside Karaka) is dubbed as a docile and submissive organ of the Government. Comment on such avaricious appetite to find fault is superfluous. We need hold no brief for those representatives of the ruling party who have tried to cash in on their patriotism: who have misused the weapon of hunger-strike to press out of the Government paltry pittances from secret sources for alleged political sufferings; who interfere in day today administration to acquire or improve local advantages and who, by their dress conventions and behaviour have undoubtedly lowered the fair name of the Congress. But is such queer conduct on the part of a few peculiar to India? Foreign readers may compare the Indian scene with theirs and see for themselves how far we are different from them. For ourselves, factual distortions and perversions will not sustain long-term propaganda and we are much too close to the events to be easily misled.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE by C. L. Wren. Methuen, London. Price 5/

It is a characteristic of the volumes in the Home Study Books series that they are authoritative, brief but full presentations of the facts connected with the subjects they deal with. This is quite true of the book on the English language also. After a discussion of the general characteristics of language the book gives a historical sketch of the development of English as a language. The various sources from which the English vocabularly has been developed, the peculiarities of spelling and pronunciation and the building up and ordering of words are described in sufficient detail and with great accuracy. The contribution made by the great English writers like Shakespeare, Milton and others is explained from the point of view of the language. The discussion of some modern questions like American Influence, the Radio and the language are very suggestive.

SCRIPTURE OF THE HEAVENS. By G. V. Raghava Rau. —Yellamanchili, Vizag Dt.

This original volume is an attempt at providing an astronomical interpretation to several vedic hymns, Rig Vedic ones, in particular. The result of such interpretation is very interesting and thought-provoking. For instance the author arrives at the conclusion that the Milky ocean of the scriptures refers to the Milky way, Betalgeaux group to Rudra, Cygnus to the heavenly swan of Brahma and so on. He seeks the Paramapadam of Vishnu in the Hercules Lyra group and draws parallels from the conclusions of modern astronomical researches about the march of the universe towards Vega in the Hercules Lyre group. Following up, the author finds astronomical equivalents to almost every scriptural entity like Hanuman, Garuda, the four Vyuhas etc.

An interesting chapter is devoted to Hindu festivals, where it is shown that every Hindu festival is turned up with the heliacal or acronycal risings of stars or constellations connected with the Gods worshi[illegible] or honoured at the

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Sept. 1. Insurrection in Azad Kashmir.

Sept. 2. Sri Purushotamdas Tandon elected President of Nasik Congress.

Sept. 3. Congress Working Committee decides to supercede Andhra P. C C.

—Kashmir mail derails at Gurdaspur.

Sept. 4. Pandit Nehru in Assam

—Bomber with Russian airman shot down in North Korea.

Sept. 5. Reds pierce U S line and sweep past Pohang.

Sept 6. Mr. C Deshmukh presides over World Bank and Fund Conference at Paris.

Sept 7. Master Tara Singh arrested at Amritsar under Public Safety Act.

Sept. 8. Harikrishna Mehtab, Industries member, addressing Delhi businessmen, pleads for stabilising price level.

Sept. 9. Gen Yuan Chung Using, Red China's envoy, arrives in India.

—Express derails near Dacca

Sept. 10. Truman orders top priority for defence needs.

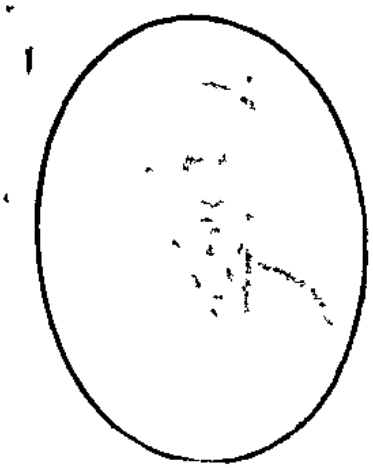
Sept. 11. Field Marshal Gen. Smuts dead.

—Kasim Razvi, Razakar leader of Hyderabad, sentenced for life

Sept. 12. Dr. Malan, S. A. Premier, attacks Britain.

Sept 13. Russia vetoes in U. N. for the 45th time.

Sept. 14. Mr. Attlee announces Government plans for nationalisation of iron and steel industry.



Sept. 15. Sir M. Visvesvaraya felicitated at a Reception in Bombay, on his 90th birthday.

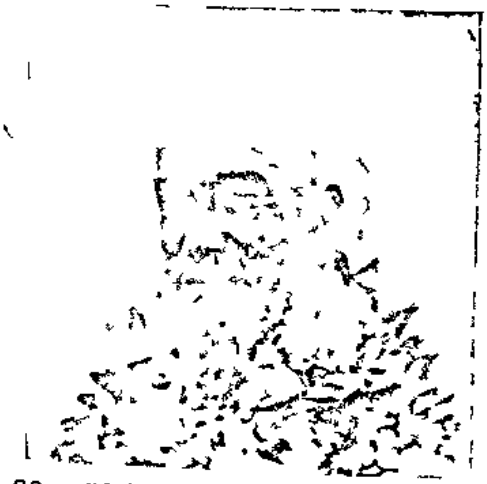
Sept. 16. U. S. troops in Seoul.

—President Tandon and Congress leaders in Nasik.

Sept. 17. India Government accords recognition to Israel.

Sept. 18. Subjects Committee ratifies Working Committee draft on Foreign policy, Indo Pakistan pact etc.

Sept. 19. Indian move to seat Communist China in U. N. Committee lost by 33 to 16, ten abstaining.



Sept. 20 56th Session of the Congress meets at Nasik, Sri Purushottamdas Tandon presiding.

—Labour Government survives censure motion on steel nationalisation policy.

Sept. 21. Nasik Congress concludes after recording a virtual vote of confidence in Nehru Government

Sept. 22. Vishinsky walks out of U. N. Banquet in protest against Dewey's attack on Russia.

—Israel charged in U. N. Assembly of harassing Arab refugees.

Sept. 23 150 Britons dead or wounded in accidental bombing in Korea.

—U. S. Congress overrides Truman's veto on Anti-Red Bill.

Sept. 24. Pakistan jute offered on barter basis.

—U. S. Government regret tragic mistake of air attack on British troops.

READERS' DIGEST

THE LOCUS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Mr P S Naidu, writing in the *Visvabharati* quarterly, offers the plan of a new constitution for the Indian people Sovereignty is one and indivisible he says and resides in the people as a whole How should political practice be shaped in order *to make this view of sovereignty* real and effective in the actual running of a democratic Government ?

The first requisite is the existence and *effective* functioning of an *opposition* The party in opposition is the life and soul of a democratic type of Government Where opposition does not exist there is only tyranny and sub human functioning of life in the state Then in the second place there should be considerable decentralisation of sovereign power In our country the village should be made the vital centre of legislative administrative and judicial power The village should have a *council of elders* composed of persons over 45 years in age, chosen by suitable means This council should be composed of men of experience, wisdom tact and social influence The whole village should participate in electing these elders One half of the number should retire every year and the retiring members should not be eligible for re appointment for two years This council should wield supreme power over the whole village, dispensing *justice, and ministering* to the welfare of the village community in all ways

The village should send its representatives direct to the District and Provincial Councils. An age limit somewhat lower than the village limit should be prescribed for these councils Half the number of these bodies should retire every year, and should not be eligible for re election for two successive years

And above all there should be permanent irremovable judiciary, appointed for life and armed with powers to check undemocratic tendencies in law making The whole machinery of Government should be so devised that the party in power will be kept ever vigilant and obliged to justify their executive measures *to enlightened* critics among the public It should be impossible for the executive to enact any law merely on the basis of the majority strength in the legislature The group as a whole must approve of any fundamental or radical changes that may be made in the law of the land"

PRESIDENT TRUMAN

In the course of an article on President Truman in the *Foreign Review* Sir C. P Ramaswami Iyer says that the President has displayed political courage of a rare type "He has come out as the champion of the coloured races and *is attempting to combat the social* and political prejudice which is still manifested against the Negro in many parts of the United States"

The key to the riddle of American policy, as formulated and largely carried out by President Truman, says Sir C P, lies in a *recognition* of the President's unalterable belief in the American way of life

He considers that the capitalist regime with an adequate admixture of socialist policies is not only best for America but must be given every chance to survive in the world The *main opponent* is communism whose ideology, if successful, is bound to undermine *America's international* position and internal economy Social and economic discontent has to be eradicated if communism has to be fought President Truman's social legislation foreign aid programme and international commitments can all be explained if this point of view is before us It may be added that true to his upbringing and tradition, Truman in carrying out this policy, has placed implicit confidence in persons like Dean Acheson Jessup and Marshall who are worthily seconding his efforts

Quite recently the President has manifested his opposition to extreme forms of communist baiting and spy hunting American politics can be very personal and support and opposition are often based on inadequate data and the "scare" is a frequent phenomenon

It is to the credit of President Truman that he has kept free of these tendencies and stood out as the true representative of a people that at bottom and despite some peculiarities are goodnatured and philanthropic as well as shrewd and hard headed in business and above all are committed to the doctrines of private enterprise and the minimum of interference by the State,

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Society is to the individual what a fertile soil is to a plant The force that would contribute to the healthy all round growth of every individual, must come from within the body social observes *Prabuddha Bharata* editorially

It is the spiritual basis of social life that can prevent periodic social maladjustment from working havoc with the human personality Ordinarily life in any society is characterized by disharmony and frustration manifesting themselves in social and other forms of lawlessness From the sociological standpoint religious dynamism and mystic intuition are great and potent factors that go to reconcile conflicts and strains that often crop up even in the best social organization From the earliest times social life in India was organic and whole and conducive to the moral and spiritual progress of man True to her cultural heritage India has through several centuries evolved a balanced social order, ethically progressive culturally advanced and psychologically sound founded on principles and ideals which have sprung from a spiritual foundation The elimination of social disvalues was sought to be achieved through a positive integral conception of man and society and a harmonious blending of the emotional and the intellectual attributes that guide life and actions The real ideal of the Hindu social organization is not one of personal enjoyment but of self sacrifice and service not one of self interest or group interest but of renunciation, love, and charity

The root cause of social disequilibrium and the consequent cultural regression is the lack of spiritual enlightenment and a living active faith in the divinity of man

To set store by inadequate substitutes for religion and insufficient factors of altruism is but to increase social confusion and widen the schism in the soul of man Societies which countenance shifting standards of right and wrong of love and hate, and of good and evil cannot but make this social confusion worse confounded Unless social reconstruction is effected in the light of religious ideals such reconstruction or reform is bound to meet with ultimate failure It is futile and often disastrous to the country and the people as a whole to set one class or caste against another, to despise the cultural treasures and traditions of the past, or to reject all that is valuable and good in our religious and social life

For the root cause of much unnecessary and avoidable misery in the life of people is the failure to harmonize the superficial conflicts between individual and universal outlook between social group interests and world purpose

THE KASHMIR DISPUTE

Mr Louis Fischer, biographer of Mahatma Gandhi, in a letter to the *New York Times*, asserts that the stalemate in Kashmir provides a contrast with the United Nations' action in Korea, and says: "What has been done in Korea should have been done in Kashmir"

Mr Fischer, in his letter, says:

"It is generally recognised that Muslims who received the military support of the Pakistan Government were the original aggressors in Kashmir India tried to eject the invader but lacked the force to do so The situation is now a military and political stalemate India whose army holds eighty per cent of the territory, fears that in an unlimited plebiscite the Muslims who constitute eighty per cent of the population would vote to merge Kashmir with Pakistan, while Pakistan in the expectation of the result, insists on a plebiscite and rejects the idea of partition which might give at least part of Kashmir to India

Thus the original aggressor now advocates a democratic solution, whereas India, the victim of aggression is under the compulsion of domestic politics and sentiment to oppose a free vote which would reward the aggressor with the prize he covets

Now suppose the United Nations Security Council had met the day after fighting started in Kashmir and adopted a resolution calling on the aggressors to cease fire and withdraw, and suppose when the invaders did not comply, the United States or British or French troops acting in the spirit of a further Security Council resolution, had joined the Kashmir war, which some have called a civil war, and finally expelled the invaders Justice could then have been done in Kashmir

This is exactly what have happened in Korea because the North Koreans branded aggressors by the Security Council, with the Indian delegate concurring were obviously armed and inspired by Moscow, which might have been encouraged by success in Korea to repeat the performance elsewhere again and again (just as Germany, Italy and Japan did in the 1930's) until a Third World War would have become inevitable The United Nations and the United States acted with dispatch and firmness, and now there is a chance that out of the terrible bloodshed and bombing a free United Korea may rise rebuilt by a world constructive effort There is a chance too that the resistance to aggression in Korea may deter the aggressor and change the possibility of peace

What has been done in Korea should have been done in Kashmir The fact that Indians feel themselves wronged by the U N's failure in Kashmir should show them how right the U N is in Korea Perhaps the lesson of Korea is that the U N must have a ready to use armed force to cope with aggressive foreign intervention whether it occurs in Germany, or Palestine, or Kashmir, or Korea, or anywhere

SRI RAMANUJA THE GREAT HEALER

The heart warming story of how saint Sri Ramanuja successfully exorcised an evil spirit from a princess when his own guru who was an expert in *mantra* sastras failed is related in a recent issue of *Vedanta Kesari*

Yadavaprakasa the great Sanskrit scholar erudite Vedantin and one time guru of Sri Ramanuja, was also a great adept in the mantra sastras He could cure people possessed by evil spirits Once the princess of Kanchipura came to be possessed by a Brahmarakshasa Famous mantrics were brought from all quarters But none was able to cure the princess Then with great respect was brought Vedantacharya Yadavaprakasa

At the sight of Yadavaprakasa the princess possessed by the afore said ghost burst into a loud laughter and said Ah, Yadava your mantras and all that will scarcely bear any fruit here Why take pains in vain? Go back home" Turning a deaf ear to that Yadava uttered various mantras for a long time, but was totally unsuccessful to bring about any result Thereupon, the disembodied spirit interposed to say, 'Why take pains in vain? You are inferior in strength to me So you are utterly incapable to dislodge me from my place If you do certainly wish that I should be driven off from this shrine of the body of the princess which is so tender and affords delight at the mere touch, then get here the blessed Ramanuja who is the youngest of your disciples whose arms reach upto his knees, of broad fore head and large eyes who is the pleasure resort of the goddess of genius and the choicest blossom in the garden of youth and the only abode of all sweetness As the thick darkness of the clouded dark night of the new moon is removed at the sunrise, so at the advent of that great soul I too will be driven away other wise not'

At the behest of Yadava Ramanuja was instantly brought there When he asked the Brahmarakshasa to get off from the body of the princess it replied 'I won't go unless you graciously place your blessed feet on my head Do thou fulfil this desire of thy slave' At the behest of his preceptor, Ramanuja placed both his feet on the head of the princess and said, "Now, relieve the princess and go leaving behind some proof that you forsook her"

Look here, I quit As a proof I go breaking the top branch of the neighbouring banian tree instantly'

Instantly the top branch of the banian tree fell broken with cracking sounds and the princess began to look around like one just awakened from slumber Afterwards when she regained full consciousness and could grasp her plight a little she hung her face in shame and went away to another apartment surrounded by maid servants

DEPENDENCE ON BRITAIN

We have a certain feeling that the Government of India and its military advisers have been depending too much on British advice, experience and military equipment for the defence of their State says the *Modern Review* The reason for it is easily understood our military leaders have learnt their trade at British institutions and under British instruction They are naturally afraid to go in for other help and advice And as the Anglo Saxon Powers have standardized their weapons of war, India has willy nilly no other choice but to depend on Britain for her military preparations The constant visits to Britain of India's military leaders is an evidence of this fact They have, therefore to draw upon British experience for the organization of their fighting forces

We have never been able to understand, it says why an attempt should not be made to throw off this dependence 'The sorriest part of the affair is that India has to look as yet to outside Powers for ideas on the latest technique of warfare And as in the past Britain has been in the habit of saddling India with her unused and unusable equipments, we will not be surprised to hear that she has been doing the same in the matter of military advice and equipments We have often wondered why the India Government have not tried to exploit German, Japanese and Russian experience in this line It is not too late to mend In any case for obvious reasons no country should depend entirely on one foreign power in the matter of its defence equipment technique and plans."

BLACK SECRECY IN THE SOVIET

It is no Utopia that Soviet Russia is building behind its veil of secrecy. The shadow of the firing squad and slow death in the Arctic hangs over all its citizens, says Bertrand Russell in the *World Review*

"One evil in Russia, which is a condition for the survival of the others, is secrecy—black, impenetrable secrecy, not only about this or that but about everything Other nations publish statistics, the Russians do not, except propaganda statistics about the future Other nations allow aliens to travel freely in their countries, except in a few military areas, Russians do not Other governments permit their citizens to travel abroad, the Soviet Government does not, for fear they should draw unfavourable comparisons between conditions in Russia and conditions elsewhere In North East Siberia in an area as large as France and Germany put together, which is inhabited only by officials and convicts there is a vast goldfield believed to be nearly as important as that in South Africa, but no one outside the Soviet Government knows even approximately how much it produces When the President of the Royal Society wished to inform Vavilov that he had been elected an honorary member of the Royal Society, he could not discover where Vavilov was, or even whether he was alive or dead What goes on behind the veil? Not, I think, the creation of an Utopia In Tsarist days there was a famous book, *Who Can be Happy and Free in Russia?* No such book could be published in Stalin's Russia"

INDIA'S OVERPOPULATION

This is the conclusion of the survey conducted by *Good Health Journal* on the World's Overpopulation and Health The survey dealing with particular reference to India observes —

There exists a great handicap especially in the thickly settled Asia The population has grown more rapidly than production of food has increased Nutrition is of course the basic in health Penicillin sulfa drugs and other remedies cannot restore to complete fitness and vigour a body only half nourished Particularly in India the great majority of people are habitually underfed Their resistence to disease is reduced

Demographers (experts in population) have uttered the seemingly heartless paradox—that the floods, famine epidemics and wars which have slain the Chinese in millions were really blessings They reduced the number of mouths to be fed and this left more food for the remainder of the population But of course this remedy has never been of more than temporary value A decade and the original population was restored

There are two approaches to the problem First is the reduction in the birth rate This suggestion is of no value In India, for instance, the fathering of a son is considered the highest blessing of life With generations of advancing literacy, as well as social and economic progress, however the idea may gradually take root

The other solution is increased agricultural production This is being accomplished but on such a small scale that it hardly parallels the increase in numbers Irrigation has been vastly extended and is still undergoing expansion But it cannot keep up with the growth of population which is a little one per cent more in a year.

The great handicap is the veneration which the Hindus who form about three fourths of the whole population have for the cattle Millions of these animals are maintained although they serve no useful purpose They are not milked or eaten Getting rid of them would add greatly to the food supply but every one knows that religious beliefs defy arguments

English experts have tried to introduce potato into Indian agriculture This vegetable yields many more calories to the acre than the rice which is the chief food in most of India But the people will not eat potatos because their ancestors never did As most of the trees have been cut down the inhabitants depend on dried manure to cook their meals Their fields are thus deprived of the needed fertilisers

Considering the overall world situation in population, the situation in India particularly is ominous

HIMALAYAS 'TALLER" NOW

The Himalaya mountains, tallest in the world, probably have "grown" even higher as a result of the recent earth quake in Assam according to the geological expert of the Government of India

The geologist said it was believed that there had been a definite movement in the earth's crust in the quake area He pointed out that observations showed the Himalayas had been rising in that part of the world for the past 150 to 200 years For example, he said, Mount Everest, which several decades ago was measured at 29 002 feet now was 29,200 feet high. The geologist placed no credence in the speculation that the quake had been caused by a revived volcano.

THE SECRET OF LONG LIFE

The age of the centenarians is again at hand. The attack on old age is on and there is a three-pronged drive to discover the elixir of long life by scientists widely distributed in Oxford, Edinburgh and in America. At all the three centres experiments have advanced so far as to hope that the battle against old age is nearly won. This is what an investigation by the *Sunday Despatch* reveals.

Indeed what the scientists in effect say is: "Leave us to work in peace, and we will make the children of tomorrow live to be hundred—and their children to be 150 or more. You may see the first evidence of this in the next twenty or thirty years."

The experiments at the different institutions are not alike, though all three seek to attain the same object. In Oxford, for example, while the approach is to find out a way to restore the harmone producing glands, in Edinburgh the work is being carried on to determine the actual causes of their ageing. The American experiment is on an entirely different basis altogether. There they are concentrating upon correct diet. Keeping down weight is considered to be an important factor making for long life.

ANGLO-AMERICAN VIEW OF INDIA

If report is correct that official circles in New Delhi are rejoicing over the growing realisation of Anglo-Americans that India's stand on Korea was right, then it is a most unfortunate state of mind for Delhi to get into. The main points outlined are all very well but there are two things which need clarification says, The *Indian Social Reformer*. Firstly, it would be well if Delhi understood clearly the limits of its neutrality. India, by her own volition, is continuing as a member of the Commonwealth, that necessarily suggests that in a conflict India may at most be neutral, she cannot be fighting on the other side. Apart from that too, it would be wise to understand that many foreign democratic observers who are conscious of India's official policy towards indigenous Communists, regard Pandit Jawaharlal rather like the son who, after saying 'I will not', went and worked in his father's vineyard. Secondly, much though our passion for peace might commend itself to others, they are hardly likely to appreciate our opening negotiations with the other side when once we are committed to a certain course of action. The present sympathy of the Western Democracies with India's attitude is hardly more important than the past disapproval. But what is important is that our much-boosted neutrality has resulted in a feeling abroad that India cannot be counted on in any big endeavour. The more we in India close our eyes to this and fail to bear it in mind, the more we shall wrap ourselves in our own righteousness and drift into isolation. Then it would require a great deal of effort to win back our place among the democratic countries.

EARTH TREMORS IN ASSAM

Dr. D. N. Wadia, Geological Adviser to the Government of India, attributes Assam's earthquakes to the geological instability of that region.

Giving a scientific explanation of the recent earthquake and tremors that rocked Assam, Dr. Wadia, in an interview, said, "Geologically and seismologically, Assam is the most unstable region in India and lies along the prominent geological fault line along the foot of the Himalayas and the North Assam ranges."

The Himalayas, he said, are the youngest mountains in the world and the elevated rocks had not yet attained stability. "The elevation of a 1,600 mile long mountain range, 250 miles broad, is a heavy strain on the rocks which occasionally slipped off under the strain."

Dr. Wadia discounted the theory that the recent earthquake was volcanic and expressed his view that it was "tectonic" shock caused by the snapping of a structural weakness in the earth. He said there was no living or dormant volcano within a hundred miles of Assam which could have caused the eruption—the nearest volcanoes being the Pope and Narkondam in Burma. Besides, volcanic earthquakes, would be of lesser impact, he added.

The peculiar feature of the present earthquake, he said, was that large masses of land slipped away, interrupting the the flow of rivers and deaths were caused more by floods than by the actual earthquake itself.

INDIA AS PAK TAX COLLECTOR

The Government of India has undertaken to collect from the Displaced income tax assessed by the Pakistan Government Thus, instead of obtaining from the Pak Government, compensation for the movable and immovable property abandoned by evacuees our National Government has undertaken to function as collectors of an unholy ex parte imposition of income tax says the '*New Citizen*' of Bombay

'We have observed that every time the representatives of Pakistan and Bharat meet together, instead of obtaining any advantage out of Pakistan our Government yields something of benefit to Pakistan

The Government of Pakistan having rendered the stay of Hindus in Pakistan impossible, assessed most recklessly income tax due from the evacuees Under the Law, an assessee can get relief only by paying the amount assessed and submitting an appeal for revision of assessment

The evacuees from Pakistan having left all their property behind could not possibly send from India the amount claimed from them as income tax and then go to Pakistan and submit appeals for revision Pak Government's thirst for Hindu blood not having satiated they seek to collect the arbitrarily imposed tax, through the Government of India

Even if it were possible for the assessees to go in person to Pakistan and submit appeals, how can any Hindu have any reliance in the good faith of the Pak authorities and expect justice from them? Once bitten twice shy." The Hindus of Pakistan have been repeatedly bitten"-

EFFECT OF EAR RINGS ON EYESIGHT

Does the wearing of ear rings improve a person's eyesight? Dr Reginald Dixon, organist at Lancaster Cathedral believes it does He said so at the Congress of the Incorporated Association of Organists in Leeds Yorkshire

He claimed that he was able to discard his spectacles more than 30 years ago when he took to wearing ear rings He contends that every time the ear rings move they set up a very feeble electric current, which strengthens the eyes

CENTRE'S AID TO THE DISABLED

The maintenance of the aged, infirm and disabled displaced persons as well as displaced unattached women and their children has been accepted by Government of India as a permanent liability

The Government of India have, accordingly, informed all the State Governments that the Centre will continue to bear all the expenditure incurred in connection with the maintenance of these persons throughout the country.

There are at present roughly 60 000 displaced persons belonging to these categories living in camps, infirmaries, homes and training centres in different parts of the country

The Centre has to spend on their free rations or cash doles, clothing sanitary and medical facilities, arrangements for educating the children etc

Displaced persons belonging to these categories are living in about 85 homes and also a large number of camps. The population in homes alone is in excess of 14 000

JAPAN S ATOM BOMB VICTIMS

Blindness is developing among the Japanese victims of the 1945 atomic bombings

This delayed effect of radiation is reported by the Atomic Energy Committee which reports that survivors have now largely recovered from the initial effects of blasts namely, loss of hair, temporary infertility and blood changes The committee is of the opinion that it may take generations before the full effects of radiation are tabulated

The discovery that some of the victims are going blind resulted from a special investigation at Hiroshima This study was initiated after seven scientists had lost their sight as a result of exposure to radiation It has been found that the Japanese victims like the American scientists, had developed cataracts Of 1 000 people who had been within 8 000 feet of the atomic explosion at Hiroshima 10 were found with radiation cataracts An additional 40 are suspected cases The investigation is continuing, and will be extended to survivors at Nagasaki

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

R. T. C. IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Government of India have turned down the suggestion of the Pakistan Government to reconsider their decision not to participate in the proposed tripartite Round Table Conference on the South African Indian question.

The Pakistan Government are reported to have made the suggestion in the light of a telegram received by them from the South African Government to their demand for a definite assurance that the Union Government would be prepared to revise, or modify, the Union's policy which formed the basis of the Group Areas Bill and the anti-Asiatic legislation.

The Union Government in their reply to the Pakistan Government had reiterated their earlier standpoint that the provisions of the Group Areas Act relating to the proclamation of group areas would not be brought into operation before December and that a Round Table Conference could be held earlier.

It is contended that no assurance on the point raised by the Pakistan Government was given by the Government of South Africa. Nor was there any indication that the Union Government would be prepared to modify their policy of apartheid' if the proposed conference resulted in the formulation of satisfactory proposals to solve the problem.

The Government of India, it is stated, felt that whatever the discussions at the Round Table Conference, the Union Government would negative any suggestion for modification either of the Group Areas Act or of the earlier anti-Indian legislation.

In these circumstances, the Government of India have come to the conclusion that there would be no point in reconsidering their earlier decision not to participate in the proposed conference.

S. AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

Dr. Yussuf Dadoo, one of the first South Africans "named" under the Suppression of Communism Bill, was elected President of South Africa Indian Congress on September 17. The Congress met behind closed doors in Johannesburg as Dr. Dadoo is barred from attending public meetings.

The annual conference called on the United Nations to end the "pernicious doctrine of race superiority" in the Union and to force South Africa to comply with its wishes on South West Africa. The resolution listed recently introduced legislation described as "racial laws" and said the Union had not only refused to comply with United Nations resolutions but had added more hardships and humiliations by enacting these laws.

The Conference appealed to the United Nations to prevent a racial conflagration "which may have far-reaching consequences for the peace and security of the world."

Another resolution condemned "repeated defiance by the South African Government of the U.N. request to place South-West Africa under its trusteeship, saying that the Union had flouted the basic principles of U.N. Charter."

THE LATE MRS P. K NAIDOO

Mrs. P. K. Naidoo, outstanding woman disciple of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, died at Johannesburg on September 12 aged 65.

She took a prominent part in Gandhiji's campaigns in South Africa between 1904 and 1914 when passive resistance was born and she served several prison terms.

Mrs. Naidoo was an active organiser of Indian women in the historic march across the Transvaal border from Natal led by the Mahatma in 1913.

In 1946, when passive resistance was revived again on the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, she was, though 61 years old, one of the first to join the movement and court imprisonment.

East Africa

INDIAN LABOUR IN EAST AFRICA

There is no demand at present in British East Africa for any Indian skilled or unskilled labour, said Sardar Gopal Singh a member of the standing committee of East African Indian National Congress, at Jullundur

According to a law passed in 1948 he said nobody could enter British East Africa without an official permit obtained from that Government All such immigrants could stay in East Africa for two years which period could be extended for not more than four years

Sardar Gopal Singh added that after independence an attempt was made to split the Indian representation in the East African Council into two groups Indians and Pakistanis The Indian National Congress did not accept the proposal and succeeded in getting Indian representatives being called Asian

RACIALISM IN AFRICA

The annual session of the East African Indian National Congress which met at El Doret, has passed a resolution urging the exclusion of the Union of South Africa from the United Nations so long as the Union pursues its present policies.

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

A Large number of Indian residents in Ceylon, who served with the army abroad during the war and have been away from the Island for a continuous period of 12 months are being told that they cannot register themselves as Ceylonese under the provisions of the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act

The Commissioner for Registration has turned down the applications of even those compulsorily posted to overseas military duty on the ground that they are not able to show continuous residence for five years preceding Nov 1,1949 The Commissioner points out that no discretionary powers have been vested in him to exempt them from the provisions of the Act.

The applicants can appeal only to the Supreme Court against the Commissioner s decision

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

In a farewell message to Indians in Malaya Mr John A. Thivy, who was till recently the Government of India's Representative in this country, asked them to serve the cause of building a Malayan nation

Mr Thivy said, 'Indians have a tremendous capacity to serve and sacrifice for a good cause There is no greater cause that needs to be served in Malaya just now than that of building a nation with single loyalty and allegiance to Pan Malaya"

Mr Thivy told the Indian community, "By virtue of your unstinting sacrifices, you have rendered yeoman service to Malaya in the economic sphere Do not now vitiate in all by adopting a stand in the political sphere, which could only be interpreted as an endeavour perpetually to keep planted your two feet on two different soils The net result of such a short sighted policy will be to suffer in the social sphere all manner of discriminations The invariable reason for the imposition of discriminatory laws or regulations is fear In the case of Malaya it will in the fear of disloyalty to the country as the outcome of divided allegiance The way to remove that fear is to pronounce unequivocally for single nationality"

Mr Thivy said that the Indian community in Malaya could be of great benefit to Malaya in her social and political advancement just as much as it had already proved to be in her economic progress and stability He asked the community to be true to principles and test those principles on the anvil of truth ' Then even though you are a minority community, you will be looked up to Then again even though you are a minority community, you will not be discriminated against "

The Government of India's new Agent in Malaya, Mr S G Ramachandran, speaking at a function in Kuala Lumpur, also emphasised that Indians in the country were in a momentous period of Malayan history He said that by united endeavour they could contribute much to the good of Malaya and share the responsibilities with other communities of the land,

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

Giving his impressions of the Nasik Congress Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have told the special correspondent of the *Hindu* that "the Congress has given a good deal. It is for Congressmen to follow it." The 56th Session concluded with a moving and dignified speech from the President, Sri Purushottam Das Tandon.

Mr. Tandon said the way in which the Congress had endorsed all the resolutions placed before it by the Working Committee should convince those in charge of the central administration that the Congress had complete confidence in them. On the subject of controls, however, although the resolution as sponsored by the Working Committee was adopted, he was sure the Government would not fail to note the feeling of a large section of the House which was apparent during the voting and would take suitable action. Mr. Tandon concluded by saying that the successful termination of the Congress has convinced him that the Congress continued to be as strong as ever before.

Winding up the session, Mr. Tandon struck an optimistic note on the future of the Congress and said that the enthusiasm displayed by the delegates and the public at large had falsified the forecasts of disintegration of the organisation.

"The session marked an important phase in the history of the Congress. The Presidential contest had been preceded by intense canvassing and there were fears of an impending rift in the Congress. These, however, proved little more than part of a routine election campaign in a democratic institution, and the Congress fully endorsed the programme placed before it by Prime Minister Nehru."

The Congress adopted nine resolutions, seven of which pertained to foreign, domestic and economic matters. On foreign policy, the Congress endorsed Pandit Nehru's policy and further approved the Government of India's stand on the Korean issue.

The Congress reaffirmed its faith in a secular democracy, endorsed the Indo-Pakistan Agreement (the Nehru-Liaqat Pact) and voted for a peaceful solution of the Indo-Pakistan disputes by negotiation and arbitration if necessary. Other resolutions which the Congress adopted included those on the question of refugee rehabilitation in India, foreign possessions in India and khadi and village industries. In the economic programme resolution, the Congress welcomed the establishment of the Planning Commission by the Government of India. "In view of the criticism on the setting up of this Commission among some Congress Party members, the plenary session's endorsement of Government's policy in this regard is expected to silence party critics of the Planning Commission."

Debates in the Subjects Committee as well as in the open sessions were generally tame, for the most part, if not wholly, a repetition of the recent parliamentary debate on foreign policy and the communal question. These, however, provided the Prime Minister opportunities to place before the Congress forcefully his policy and seek its ratification.

On the economic side, the Congress passed a lengthy resolution which is in the main a reiteration of its resolutions adopted in recent years. It includes an impressive list of seven subjects which demand urgent attention. One of the items pertains to the abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and other forms of landlordism.

The Nasik session, the same correspondent said, was intended to be a "business-like session," the first of its kind, without the usual public demonstrations, shouting and traffic jams, in order to enable the delegates to concentrate on matters of policy.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

MR TANDON'S ADDRESS TO NASIK CONGRESS

Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, Congress President, addressing (in Hindi) the 56th Session of the Indian National Congress at Nasik on September 20 said that he considered it as "proof of the wisdom and farsightedness of our country" that India's Constitution was not dependent on any religious book, and that under it all citizens had been given equal rights, irrespective of religion or caste

Some Hindus may have the feeling that we should have a Hindu Government in this country and this cry may be raised during the elections, he said

Even thinking on these lines will increase internal dissensions and weaken our administration We have nothing to learn from Pakistan on this subject

Mr Tandon endorsed Pandit Nehru's foreign policy of not joining either of the two great Power Blocs of the world though, he said, this policy had certain advantages and also disadvantages

Mr. Tandon also fully upheld Pandit Nehru's decision that India should be a Republic, and yet remain within the Commonwealth

When our Prime Minister returned from England, I congratulated him on this decision I hold the same view to-day

Mr. Tandon urged that even before the expiry of the time-limit of 15 years, Hindi, the national language, should replace English as the official language "Then, on a suitable occasion, we can introduce the necessary amendment in the Constitution," he said

Referring to displaced persons, Mr. Tandon said that their miseries had been

occasioned by our national policy and it is the responsibility of the nation to make good, according to need, the loss suffered by a community owing to a policy adopted by the nation.

It seems, even on a conservative estimate, that the property left behind by the refugees in East and West Pakistan was over Rs 3,500 crores It is impossible to give compensation for the entire loss Even then I submit that we need several hundred crores of rupees to alleviate the sufferings of the displaced persons This money can be raised only by a planned scheme

The President renewed his suggestion made at the recent refugee conference in Delhi, for the imposition of a national levy.

I consider it practical. If the Government do not consider it so, then my submission is that it should find some other means to get the necessary finances to help the displaced persons

Mr. Tandon congratulated "our Governments" on the 'courage and enthusiasm" they had shown during the last three years in tackling the economic problems facing the country, and in ameliorating the conditions of the peasantry by abolishing zemindaris

The various controls started during the last war were necessary, he said, though they caused some inconvenience. Small officials did not, however, possess that sense of integrity on the strength of which these controls could successfully be worked This created a problem.

It was because of the corruption in the business community arising from controls, that Mahatma Gandhi was against them, but the administration had a sad experience of removing controls, and they were reimposed in the interest of the common people.

My feeling in this matter is that, while it is necessary for Governments to impose discipline on the society, they have to do so in such a way that there is the least possible interference with the private life of individuals, and they should give particular attention to the removal of causes which led to the deterioration of moral standards in the society.

That Governments should impose controls only when they become absolutely essential, and should ordinarily allow the economic forces to work, appears to me to be a reasonable solution of the problem

For Congressmen, Mr. Tandon said, the Congress had been a way of service. Now, it had become a way of obtaining power, and many persons had entered it with the desire mainly of gaining power. But if there remained a good number of workers, whose main aim was the protection of the country and its service, then the popularity and usefulness of the Congress would rise.

I wish to say very humbly that, in future, we will have to so arrange things that even if the number of members of the Congress greatly goes down, those alone will be admitted who enter honestly and behave honestly Only thus will the influence of the Congress be preserved, and increased, and its aim preserved

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

PAKISTAN AND INDIAN MUSLIMS

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of West Punjab, defending Pakistan's huge expenditure on the Armed Services, said at Lahore: "A militarily strong Pakistan is not only essential for the existence of Pakistan as a state but is also necessary for the safety of millions of Muslims of India."

The implication of the statement, comments the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, is too sinister to believe that it could have been made by a person in so responsible a position as Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. Does he mean to assure the Muslims of India that they are being protected by Pakistani arms? Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar's is not an isolated utterance Lately, we have noticed, both in speeches and writings in Pakistan, a distinct change of tone from the one adopted immediately after the signing of the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement. Does this change of attitude indicate a reversal of Pakistan's policy towards India?

ATTACK ON INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Whether it is discussing Indian Congress presidential election or India's attitude towards Korea, the British press, it seems, cannot resist the temptation of referring to Kashmir, writes the London correspondent of the *Tribune*.

Even *The Times* and *Manchester Guardian* sometimes allow their judgment to be warped by the Kashmir question, he adds. Kashmir, in their opinion, is a sort of skeleton in India's cupboard to which attention is often drawn, perhaps, to devalue the contributions which India has been trying to make to the cause of world peace.

COMMUNAL RULE IN SERVICES

The Bihar Government have decided to abandon communal representation in services. Reservation of seats for the backward classes will, however, continue.

The Government have also abrogated the age-old practice of asking if a candidate is a native of Bihar. This procedure, it is stated, has been adopted on account of the new Consitution which provides for equal opportunity to all citizens.

SRI TANDON'S MAJORITY

Babu Purshottamdas Tandon won the Congress Presidental election on September 2 with a majority of 214 votes in the first count.

Announcing the results, Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, General Secretary, who is also the Returning officer, gave the following figures of votes obtained by the three candidates:

Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon	...	1,306
Acharya Kripalani	...	1,092
Mr. Shankarrao Deo	...	202
Invalid votes	...	18
Total votes polled	...	2,618

As Mr. Tandon secured more than half the total number of valid votes polled, he was declared elected.

INDO-PAKISTAN AGREEMENT

The Governments of India and Pakistan, it is understood, have agreed to a barter deal for the exchange of 10,000 tons of Assam coal for 20,000 maunds of East Pakistan rice.

The transaction, originally suggested by the Indian Tea Association, will be completed through that Association and the Pakistan Tea Association. The rice is intended for the use of labourers of the tea estates of Assam, which have been affected by the earthquake.

SPECIAL REFUGEE DEPT.

The Indian High Commission in Karachi has decided to set up, shortly, a full-fledged department to look after refugee matters and to assist in implementing the provisions of the Indo-Pakistan agreement on moveable property.

The agreement, signed on June 28, provides for the removal, sale or disposal by a refugee of his movable property without any permit from the Custodian, but subject to certain reservations.

Mr. M. R. Khanna, Field Property officer to be stationed at Karachi, is already in Karachi and a similiar officer has been posted at Lahore. These officers are now engaged in carrying out the preliminary work for the establishment of the proposed department.

LEGAL

DIRECTIVE ABOUT DETENUS

The Chief Justice of India, Mr. Hiralal J. Kania remarked in the Supreme Court that it was the Court's feeling that Government should set up 'suitable machinery—"manned not by a police official but by some responsible person or persons' — to inquire into the grievances of persons detained under the Preventive Detention Act Addressing the Attorney General of India the Chief Justice said

"Considering what the Court has to go through in the case of habeas corpus petitions, don't you think other aspects of the cases than legality should be taken into consideration? Hundreds or thousands of persons are under detention Many are under detention for alleged activities of three or more years ago There is a grievance that only legal technicalities prevent their release Some machinery satisfactory to the public mind should be established by which grievances of such types should be investigated The machinery may not consist of police officers but some other responsible persons That is the feeling of this Court"

The Attorney General, Mr M C Setalvad, said he shared the views of the Court and that he would convey the feelings of the Court to Government

The Chief Justice made the observation during the hearing of two habeas corpus petitions, one filed by A K Gopalan of Madras, and the other by A Bannerjee, of West Bengal

QUASHED BY HIGH COURT

Judgment was delivered in the Madras High Court by a Full Bench consisting of the Chief Justice and Satyanarayana Rao and Viswanatha Sastri J J declaring the Indian Criminal Law Amendment (Madras) Act of 1950 void as it was inconsistent with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution Their Lordships held that the order of the Madras State declaring the People s Educational Society, Madras unlawful was invalid

Their Lordships also held that the provisions of the Amending Act were inconsistent with Articles 14 and 19 of the Constitution of India In the end Their Lordships declared that the forfeiture of about Rs 2 000 belonging to the Society was illegal

HYDERABAD SPECIAL TRIBUNAL

The Special Tribunal presided over by Mr J A Pinto convicted on Sept 11 Syed MohammedKasim Razvi, 44 year old former Razakar leader of Hyderabad, of the charges of conspiracy and abetment of the murder of Mr Shoebullah Khan, Editor of the Urdu daily, "Imroze , and sentenced him to undergo Rigorous Imprisonment for life.

In the Bibinagar Dacoity Case judgment which was also delivered the same day Razvi was found guilty of dacoity and was sentenced to seven years' Rigorous Imprisonment.

The charge sheet in the Shoebullah Khan Murder Case stated that considering the nationalist activities of the late Mr Shoebullah Khan Editor of the Urdu daily, 'Imroze "—' a dangerous obstacle in the way of his dictatorial policies and ideology '— accused Syed Md Kasim Razvi conspired to bring about Shoebullah Khan's death

Two other accused in the case Abdul Munim Khan, a probationary Health Sub Inspector, and Mohsin Raza an unemployed youth, were accused of complicity in the murder of Shoebullah Khan and both of them have been sentenced to Rigorous Imprisonment for life

Abdul Munim Kham and Mohsin Raza were also found guilty of the charge of attempting to murder Ismail Khan, brother in law of Shoebullah Khan, and were awarded five years' Rigorous Imprisonment on this count

Two other accused, Zameruddin and Syed Imamullah Husseini, are believed to have fled the State for an unknown destination outside India and have been declared 'absconders"

The charge sheet was filed on July 27, 1949, before the three man special Tribunal consisting of Mr J A Pinto (Chairman) Mr Jagannath Rao and Mr Ahmed Ali Khan (Members) and regular hearing of the case began from the same day and continued till Aug. 5, 1950 thus occupying a little over thirteen months

JUSTICE CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR

A Press Communique issued on Sept 11 by the Ministry of Home Affairs says that the President is pleased to appoint Mr Nagapudi Chandrasekhara Aiyar, a retired Judge of the Madras High Court to be a Judge of the Supreme Court of India

TRADE AND FINANCE

INDO-PAK CURRENCY

The Executive Directors of the International Monetary fund have decided to postpone consideration of the par value of Pakistan's currency.

Mr Chintaman Deshmukh, Indian Finance Minister and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, in a statement on the subject, said: "It is necessary for me to make it clear that the Government of India regret that a decision has been postponed. The continuance of the present position would result in further damage to the two countries.

"India would continue to press, in the Fund, that the matter be taken up for decision by the Executive Directors as early as possible," he said.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

The market value of the total private foreign investments in India on June 30, 1948, was estimated at Rs 596 crores, according to a Reserve Bank census of foreign assets and liabilities in India.

Out of this amount, long term investments accounted for Rs. 519 crores, or nearly 87 per cent while the remaining 13 per cent. represented mostly short-term liabilities of commercial banks.

The direct type of investment in which control of operation is associated with ownership of capital totalled Rs. 431 crores, or nearly 83 per cent of the business investments

These comprise: (a) ordinary shares of 'controlled' Indian joint stock companies, to the extent of Rs. 145 crores. (b) branches of foreign companies Rs. 284 crores, and (c) "controlled" partnership Rs. 2 crores.

It would appear that the 'direct' type of investment, particularly in branches of foreign companies, is the dominant element in the field of foreign business investments in India.

Countrywise, Great Britain's investments constituted the largest share, amounting to Rs. 736 crores of which the 'direct' investments were Rs. 322 crores or 86 per cent. The other important countries were U.S.A. with Rs. 80 crores, nearly all being direct; Pakistan with Rs. 21 crores, British West Indies with Rs. 15 crores, Switzerland with Rs. 10 crores and Canada with Rs. 9 crores.

Trading is said to account for Rs. 143 crores, from an analysis of the figures on the basis of business activity, while manufacturing accounts for Rs. 101 crores and the "miscellaneous" group, consisting of plantations, managing agency companies etc., accounts for Rs. 110 crores.

INDIA'S OVERSEAS TRADE

India's foreign trade for 1949-50 reached an all time record total of Rs 1,043 23 crores, which was more by Rs. 92.15 crores than in the previous year, according to final trade figures.

Exports of Indian merchandise improved by Rs 54 02 crores from Rs. 416 03 crores in 1948 49 to Rs. 470 05 crores in 1949 50, while imports increased by Rs. 82 79 crores from Rs. 527 23 crores to Rs 560 02 crores, Re-exports also rose from Rs 7 29 crores to Rs. 13.16 crores. The adverse balance of trade in merchandise accordingly came down to Rs 76 81 crores from Rs. 103.91 crores in the previous year.

Tea, among exports, recorded a substantial rise along with cotton manufactures, spices, tobacco, mica, manganese, groundnuts, raw hides and skins, wool and linseed etc, while among those showing a decline were raw jute and jute manufactures, raw cotton vegetable oils, etc.

Among imports, machinery of all kinds constituted the largest item, highest in India's history, with raw cotton as the next. There was a decline in food imports which came down from Rs. 181.03 crores to Rs. 107 80 crores.

A notable feature of the foreign trade has been the decline in the adverse balance with the U.S.A. from Rs. 86 crores to Rs. 8 5 crores.

WOMEN'S PAGE

WOMEN'S BUREAU

International co-operation to help improve standards for working women throughout the world forms an important part of the activities of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labour. The Bureau, established by the U. S. Congress in 1920, conducts research analyses legislation, develops labour standards, and publishes information affecting all women workers in the United States. The Bureau makes its knowledge and experience available to women labour officials and technicians of other countries through training courses and professional consultations. It exchanges information and publications with Government departments, private agencies, and individuals in many parts of the world In addition, it prepares reports on the economic and legal status of women for the use of U. S. representatives in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, of the International Labour Organization.

During the past year, more than 100 trainees and visitors from 29 countries participated in the Bureau's training courses or consulted with Bureau experts. Among the problems considered were the development of labour standards, improved working conditions, labour laws for women and minors, vocational guidance, etc.

MRS. MUNSHI'S FOUR-POINT PLEDGE

Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, wife of India's Food Minister and Vice-President of the All-India Women's Food Council has asked the women of India to take a four-point pledge to help solve the country's food problem. The pledge reads:

(a) I shall observe at least one day in a week as a non-cereal day and shall draw only six days' ration;

(b) I shall not buy any foodstuffs in blackmarket;

(c) I shall try to prevent the wastage of food by all means possible;

(d) I shall try to grow vegetable and other supplementary foods in the kitchen gardens or baskets.

U. P. GOVERNOR'S "TIP" TO GIRLS

The Governor of U.P., Sir H. P. Mody, told college girls at Moradabad recently that the way to a man's heart was through his stomach. "A well-cooked chappati—if you know how to make one—may be a sure passport," he said.

The Governor who was prescribing a number of 'do's" and don'ts" to the 'young damsels', said that military training for girls was against all civilised concepts of women's place in society. "If I were to-day a young man matrimonially inclined, I would be scared of any girl brandishing a lathi or handling a rifle and looking ferocious and forbidding", he said.

ANTI-BIGAMY ACT AND MUSLIMS

Mr. Morarji Desai, Bombay, Home Minister, said at a Press Conference that Government were prepared to consider the question of including Muslims within the scope of Anti Bigamy Act if such a request was made by Muslim women. Mr. Desai did not consider this to be any interference with religious practices but viewed it solely as social reform.

Mr. Desai added that if the Act had been passed after the birth of the Indian Republic, Muslims who were now outside the scope of the Act, would have been included within the purview of the Bill.

ABDUCTED WOMEN RECOVERED

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Cabinet Minister, told Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand in Parliament that fifty of the 1,323 abducted Hindu and Sikh women believed to be in the possession of Government officers of West Pakistan had been recovered during the last year. They had been sent back to India and restored to their relatives.

The total number of such women was 1,323.

WOMEN'S WELFARE OFFICER

Mrs. P. Parijatham Nayudu, Women's Welfare Officer, has been invited by the State Department Washington, to study the Welfare Department work in the United States.

GENERAL

INDIA'S FOREIGN POPULATION

India's foreign adult population has increased by nearly 12,000 between 1948 and 1950.

According to the latest official figures available 45,661 foreigners of whom 38,556 are males had been registered under the Foreigners Act on January 1 this year as against 34,021 registered on January 1, 1948.

Under the Foreigners Act all foreigners above 16 years of age excepting consular and diplomatic staff, Commonwealth citizens, Tibetans, Nepalese and French and Portuguese Indians have to register themselves with the police and report their movements. Tourists also are exempted from registration.

Among the foreigners the Chinese Nationals with a strength of 13,539 form the largest single bulk while Bulgarians and Columbians with two each form the smallest. Among other nationals there are some 332 Russians, 4,157 Americans, 7,630 Tribal Pathans, 1,999 Afghans, eight Vietnamese and ten Ethiopians.

THE ARMY AND THE BOTTLE

General K. M. Cariappa, Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, said at Bombay recently that the general impression in the mind of the public that the Army cannot get on without drinking, was an erroneous one. The General disclosed that during the past year more than 40 per cent of the officers had voluntarily given up drinking.

They did not wait for any Prohibition Act to be passed, the Commander-in-Chief said and added that the consumption of liquor in army establishments was growing steadily less.

WHAT G. I. MEANS

The term G. I., which stands for Governmental Issue, was originally used in describing supplies issued by the Government to American soldiers. They were called G. I. Supplies. Later the soldiers humorously adapted the term to themselves and began calling themselves G. I.s. This term which developed during World War II has now become synonymous with the American soldier.

DON'T RETIRE AT 65

Doctors were urged to tell their elderly patients: "You will live longer if you don't retire at 65."

The appeal came from a spruce man of 49—Dr. Israel Harris of Bootle. He intends to go on working until he drops.

Dr. Harris, who practises in the Mersey docks area, told the British Medical Association conference at Liverpool: "We doctors should start a campaign to convince people that when a man retires at 65 he inevitably goes downhill and becomes a medical problem.

"Let us put back old age and say that no man should retire until he is 70 or over and has ceased to be a valuable member of the community."

He added: "If a man is compulsorily retired I advise him to take up a hobby like gardening or even cycling—anything to keep the mind active. He will have years of life ahead if he does."

ALLOWANCES FOR WAR HEROES

The Government of India have announced monthly allowances for war heroes.

Winners of the Param Vir Chakra, the Nation's highest award for gallantry in combat with the enemy, will receive Rs. Fifty a month each and Rs. Twenty for each bar. Maha Vir Chakra, Rs. Thirty a month and for each bar Rs. Ten and Vir Chakra, Rs. Twenty, and for each bar Rs. Eight.

The announcement said that the allowances were admissible to Junior Commissioned officers and other ranks. Commissioned officers are not eligible for such allowances.

In the event of the death of the recipient the allowances will be admissible to the widow.

EPITAPH

THE BODY OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

(Like the cover of an old book, its contents torn
out and stripped of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here, food for worms.
Yet the work itself shall not be lost
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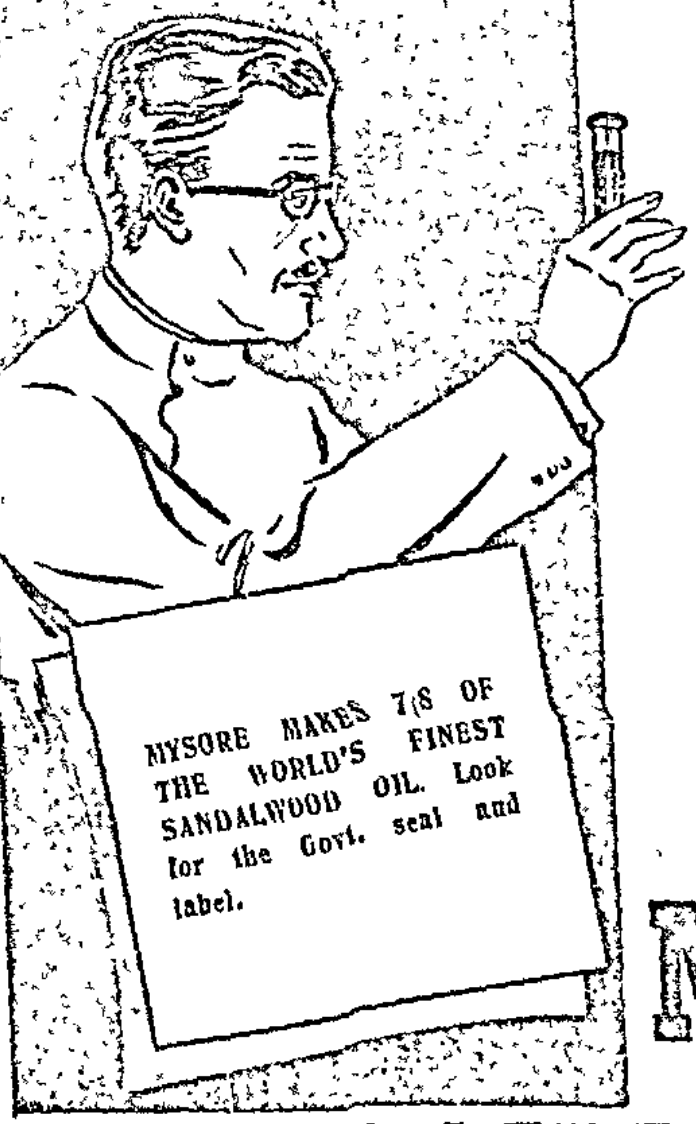
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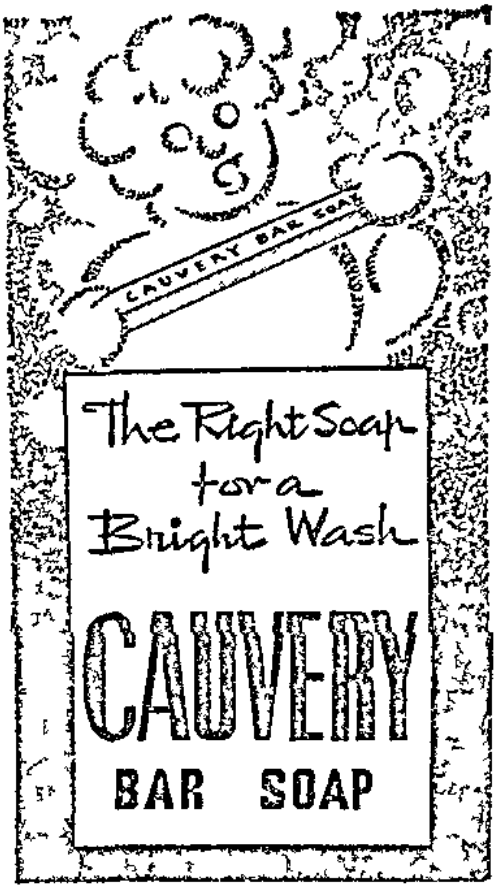
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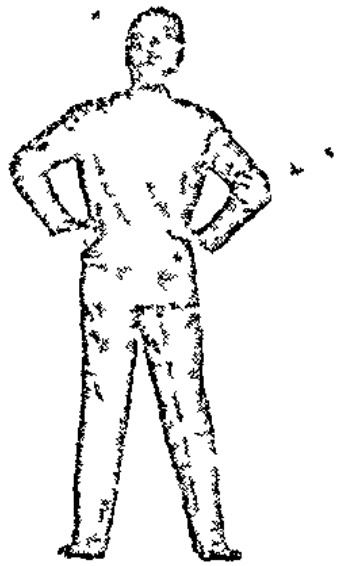
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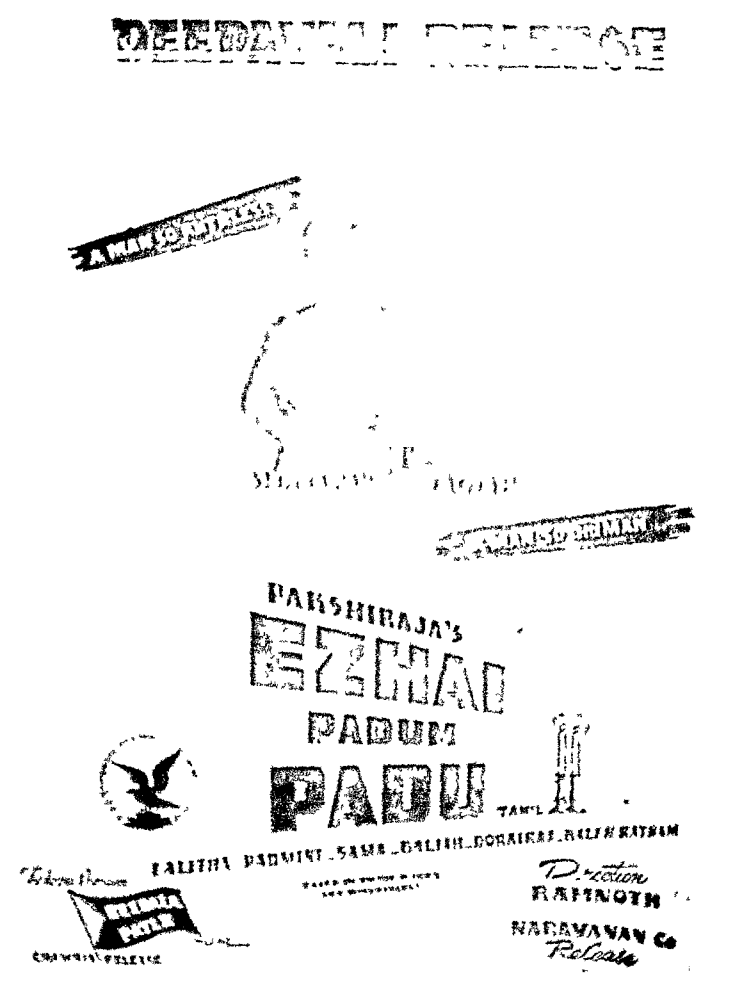
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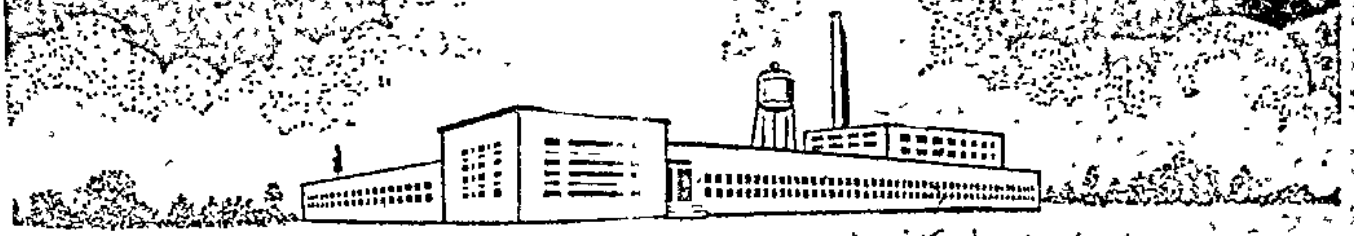
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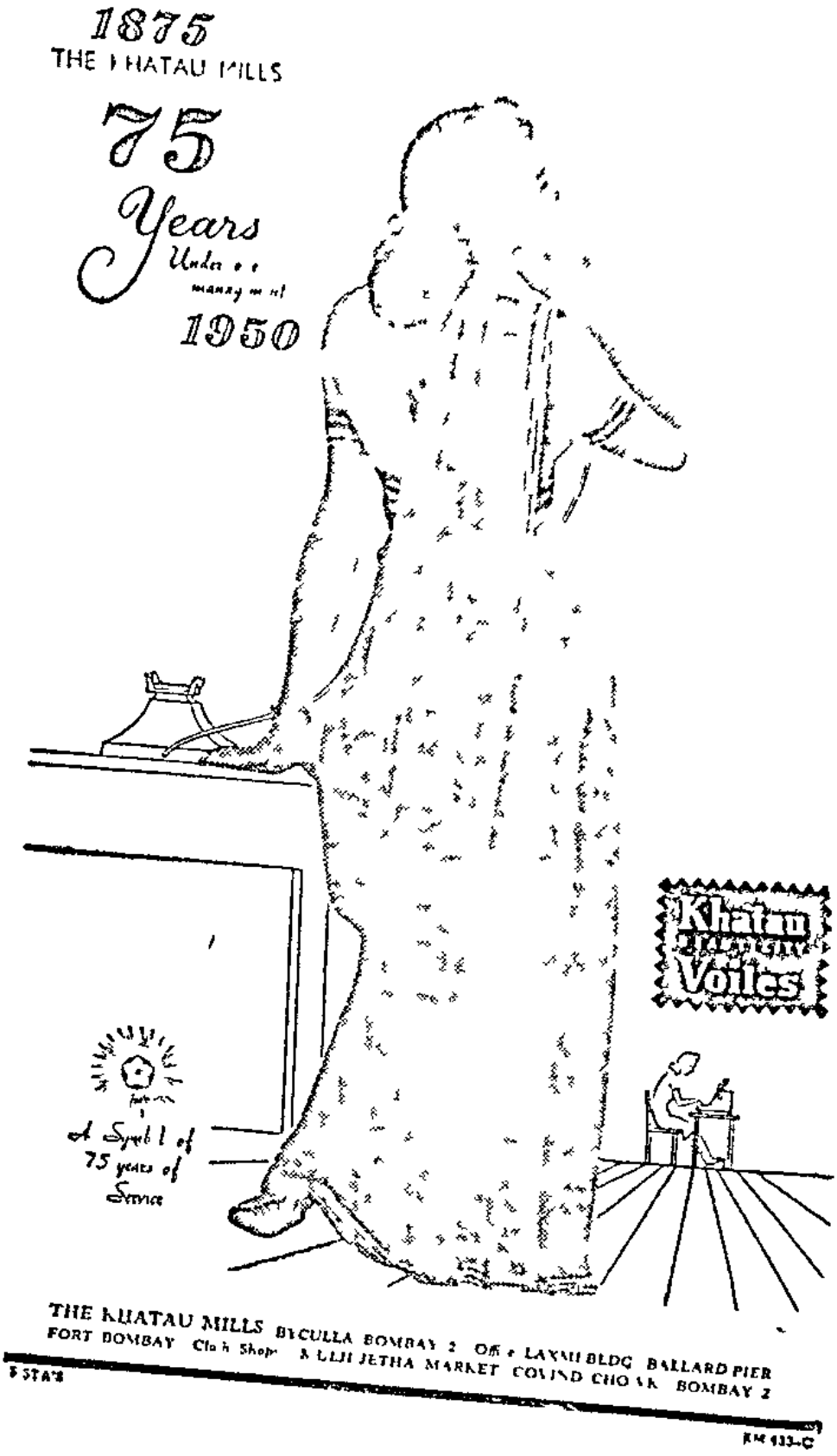
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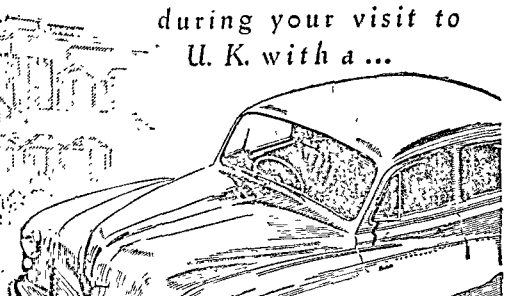
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two ideologies Although geographically the world could be still called one there are definitely two worlds of ideological nature—one dominated by Capitalism and the other ruled by Communism Both of these worlds lie cheek by jowl in each country to day in some countries the one predominates and in the ther the second prevails The Titanic struggle between the two goes on unabated in each country it is this ideological conflict that permeates the so ial economic educational and political domains of national life We could get vivid glimpses of both these worlds throughout the tour and I therefore sincerely feel that the idea of One World under the existing circumstances is a myth We have to face the fact squarely that at present there are two worlds although the hope of humanity ultimately lies in welding both of these into one

The world of Capitalism is led by the United States of America which provides the largest scope for private enterprise and firmly believes in its immense potentialities for economic prosperity and welfare In America the Railways the Bus transport telegraph and telephones radio and the press are all controlled and managed by private companies It must be said to their credit that all these public utility services are run very efficiently The Post Office is the only State concern and unfortunately it is the most inefficient The people of the United States therefore claim that the *laisse- faire* system of economy is by far the best To them the maintenance of this system is the essence of democracy any state that undermines or even restricts private enterprise is totalitarian and dictatorial The world of Communism is led by the Soviet Union which believes in the 'dictatorship of the proletariat for undoing the wrongs of the capitalistic order Russia is hostile to private enterprise and the profit motive and desires to collectivize or nationalize agriculture industry and public utility services In fact the idea of national economic planning originated in Russia where nothing left to chance and the vagaries of private capitalists all sectors of economy have to be effectively controlled managed and planned by the State for the welfare of the masses The Americans claim that their system of national economy is the best because it has enabled the United States to grow into the richest country of the world The Russians describe the American capitalistic system as barbaric unjust and immoral They therefore desire to uproot the bourgeois order while the Americans want to keep their *laisse- faire* system intact at all costs and dread any attempt on the part of the Soviet Union to extend her sphere of influence over Western Europe and Asia

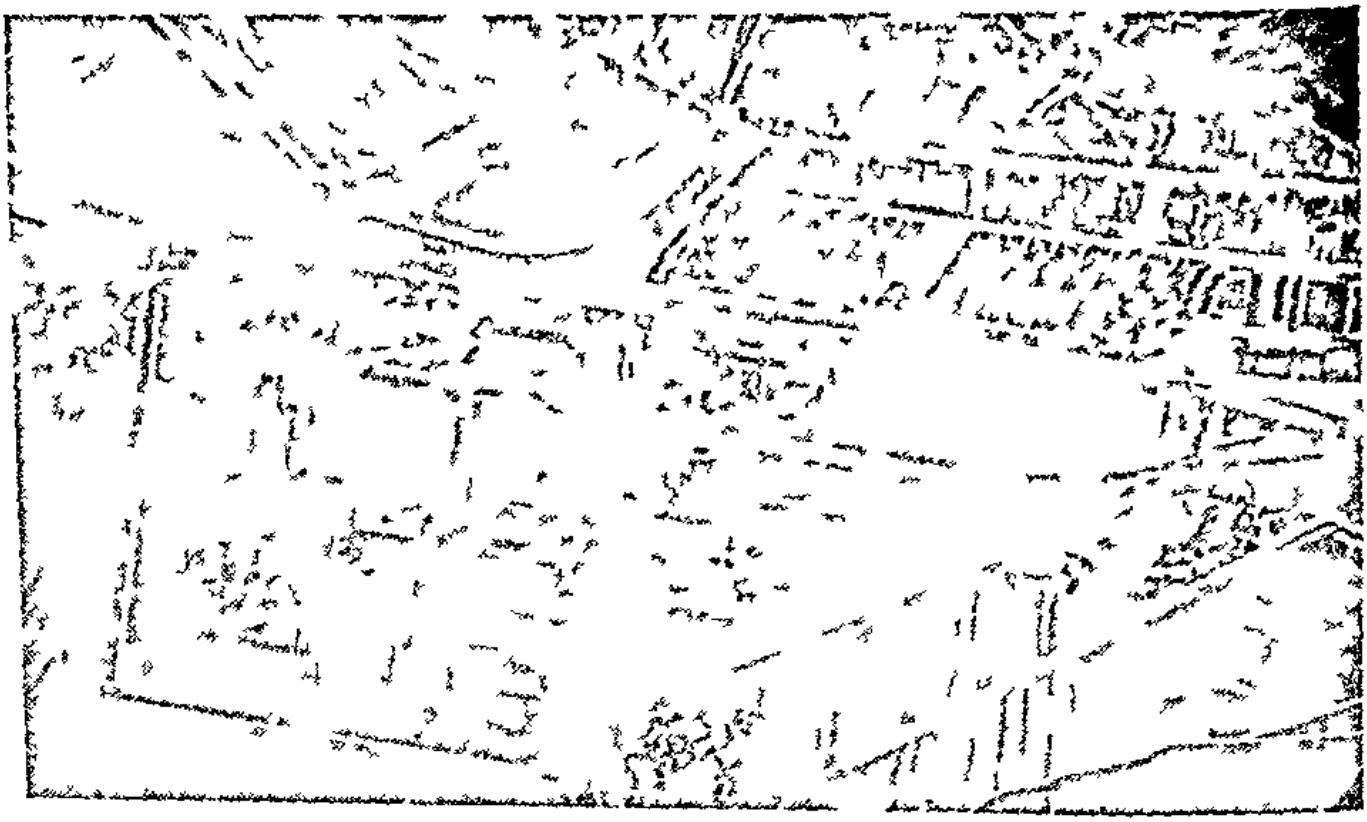
Frankly speaking there is not much to choose between these two systems of Capitalism and Communism Undiluted capitalistic order in which a few industrialists and financiers dominate national life is certainly a monstrosity for which I could never harbour any love or sympathy The very system of free trade and private enterprise which has made America the wealthiest country in the world to day has also caused untold hardships to many an under developed nation even within the United States the political power that the rich people exercise unscrupulously is a tragic mockery of all concepts of democracy On the other hand Communism is fast

growing into a powerful monster that shamelessly crushes every opposition and reduces man into an automaton with no scope for the development of his personality. Communism forgets that Man does not live by bread alone; while assuring employment and a basic standard of living, it deprives humanity of that freedom and initiative which constitute the very essense of life. From my standpoint, both America and Russia are totalitarian; the one upholds 'totalitarian man' and the other creates 'totalitarian State.' These two totalitarian systems of man and society give birth to Total Wars which result in the total destruction of all those values which impart meaning to human life.

How to resolve this deep-rooted conflict and clash of ideologies? After the first world war, the League of Nations attempted to perform this difficult task, but it failed. After the second world war, the United Nations Organization is trying to make the world safe for peace and democracy. But it is yet to be seen whether Lake Success will not turn into Lake-Failure. My visit to Lake Success was not a source of inspiration. The U. N. O. buildings are located in a portion of an Armament factory which is still active in turning out ferocious weapons of war night and day. In one part of the building, peace is talked and on the other, war is planned; this is the basic tragedy of modern life which is the greatest menace to the success of the United Nations.

The man-in-the-street has a common-sense solution to this stupendous problem of conflict and war. While talking to a guard in the British Museum, my wife asked as to what the common man thought about the next war. "We do not want any war!" came the prompt reply. He added: "If Truman and Stalin are itching for a war, let them fight each other and decide who is stronger. But why should all of us be dragged into this quarrel?" This remark was very amusing, indeed: it reminded us of the duels that the ancient kings in India used to arrange in deciding the strength of various kingdoms. It was, surely, a very good system because the extent of violence was very much restricted and restrained. But in these days of total war nothing is spared from the scope of inhuman violence. So the common man's commonsense solution remains a dream and a pious wish. We have to recognize the naked fact that the conflict is ideological in nature and cannot be resolved by either duels or global holocausts.

The question, therefore, arises: "Is there any other economic ideology which eschews the evils of both Capitalism and Communism and combines the good points of the two?" Upon the answer to this crucial question depends the hope of humanity for generations to come. Fortunately for us, a great leader and prophet was born in India to show a new way of life based on love, non-violence, resistence to evil and constructive approach to good. He proved by his life and work that Soul force was a stronger power than violence: even the atom bomb could not conquer the undaunted Spirit of Man. He also told us that non-violence must permeate every aspect of our national life. If war has to be abolished root and branch, the social, economic, political, educational and moral organization of a country should be non-violent in character.





Mi ary targets n Nortl Korea are constantly le ng attacke l by U ted Nat ons a r fo ces a d ng t e Rep bl o of ko ea to repel t e Co munist aggressors The photograph shows the railroad repa r sl ops and yard near Wonsan North I orea as Un ted States Air Force B-29 bombers score d rect l ts complet ng a prec s on bomb ng miss on

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THE TWO WORLDS*

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

DURING the last War, Wendell Willkie undertook a flight round the globe and passionately pleaded for 'One World' in which 'there shall be an equality of opportunity for every race and every nation.' At that time, the United States of America and the Soviet Union were Allies and had pooled their vast nd powerful resources to crush Hitlerism. The United Nations succeeded in winning he war, but miserably failed to win peace. Even before they had the opportunity of meeting round the peace table, the world witnessed the beginning of a 'cold war' between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. The so called 'cold war' threatened to turn into a 'hot war' at the time of the Berlin blockade and the subsequent Airlift. Somehow, good-sense prevailed and the tragedy was averted for the time being. But the tension has been growing in intensity and might any day burst into flames. The Americans sincerely feel that Russia is bent upon precipitating war for destroying the United States and gaining mastery over the entire globe. The Soviet Union declares that she has absolutely no intentions of waging a war; on the other hand she feels convinced that America is determined to force war on Russia in order to annihilate Communism at the very source. Both the U. S. A and the U. S. S. R. proclaim from the house-tops that they desire to outlaw war and establish lasting peace on earth. But both are engaged in making frantic efforts to manufacture more Atom and Hydrogen bombs in the mad race of piling up deadly and disastrous weapons of war. Speaking about this armaments race, Prof. Albert Einstein recently observed: "The successful radio-active poisoning of the atmosphere, and hence the annihilation of life on earth, has been brought within the range of technical possibility. . . The idea of achieving security through national armament is at the present state of military technique a disastrous illusion. The armaments race between the U. S. and the U. S S R, originally supposed to be a defensive measure, assumes a hysterical character." The Professor, therefore, pleaded for the solemn renunciation of violence and the promotion of mutual trust. But the whole situation seems to have passed beyond the control of any one nation and the 'two worlds' of America and Russia threaten to destroy each other in an atomic war in which victory and defeat are almost equally disastrous. This is not a clash between two countries or races; it is an inherent conflict of

* This is the last chapter of Principal Agarwal's forthcoming book "The Two Worlds" to be published by the Hind Kitabs, Bombay.

In other words the roots of violence have to be traced and eradicated in all directions Attempts to build peace on the foundation of social and economic violence are foredoomed to failure In order to win lasting peace we have therefore to set our own house in order This was the message of that glorious leader and Saint

The Gandhian way of life presupposes the fundamental values of Simplicity and Dignity of Labour Both Capitalism and Communism are based on the materialistic values they attach importance to the standard of living while Gandhiji was anxious to raise the standard of life which connotes the development of the whole personality of man Mahatma Gandhi told us that true happiness and prosperity consisted not in the multiplication of wants but in their control and discrimination Modern civilization has like the Greek young man Narcissus fallen in love with itself and bids fair to pine away and perish The world is indeed too much with us and the mad race after earthly pleasures and material wealth throws it into the whirlpool of economic exploitation regimentation of the masses and violent socio political organization We have to learn a timely lesson from the story of King Midas who hankered after gold and if we persist in this senseless craze we will like him convert all human values into gold and thereby bring about the spiritual death of Man Of what avail is it to add and add and add? asks Poet Tagore By going on increasing the volume or pitch of sound we can get nothing but a shriek we can get music only by restraining the sound and giving it the melody of the rhythm of perfection Without this self restraint the establishment of a non violent socio economic organization is an impossibility

In the social sphere the Gandhian way implies equal treatment for all human beings irrespective of any distinctions relating to race colour sex religion or social position In a society where the coloured people are treated as inferior to the white population any talk of peace and non violence becomes a hypocrisy of the meanest kind In the economic domain Gandhian ideology means economic equality and a very large measure of industrial decentralization in the form of Co operatives Excepting the key industries which should be nationalized and if necessary run on a large scale all the consumer goods industries ought to be organized on a small scale basis in the village cottage Such economic decentralisation would be able to provide full employment eliminate labour capital friction because the workers themselves will be the owners of Industrial Co operatives and make the country fool proof against modern warfare of aerial bombardment The planning of fields factories and workshops would enable people to live a healthy life in the open air and would promote art and culture in natural surroundings A decentralized economy discourages concentration of power in the hands of the State or a few individuals and will consequently be non explosive and non violent in nature Centralized economy on the contrary is bound to be explosive and violent To build international peace on the foundations of centralized economic organization is to build on sands

In the educational field Gandhian thought emphasizes the correlation of hand culture with mind culture or the

integration of handicrafts with academic subjects. The Gandhian plan of 'New Education' consists in teaching through the medium of productive activity, so that as a child works and earns in plying his crafts he obtains the essential knowledge of different subjects also. Instead of becoming a burden on society, he actively participates in the production of wealth. In the political sphere, Gandhi's main contribution was the stress on decentralized democracy in the form of rural communities with a large measure of local self-Government. Centralized democracy as practised in most of the countries today is a failure because the masses do not feel the glow of freedom and responsibility. According to Mahatma Gandhi, decentralized democratic organization alone can promote peace and non-exploitation. Centralization in political democracy inevitably results either in Fascism or 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Morally, the Gandhian way of life implies insistence on the purity of the means as that of the end. It has to be understood once and for all that pure aims can never be achieved with impure means. Spiritually, Gandhi believed in the Oneness of Life and he desired to realize God by identifying himself with the meanest of creatures. It is only through self-purification and selfless service that one can attune oneself to the Infinite. Gandhi went a step farther than internationalism; he believed in Universalism, in the sense that all life was one not only on this planet but in the whole Universe. But this does not mean that we should depend for our daily necessaries of life on distant lands. The ideals of local self-sufficiency and Universalism could be followed simultaneously without any question of contradiction or inconsistency.

Gandhism thus points out the middle way between the two worlds of to-day; it is capable of fusing the two conflicting ideologies into one without any confusion. It is not medieval and irrational. On the contrary, I claim that the Gandhian way is the only scientific and practical solution of almost all the ills that plague mankind in the modern world. Instead of being behind the times, Gandhi was, perhaps, a few decades or even a century ahead of us. If we do not comprehend the imperative need for decentralization of economic and political power, time would compel us to do so. The nemesis of over-centralization and excessive mechanization would be the organization of decentralized rural units of administration and economic planning. America is already tasting the fruits of modern science and large-scale centralized industrialization, so much so that politicians of the United States are seriously thinking of constructing an underground capital as a measure of safety against atomic warfare. They are actively planning to decentralize their giant factories into the countryside as a means of effective self-defence. I will, therefore, not be surprised if America is obliged to follow Gandhi much earlier as a necessity than does India adopt the Gandhian way of life as a matter of duty.

Gandhi is no longer a symbol of mere passive resistence; he is a dynamic and revolutionary urge for a new way of life. The two worlds of Capitalism and Communism are at loggerheads; they are engaged in a quarrel of life and death. The Gandhian way points out an alternative in which both of these ideologies can pool together their best qualities for the happiness and welfare of mankind.

In Love Shall We now Accept Him

Out of suspicion we repudiated him,
In anger we slew him,
In love shall we now accept him—
Because, through death, he has
come to life within all of us,
That great Conqueror of Death.

—Rabindranath Tagore

The Problem of Colonial Self-Government

By Prof S RAMASWAMI AIYAR M A

THERE has been of late a good deal of discussion on the question of the future of the colonies in various parts of the world of the European powers By breach of the Ten Commandments and in the name of almost everything the Prince of Peace came to destroy large parts of the territory of the world rich in a variety of ways and peopled by races in varying stages of social evolution have been appropriated by the hitherto dominant European powers Japan was almost the only power outside Europe to seek to hold down backward territories and peoples by force in the name of a superior civilization and almost the only Asiatic power in history to go beyond the sphere Asia had long regarded as the permissible field of penetration namely the sphere of values and of the spirit To day most of the powers in Europe are broken both spiritually and physically and are unequal to the tasks of political dominion European peoples who have settled down in the so called colonies are however seeking to prevent the further social evolution and progress of the backward peoples on whom they have thrust themselves In the continent of Africa the problem will before long attain the dimensions of a world crisis Sober and realistic in this matter of colonial policy as in many others and inspired by the somewhat subdued idealism with which they cloak their forced renunciations of power British thinkers and statesmen have set them selves to devise a plan by which their economic and material interest in the colonies can be preserved without a shock to their prestige involved in their enforced dismissal from the sphere of their present dominion Rita Hinden in Empire and After and Professor Evans in The British Yoke have done a lot to educate the English public—and the world in the inevitability of a gradual renun ciation of Colonial domination

Sir Alan Burns has in his Colonial Civil Servant done his bit drawing on a very considerable store of experience of colonial administration to set the problem in its proper perspective from the stand point of practical tasks and problems involved in decisions on colonial policy But in general there is a tendency especially in books by colonial adminis trators to indulge in extravagant estimates of the indispensability of continued tutelage for the colonies This has its amusing side—to the psychologist and the intelligent layman as illustrating the kind of megalomania which certain types of occupation develop It has indeed been said that glorification of expert colonial administration by expert colonial adminis trators is a natural occupational disease It is notorious that sun dried bureaucrats are too much in love with the system they have handled and perfected in accordance with their frightfully narrow conceptions of the needs of backward peoples as other peoples to contem plate with equanimity any attempt to change it Keynes in his memoir of Dr Melchior points out with what heartless criminal woodenheadedness and stupidity the British blockade adminis trators persevered in blockading a desperate and starving Germany for long after an overwhelming military defeat under cover of an Armistice which

* Crocker Self Government for the Colonies Allen & Unwin 1/6 6d

had expressly provided for its abolition.

Mr. Crocker, in the book under review, is refreshingly free from this narrowness of approach, from this fantastic preoccupation with the glorious days of colonial rule. It is an exceptionally well-balanced and clear study, albeit it confines itself but to a few specific problems, of the actual relationship between the colonial powers and the races throbbing with a new found and exciting consciousness of national self-respect and individuality in the colonial territories. Mr. Crocker believes that the days of European pre-eminence even in the field of mere technology are past. Of course the notion of moral pre-eminence of the whiteman was merely their fantastic delusion, and though Mr. Crocker does not say so expressly, it is clear that he at any rate has no illusions about European disinterestedness. Only there has emerged as the rival of the former European Pecksniffian type, a far more dangerous type of exploitation, exploitation by an imperialistic communism. Economic weakness and growing military incapacity, disminishing rates of growth of population are other factors which have rendered the problem of handling colonies rather difficult to-day. Britain and other Colonial Powers have no longer the will or the capacity to hold down even backward peoples against their will, in the face of communist propaganda. But Britain has latterly displayed a resilience, a resource and a skill in the handling of the larger issues of India which we may well expect to see in operation soon in Nigeria, Malaya, and elsewhere. True, Britain is slow to perceive the inevitability of withdrawal, but be it said to her credit that she has been wiser in her time than France or Portugal or Holland. And world public opinion is now more resolutely hostile to the colonial idea than ever before. Britain has always been rather sensitive to world opinion and other countries like Holland are also becoming more responsive to responsible world opinion. Witness the settlement of the Indonesian question on a basis honourable to Holland and to the nascent Republic of Indonesia.

It must not however be forgotten that some colonial areas and their inhabitants are still at a stage of political and economic evolution that calls for a great measure of external help and guidance. It is among the major achievements of of Wilsonian idealism that such areas and peoples were publicly proclaimed as a sacred trust of civilization. Whatever the imperfections and defects of the Mandates system devised by the Versailles Treaty or of the trusteeship system of the United Nations, the fact that the civilized world as a whole is responsible for the proper development and supervision of these areas is a matter of tremendous importance in regard to their future. These areas cannot any longer be claimed as private estates of the individual farmers called upon to be in charge of any of them. Nor can anything inconsistent with the Declaration of Fundamental Human Rigths be done in these areas. The Trusteeship Council is there to ensure that the trustee discharges the trust properly and for the benefit of the ward.

It must however be remembered that these areas are nations in the making. Contact with the advanced nations of the

Indigo plantation The feelings of the ryots against the forcible cultivation of indigo were much more acute in the the Bettiah Estate The management of Bettiah Estate was in the hands of the Europeans The manager gave lavishly temporary leases of land to the European planters Unfortunately the extravagance of the Maharaja and the mis management of his employees put Bettiah Raj into havy debts and Mr T Gibbon who was appointed manager in 1876 was specially commissioned to extricate the Raj from the debt The manager thought of a plan and the Guilliland House consented to float a sterling loan of nearly 9o lacs on the sole condition of substantial European security To cover the interest on the loan and to give a substantial security permanent leases of villages were given to the European indigo planters in the place of temporary leases By this method the cultivation of indigo was very widely extended in North Bihar and by the end of the 19th century about a lac of acres of the best land in Champaran were under Indigo cultivation and at the mercy of the European planters

From the beginning of the 20th century the acute feelings of the ryots of Champaran against the forced indigo cultivation found shape in concrete out burst from time to time Even before Gandhiji was requested to come to Champaran and was prevailed upon to take up the cause of the ryots against the oppressions of the European planters there was an effective opposition to public intervention

ABWABS REALISED

The Provincial administration in North Bihar at the beginning of the 20th century was practically controlled by the European indigo planters and Champaran had to bear the fullest brunt of it Within almost every 10 miles there was a planters' Indigo concern The poor tenants were forced to part with their lands so that the planters could have a consolidated block The best part of their lands had to grow indigo whether they wanted it or not and the planters' Jamadars were a constant night mare These concerns levied *Abwab* under various names The amounts of the Abwabs varied in practice between 30 per cent and 120 per cent of the local ryot s rental Strangely enough the first payment made by a ryot used to be credited to the *Abwab* account and the arrangement was that the rent receipts were granted only when all the demands legal and illegal were paid Ryots used to be sued for arrears of rent in the Northern Thikadari areas of the Bettiah and Ramnagar Estates even after they had paid their rent Abwabs the number of which was very large used to be justified on the grounds that they were voluntarily paid they were customary that the rents were low etc etc

PLANTERS ASSOCIATION AND LIGHT HORSE RAIYATS REVOLT

The Bihar Planters' Association and the Bihar Light Horse a Volunteer Defence Corps practically guided the administration Mr Filgate the Secretary of the Bihar Planters Association was also the Officer commanding of the Bihar Light Horse a Volunteer Defence Corps Although he controlled the interest of the planters with an iron hand he took the precaution of setting up defensive posts under the wings of the Bihar Light Horse throughout North Bihar for the protection of the Europeans and Anglo Indians in case there was an

uprise. The set up of the tenantry in Champaran was such that a tenant could not walk with an umbrella opened within a mile of the Kothi of the European Planter. But it is this oppression which brought out several martyrs who moved from village to village in 1907-1908 and a secret organisation was set up to fight the tyranny of the planters. The meek tenant born and brought up in the environs of *Tinkathia* and Sarabeshi system according to which he had to raise indigo in the best portion of his land and if he would not he would pay more rent and pay innumerable Abwabs revolted. One Gulab was the prime mover and he raised a common fund for contesting cases and within a very short time the movement against the Planters' Raj caught the whole of the Bettiah Subdivision. The Ryots at the instance of Seikh Gulab, Sital Ray and others refused to grow Indigo and they started sowing their own crops in the *Tinkathia* portion of the field.

MORE OPPRESSION

The planters were bewildered but the iron grip on the tenants tightened quickly and Sk. Gulab and others soon found themselves made into special constables. It is difficult to realise today the bitterness of the feelings of the tenants at that time and history was made in Bettiah Subdivision in Champaran in 1908 when Seikh Gulab and others refused work as special constables. They were evicted under the Police Act but the Calcutta High court set aside the eviction in March 1908.

BOMB AT MUZAFFARPUR; AGITATION INTENSIFIES

A month later as a protest against the British and bureaucracy and oppression India was shaken by the bomb thrown in Muzaffarpur on the 30th April 1908 by the two young Bengali boys Khudi Ram Bose and Profulla Chaki both of whom had to die martyrs' death. This bomb outrage stiffened the administration. But the movement started by Seikh Gulab was all the more energised by the lesson of the bomb that was thrown in Muzaffarpur. While the planters considered Indigo cultivation as a divine right the cultivators took it as an outrage.

ADMINISTRATION HITS BACK

Throughout 1908 Champaran was the butt-end of this agitation. Notices under section 144 Cr. Pr. Code used to be served in the morning and arrests were made in the evening on the grounds that the tenants had disobeyed the orders of Government. About 200 respectable men of Bettiah were made special constables. About 300 warrants were issued against the men who had run away to Calcutta and other places. Bengalis were paid special attention and any Bengali stranger coming by train to any part of Champaran was always hounded by the police. Bengal was at this time torn with the great Swadeshi agitation and the villagers in Bihar used to get papers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Behar*ee, and the *Bengali* which put their case with a vigour which the Vernacular Press lacked.

LEADERS PERSECUTED

The three leaders Seikh Gulab, Sital Ray, and Radhemal were singled out by the administration. Sital Ray, a respectable resident of Mathia village had his house surrounded by police men under Mr. Knight, Reserve Inspector and arrested, and the handcuffed Sital Ray was taken to the house of the S. D. O. when

West speeds up the process enormously though the initial consequences of such contacts have seldom been beneficial to the backward areas It is possible however by a wise choice of trustees uninfluenced by considerations of the kind which recently misled the U N O into re calling Italy into some of the areas which governed under her yoke to ensure that these areas soon achieve the status of independent and responsible members of the world community of nations

In the situation confronting colonial powers in some parts of the world Mr Crocker shows that the nationalist minority becomes of great importance This class resenting the racial superiority of the dominant colonial power is sensitive to every affront to national self respect Tactfully handled this class could act as a liaison between the native culture and the culture of the colonial power As India has shown this minority can effortlessly become the spearhead of the majority and carry it along the path to full fledged national independence The colonial power that distrusts this class in its colony or excludes it from responsible participation in colonial development or insults it as unrepresentative will soon be forced to quit the colony This class may have weaknesses and failings of various kinds But this class has the right and the duty of affording leadership to the masses amidst whom it lives and from whom it has emerged It was the unimaginative and stupid mishandling of the powerful patriotic and public spirited nationalist leadership in India by a [illegible] of bureaucrats and domineering Viceroys and Governors that led to the situation in which the very structure of [illegible] and good order in India became dangerously weak just at the time nationalism reached its climax

Campbell—Bannerman long ago declared that good government was no substitute for self government Mr Crocker wisely follows this extremely sound line and recommends that the risks of rapid development of self government are to be preferred to the risks of racial estrangement and general chaos that would flow from any other policy Mr Crocker's book is not free from inaccuracies here and there but is in its general tenor wise sound and practical

BLINDED

BY MR R L COOK

These sinews ache for action
And I am blind
On the lawn with idle hands
Teaching my ears to see the trees
Sharpening my mind against
The loom of helplessness idly I sit
Now when winds disturb the leaves
Angry agony responds
In the branches of my mind
My mind has many branches and they twist
And intertwining brush the mirrors of
My senses but one sense shows no [reflection
No light nor balm of solace here
But sympathetic sops from those who see
On the lawn I useless sit and feel
My sinews ache for action
But I am blind

GANDHIJI'S FIRST STRUGGLE IN INDIA

By Mr P C ROY CHOUDHURY, M A, B L

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EUROPEAN INDIGO CONCERNS IN BIHAR

ONE of the requests that Gandhiji received soon after his coming to India from South Africa was to visit Champaran district in Bihar and redress the grievances of the cultivators against forced Indigo plantation Indigo was being cultivated in North Bihar even before the advent of the British The Indigo concerns of North Bihar familiarly known as *Nil Kothis* came into existence in the 18th century and by the end of the 18 h century there were nine big Indigo concerns in North Bihar under non official Europeans In the first quarter of the 19th century the number of factories had gone up to more than 25 and like an Octopus the tentacles of the Indigo Kothis had entwined into the body economic and the body social of the cultivators of North Bihar There was a time when even the British Government allowed the European planters credit at the public treasury as the Government were enamoured of the Indigo plantations and thought the ultivators immensely profited from it



MAHATMA GANDHI

INDIGO CULTIVATORS OPPRESSED

But down in the hearts of the poor cultivators even in the third quarter of the 19th century there was a deep seated dissatisfaction and the cultivators wanted to have at least more price for their indigo They knew that enormous profits were made from indigo and they had a natural desire to have a higher price The Amlas or the subordinate personnel who were in the real touch with the cultivators exacted a number of illegal levies under the general name of *Dastur* Slowly the Proprietor planters were substituted by the European Managers who had less sympathy and less touch with the ryots Forcible cultivation of indigo was given legal sanctity by several Court Rulings upholding the *Tinkathia* system by which the cultivator was obliged to grow indigo on the best part of his land and the *Sarabesh* system under which Indigo plantation could be commuted by an agreement to pay a much higher rent

PERMANENT LEASES TO EUROPEAN CONCERNS

The Bettiah Estate in Champaran had a very prominent part in sustaining this

the press and the public or the Council were not taken into confidence, the planters were A memorandum of the Planters Association published in June 1910 took into account some of Gourley's suggestions and indicated some of amendments of the bye laws and the rate payable for Java and for Suantrana Indigo per acre was raised The planters also decided that no Farmaish shall be levied from any tenant and no land whatsoever shall be taken for Indigo Zirat without a written agreement

These solemn promises were not fully ratified It was indeed painful to read in the memorandum of the Planters Association that the Lt Governor of Bengal bringing the deliberations of the planters to a close of a conference in Darjeeling in 1910 showered the choicest praise on the planters and said that Confidence has been reposed in the planters on the present occasion because they had always respected every confidence reposed in them in the past'

GANDHIJI S VISIT—1917 NOTICE TO QUIT

The next phase is seen when Gandhiji was brought by Raj Kumar Sukla of Bettiah and others to Champaran Gandhiji refused to move the resolution regarding the indigo plantation in Bihar in the sessions of the Indian National Congress of 1916 because he had no personal knowledge of the matter But he gave his word that he would visit Champaran and in pursuance of that promise he arrived at Muzaffarpur on 10th April 1917 and saw the Commissioner Mr Macpherson was the Chief Secretary at that time Gandhiji intimated to the Commissioner that he would visit Motihari and Bettiah to look into the grievances and the Commissioner told him that the matter was receiving the attention of Government and he need not go to Motihari. But nothing could stop Gandhiji, and he went to Motihari He had already collected round him a band of ardent followers Gandhiji had an intuition that he might be arrested and the notice under Cr Pr. Code served by the S D O Champaran on him to quit Champaran did not come as a surprise The whole of the night preceding the day when the case came up for hearing was spent in work by Gandhiji and he gave very clear instructions to his followers as to what they had to do The Court room of Mr George Chandra S D O was packed and thousands of peop'e were waiting outside Mr Heycock District Magistrate of Champaran, the Superintendent of Police and other officers were bewildered as to what Gandhiji would do In very clear and unequivocal words he read out the statement that he was going to fulfil his mission and he had no intention to leave Champaran

HIS STATEMENT REFUSES TO QUIT

Gandhiji had already written when the notice under Cr Pr Code was served on him as follows —

With reference to the order under section 144 Cr Pr Code just served on me I beg to state that I am sorry that you have felt called upon to issue it and I am sorry too that the Commissioner of the Division has totally misinterpreted my position Out of a sense of public responsibility I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district but if it so pleases the authorities I shall submit to the order by suffering from penalty of disobedience

I most emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion that my 'object is likely to be agitation My desire is purely and simply for a genuine search for knowledge' and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free

AN UNIQUE STATEMENT FIRST IN BRITISH INDIA

Mr Gandhi appeared before the Magistrate on 18th April and read the following statement before the court —

With the permission of the Court I would like to make a brief statement showing I have taken the very serious steps of seemingly disobeying the order made under section 144 of the C Pr Code In my humble opinion it is a question of difference of opinion between the local administration and myself I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service I have done so in response to a pressing invitation to come and help the ryots who urge they are not being fairly treated by the Indigo planters I could not render any help without studying the problem I have therefore come to study it with the assistance if possible of the administration and the planters I have no other motive and I cannot believe that my coming here can in any way disturb public peace or cause loss of life I claim to have considerable experience in such matters The administration however have thought it differently I fully appreciate their difficulty and I admit too that they can only proceed upon the information they receive As a law abiding citizen my first instinct would be as it was, to obey the order served upon me I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I came I feel that I could just now serve them only by remaining in their midst I could not therefore voluntarily retire Amid this conflict of duty I could only throw the responsibility of removing me from them on the administration I am fully conscious of the fact that a person holding in the public life of India a position such as I do has to be most careful in setting examples It is my firm belief that in the complex constitution under which we are living the only safe and honourable course for a self respecting man is in the circumstances such as face me to do what I have decided to do that is to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience I have ventured to make this statement not in any way in extenuation of the penalty to be awarded against me but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority but in obedience to the higher law of our being the voice of conscience

The case was adjourned and was withdrawn on the next day The Empire had the force of truth was realised

ADMINISTRATION STOOPS

Gandhiji continued his work in hearing the ryots The little hopes that were entertained that Gandhiji would send away his lawyer friends in his work were shattered when Gandhiji wrote his historic letter on the 18th May 1917 on the request of the Chief Secretary that he should give them up that it was a point of honour with him not to dispense with their help By this time Gandhiji's co workers had swelled and some of them were Rajendra Prasad, Shambhu Sharan, Brij Kishore Prasad Ram Navami Prasad, Anugrah Narain Sinha, Bharanidhar, Mazrul Haq Kripalani, Mahadev Desai and others Hundreds of villagers would pour in and their statements regarding the oppressions by the planters were recorded The gears of Government were completely upset Mr Maude the Chief Secretary requested Gandhiji for a summary of his conclusions of the preliminary inquiry into the agrarian conditions of the ryots of Champaran This letter of Gandhiji dated 19th May 1917 is a masterpiece and he summarises the position and points out that when the Ryots were groaning under the weight of the oppression the Government should not await the Settlement Officer's report on the matter. The S D O, Bettiah the District officer, Champaran the Commissioner, Tirhut Division and the Settlement officer all had to report on this letter As a result of all this Government was obliged to appoint a Committee to go into the matter

AGRARIAN COMMITTEE APPOINTED

The Champaran Agrarian Inquiry Committee was appointed on the 10th June 1917 with an apologia as to its necessity and "M K Gandhi, Esq" was mentioned

as the fifth and the last member of the Committee The report was signed on 3rd October 1917 and gave clear indications as to what need be done and wanted that orders that may be passed should be circulated in the vernacular to the ryots by as wide publication as possible The President of the Committee was Mr F G Sly, Commissioner, C P and the other members besides Gandhiji were Messrs L C Adamy D J Reid G Rainy and Raja of Amawa (later substituted by Raja Krityanand Singh of Baneli) The Government resolution was signed on the 18th October 1917 accepting the Committee's recommendations that the *Tinkathia* system should entirely be abolished and that any contract to grow indigo must be voluntary for short terms only Government came also to certain conclusions regarding commutation Tawan *Abwab Thikadari* system pasture grounds scale of minimum wages etc Government agreed to bring in the necessary legislation to give effect to the Committee's recommendations This promise was quickly implemented and the first mission of Gandhiji was a success in India

HIS OWN REVIEW

It will be interesting to know how Gandhiji personally referred to his work in Champaran when he addressed a letter to the Viceroy soon after the Delhi War Conference He wrote

> In Champaran by resisting an age long tyranny I have shown the ultimate sovereignty of British justice In Kaira a population that was cursing Government now feel that it and not the Government is the power when it is prepared to suffer for the truth it represents It is therefore losing its bitterness and is saying to itself that the Government must be a Government for people for it tolerates orderly and respectful disobedience where injustice is felt Thus Champaran and Kaira affairs are my direct, definite and special contribution to the War . Ask me to suspend my my activities in that direction and you ask me to suspend my life If I could popularise the use of soul force which is but another name for love force in place of brute force I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst In season and out of season therefore I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering and present it for acceptance to those who care and if I take part in any other activity the motive is to show the matchless superiority of that law

HIS DRESS INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE

Gandhiji's dress in those days consisted of entirely hand woven and hand sewn and was made by him or his fellow workers Mr Irwin of Motihari Sugar Factory was a great critic and wrote a number of letters in the *Pioneer* and *Statesman* It is rarely that Gandhiji even wrote to the press other than what was his own and the following reply of Gandhiji in reply to Mr Irwin's criticisms of dress in the *Pioneer* during the Champaran inquiry will be read with interest

> I have hitherto successfully resisted the temptation of either answering your or Mr Irwin's criticism of the humble work I am doing in Champaran Nor am I going to succumb now except with regard to a matter which Mr Irwin has thought fit to dwell upon and about which he has not even taken the trouble of being correctly informed I refer to his remarks on my manner of dressing
>
> My familiarity with the minor amenities of western civilisation has taught to respect my national costume and it may interest Mr Irwin to know that the dress I wear in Champaran is the dress I have always worn in India except that for a very short period in India I fell an easy prey in common with the rest of my countrymen to the wearing of the semi European dress in the courts and elsewhere outside Kathiawar I appeared before the Kathiawar courts now 21 years ago in precisely the dress I wear in Champaran

THE TREATMENT AS BEFORE: A STORY

BY MR. MICHAEL HERVEY

"AH, there you are, Doctor," puffed Mrs. Phenobia Emdinger, blundering into the dark room and giggling as she did so. "Nurse told me I should find you here."

She waited for the man at the window to acknowledge her presence, but he remained silent and motionless, his back turned towards her.

"I suppose I have to make myself comfortable on this couch," Mrs. Emdinger continued, suiting her action to her words. "This isn't a bit like the psychiatrists' consulting rooms one sees on the films, you know. I rather expected to find the room draped in those chic little dark velvet curtains, and all that sort of thing. It is just a teeny bit dismal. Aren't you going to switch on the lights? Oh, no, how silly of me! I forgot, lights aren't conducive to confessions of the soul, are they? I read that somewhere—I forget where, perhaps in one of the magazines. I suppose it will be quite all right if I remove my hat and coat?"

The man at the window shrugged his shoulders as if to indicate that the matter was of no moment. His indifference did nothing to stay Mrs. Emdinger's flow of conversation.

"There, that's better," she exclaimed, surreptitiously adjusting her girdle, "I feel as though I can unburden myself now. It's so restful here. Already I feel so much easier in mind. Now, where would you like me to start? That is a ridiculous question to ask, isn't it. You like your patients just to talk, don't you? And you discover the real cause of the trouble by divining the significance of what are seemingly the most innocent statements. I think that is frightfully clever, you know. Of course, you want to know what's wrong. Well, to begin with, I simply can't sleep I worry about all kinds of things, utterly unimportant things. Whether the maid has dusted the carpet in the living room, and whether the cook has omitted to include my favourite flavouring in the cakes, and whether the chauffeur will steal the petrol we have hidden in the cellar, and whether my little Pekinese will ever be free of fleas. In fact, I never stop worrying. Do you know, I have lost almost two pounds in the last three months. And, of course, that's a dreadful worry, in addition to all the rest.

"The family doctor frankly confesses that he is puzzled by my condition. I've lost my appetite, too. I used to enjoy my brunch, but now it's as much as I can do to eat three of the six courses I once really needed in between breakfast and lunch. My little snacks after lunch were once a great pleasure, but now I must compel myself to eat. Naturally, my nerves are deprived of the nourishment they need, and that makes me frightfully irritable. For instance, I sometimes feel that if my husband appears just once more in the tie he has worn all week that I shall scream and scream and scream. I sometimes burst into tears because a cream peppermint has been mixed with my chocolates, and I actually fainted the other day because the butler didn't knock before entering my room. I'm a bundle of nerves, really I am."

The shoulder hunched as though seeking protection when Mrs. Emdinger giggled into silence before plunging on:

"There's something else which might interest you as well," the spate babbled on. "I often hear music coming from nowhere at all, as it were. Really remarkable music—strange, exotic, may be primitive, but unlike anything I have ever heard before. Then there are times when I hear other noises, like whispers and groans—particularly at night. It sometimes happens that I am afraid to go to sleep.

"But the thing that worries me most of all, Doctor, is the ache in my bones. I wake up in the morning one quivering mass of pain, every bone in my body vibrating in agony. It is as though the very marrow were being drawn from my joints. These are a few of my symptoms. There are, of course, many more. Would you like me to continue, doctor?"

The man at the window swung round abruptly and almost menacingly.

"No, I wouldn't," he snarled viciously. "The trouble with you, Madam, is easy to diagnose. You eat too much, you talk too much, you sleep too much. You are selfish, fat and lazy.

"Oh, Ooooo!" At that moment Mrs. Emdinger felt genuinely ill.

"As for the cure," he went on remorselessly. "Go home and sack all your servants and undertake some honest-to-goodness work. Your husband is obviously either a fool or a martyr, otherwise he would not tolerate you for another moment. You are vain, self-opinionated, snobbish and overbearingly proud Were you my wife, I should have no alternative but to cut your throat. If there were an alternative, it would be to end your life in such a way as to give myself even greater satisfaction. I should have you boiled in oil."

"How dare you!" gasped Mrs. Emdinger, gathering herself at last as she clambered off the couch. "You must be mad—!"

"Of course I'm mad," the other acknowledged with a frightening leer, advancing upon her with claw-like hands. "Why do you think I am here. I am not Dr. Nickson. I am one of his patients A dangerous patient, Madam, if that interests you."

Mrs. Emdinger did not wait to hear any more. With a screech like the Scots Express racing through a tunnel, she turned and fled from the consulting room, running like an unemployed man with the owner of a cotton mill at his heels.

"Was that really necessary, Doctor?" asked the Nurse, entering and switching on the lights."

"Absolutely essential," the Doctor assured her. "If you knew how long that has been boiling up inside me you'd understand why I simply had to do it. Day after day, month after month, I have to sit here listening to these neurotic, lazy good for-nothing, middle aged females revealing themselves in their almost obscenely naked selfishness. It is more than flesh and blood can stand. Moreover, it's a waste of time. Telling that over-blown female faggot the truth was worth more than a hundred guineas to me, much more. I shall have to try it again sometime. It has done me a world of good. It will probably cost me a few patients, but it will be well worth while

"You may now show in the next patient," he added, seating himself at his desk. "But, for her sake, I hope it isn't yet another fat, flabby, futile female. If it is.....!"

The nurse did not wait to hear what the consequences might be.

CLOSER RELATION WITH INDONESIA

By Mr LEHAR SINGH MEHTA LL B M C S

(Addl Sessions Judge Dungarpur)

GREAT waves of people of India Arabia Spain Portugal England and Holland attempted to rule seventy million inhabitants of Indonesia and its land and sea areas larger than those of the United States of America It was only on August 17 1945 that the Indonesians themselves were able to proclaim an empire over their own territory It was after a long and bitter fighting involving terrible sacrifices and protracted suffering that they were competent to arrive at an honourable settlement with the Dutch last year Recently on August 15th when India was celebrating the third anniversary of her freedom President Soekarno proclaimed a single one for all State of Indonesia to replace the 16 unit federation This emergence of the East Indies as a unitary State divided into ten provinces ensuring political concord and democratic progress is an historic event of great significance to the whole of Asia in general and to India in particular It is a mirthful coincidence that the date of this momentous proclamation is the same as the date of the great Democratic Republic of India

What does freedom of Indonesia mean for the people of this country? Why should India rejoice in the celebration of the Indonesian freedom? India has exerted her sumptuous influence towards the elimination of colonial rule in Asia India has rallied Asian opinion through the conference called at Delhi last year in favour of Indonesian independence Besides both the countries are wedded to democratic ideal The people of Indonesia are still conscious of the past glory of India and they consider it to be their spiritual home

But the birth date of the mutual conjunction cannot be definitely set down It is not a recent creation but much older The beginning goes back to the days of Gautama's lovely teaching of a pure and merciful mode of life It was through Buddhism that India and Indonesia came nearer to each other and developed many contacts A large number of monastries and study centres dotted all over Indonesia The famous Chinese pilgrim I tsing stopped in 671 A C for several months at Shribhoga the modern Palembang in Sumatra having a population of about two millions of people to learn Samskrit before he came to India Likewise Fa hien passed through Java an Indian colony in the fifth century complaining that there were many heretics professing Hindu religion Sir Stamford Raffles discovered the great Stupa of Buddha in 1819 at Chandi Mendut which is perhaps the greatest Buddhist sculpture in the world From the first century of the Christian era to about 900 A C a stream of Indian missionaries and colonists spread towards east and south east reaching Java Sumatra and Borneo

Even much before the advent of Buddhism the Hindu civilisation was flourishing in the Indies The Hindu Government first ruled from Sumatra then from Java and finally from Malaya Whatever political consciousness there was it rose from the great epic of Mahabharata We read in Samskrit

literature how, on account of thriving trade and commerce, these islands were described as Svaranadvipa (the islands of gold). The Hindu-Pallava kingdom of the South, with prodigious heritage, penetrated deep into the soil of the Indies Later, the Chola power of South India held sway over the major portion of this country for over fifty years.

Indian civilisation, according to Rene Grousset, took root in Indonesia, the evidence of which can be found all over the place today. There were big Samskrit colleges at Sri Vijaya, Majapahit and other places. The names of the rulers were samskritised and the State ceremonies were conducted after the Brahaminical style. The Officers of the State felt proud to be honoured with Samskrit titles. The native language of Indonesia contains sundry Indian legends. The far-famed and the renowned dances of Java and Bali are still like a replica of the classical Indian dance. Their alphabets are derived from South India. Their main sources of law are the Institutes of Manu compiled between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D.; the Institutes of Yajnavalkya written about the 4th century A.D.; and the Institutes of Narada, written in the 5th or 6th century A.D. At Borobudur in Java the whole life sketch of Lord Buddha is carved in stone. The Indonesian Allah still posseses the pacific graces of Buddha and the destructive fervour of Shiva.

Now undreamed of possibilities lie before Indonesia. Machines will be substituted for innumerable wretched coolies. Huge capitals will be employed on the fertile vastness of Sumatra. The future scientists will be born in the huts of Bali peasants. The renaissance of art and culture cannot be long delayed. Today the majority is struggling for the barest livelihood. The moment this problem is solved, unpredictable strength of these people will begin to influence the world in whatever direction they think best. Both India and Indonesia are equally conscious of themselves, and the Asiatic century has begun.

KAILAS—MANASAROVAR*

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THE Snow-covered Kailas and the wonder lake of Tibet have haunted the mind and imagination of generations of Hindus who have only heard of them from pilgrims who have had the good fortune to tread the holy ground. Two hundred and forty miles from Almora and 600 miles from Lhasa, the Capital of Tibet stands Mount Kailasa and lake Manasarovar constituting one of the grandest of the Himalayan beauty spots. The peak of Kailas pierces into a height of 22,028 feet above the sea and its 32 mile area is dotted with Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples celebrated in ancient song and legend. The holy lake, famous for many centuries, stretches majestically over an extensive cradle of the Tibetan plateau hanging at a height of 14,950 feet above the bosom of the sea and sheltering in its vast circumference of 51 miles eight monasteries wherein Buddhist monks try all their lives

* KAILAS—MANASAROVAR. By Swami Pranavananda, F.R.G.S. Foreword by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru S.P. League Ltd., Calcutta. G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras Rs. 15.

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CHILDREN'S FILMS

By Sreemathi S. B Saroja

CHILDREN NEED FILMS

THE cinema undoubtedly affords at present the cheapest and most popular form of entertainment to children, but it has been realised as a result of recent researches that much improvement in the techniques of production has to take place if it is to be utilised as a medium of enlightenment and education of children.

The general effect of the cinema upon our growing generation has not been altogether happy. We allow our children to see films produced in Western countries which portray an entirely alien civilization and expose them to the positive danger of Westernization and denationalization. Western films, with all their other defects, not only do not possess any educative value, but exercise a demoralizing influence on our teen-agers. Though, undoubtedly, they possess some value for adults in that they tend to open the eyes of our illiterate masses to the more advanced conditions of life in other countries, their effect on the minds of children is, on the whole, deleterious.

The best way to undo the havoc wrought by Western films on the mental growth of children is to produce our own films to take their place, though they may be bad substitutes at the beginning. A national industry, too, will develop suited to the genius and traditions of this country.

TEN POINTS OF PRODUCTION

Many pictures produced in this country at present are defective in composition and acting and unfit to be shown both to adults and children. But as educational experts are agreed that the film could be usefully employed as a medium of instruction, a good start may be made in the production of films meant exclusively for children. When such large-scale production is undertaken, the following points may be considered:

(1) *The Story*: The film must present a good story. It must be short and simple, and its theme must be elevating and within the experience of the juvenile audience. Technical complications, adult conventions and unnecessary dialogue must be avoided. The sentiments of sexual passion, anger, hatred brutality and belligerence must be scrupulously eschewed, and the hero must have a strong character and good personality. It is very essential that the children should not be exposed to false romanticism or highly emotional situations, or presented with complex problems which they are not capable of understanding.

(2) *Avoid Excitement and Suspense*: The film should not excite or tax the sensory and motor nerves of the 'little barbarians.' A picture may be deemed good if it is greeted with the pleasant sound of interested talk among themselves coupled with honest laughter and occasional complete silence of absorbed attention.

(3) *Presentation should be Realistic*: Motion pictures and talkies intended for children should improve their learning, stimulate endeavour and build attitudes. To achieve this, they must be so shot that the pupil who sees it is able not only to observe motion as though he were present on the spot, but, through the producer's skilful use of unique angles, close-ups, chiaroscuro, and other optical devices, he is able to get even a better view than he would if he were an actual spectator of the action.

to attain the sublimity of the eternal silence of *nirvana*.

Buddhist and Hindu mythology, no less than the lyrical outbursts of Kalidasa, are full of the splendour and sublimity of the snow clad Kailas and the holy lake so intimately interwoven with the texture of ancient religion and worship. The beauty of the mountain gorges and the charm of the forest glades are magnified a thousand fold by their magnificent setting on the Himalayas. "No Alpine gorge can seriously compare with the majestic, almost incredible transverse gorges of the Himalayas."

Yet neither the lake nor the peak is easily accessible to ordinary pilgrims. Their high altitudes, and the dangers of the sloping forests and the shivering cold of these regions make climbing almost impossible. And only the trained Himalayan explorer could penetrate the lofty regions of snow so full of the danger and mystery of these mountain altitudes, picturesque on their setting and yet awe inspiring in their grandeur and magnificence.

It was given to the author to make his home among these jungle peaks—and he has lived and moved among the snow clad peaks with a knowledge and intimacy that must be the envy of many European savants and mountain explorers.

The author had travelled extensively over Western Tibet and visited the holy places as early as 1928, and since then has been visiting these mountain gorges and the sources of the great Himalayan rivers almost every year regularly and stayed there for continuous periods ranging from two to six months. We are told he has circumambulated mount Kailas 28 times and lake Manasarovar no less than 25 times. To the ascetic's love of mystic lore he has had the advantage of the botanist's knowledge of fauna and flora of these wonderful mountain regions.

Thus equipped with a first hand knowledge of these inaccessible regions he compiled a comprehensive and authentic account of Kailas—Manasarovar in Hindi of which the present work is a free rendering in English.

We have no doubt that such a treatise with pictorial illustrations of the more striking features and aspects of the Himalayan regions, sacred to Hindus and Buddhists alike, and equally valuable to the layman and explorer, will be welcomed by the public. It is a treasure of Himalayan lore and mystic wisdom which the pious Hindu or Buddhist will only be too ready to read and ponder over slaking his thirst for the beautiful and the sublime in nature and mystic lore.

But with all his ascetic preference for mountain solitudes and the silence of the snowy Himalayas it is somewhat odd that he should advocate the making of an air service to Kailas. In this the author is doubtless moved by his desire to share the joys of his mountain abode with his less fortunate countrymen of the plains below. But does he realise the consequences of allowing the exploitation of these sublime regions for commercial purposes?

By contrast one is irresistibly reminded of Ruskin's downright denunciation of this kind of banality. Ruskin charged his countrymen with want of taste and feeling in their attempt to spoil the silence and sanctity of the sublime gifts of nature. He thundered in these sonorous and unforgettable sentences:

> You have put a railroad bridge over the fall of Schaffhausen. You have tunnelled the cliffs of Lercerne by Tell's chappel, you have destroyed the Claren's shore of the Lake of Geneva. There is not a quiet valley in England that you have not filled with bellowing fire, there is no particle left of English land which you have not tramp'ed coal ashes into—nor any foreign city in which the spread of your presence is not marked among its fair old streets and happy gardens by a consuming white leprosy of new hotels and perfumer's shops, the Alps themselves, which your own poets used to love so reverently, you look upon as soaped poles in a bear garden which you set yourself to climb, and slide down again with "shreaks of delight."

If that is true of the Alps how much more true it is of the holy Himalayas!

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CHILDREN NEED FILMS

THE cinema undoubtedly affords at present the cheapest and most popular form of entertainment to children, but it has been realised as a result of recent researches that much improvement in the techniques of production has to take place if it is to be utilised as a medium of enlightenment and education of children.

The general effect of the cinema upon our growing generation has not been altogether happy. We allow our children to see films produced in Western countries which portray an entirely alien civilization and expose them to the positive danger of Westernization and denationalization. Western films, with all their other defects, not only do not possess any educative value, but exercise a demoralizing influence on our teen-agers. Though, undoubtedly, they possess some value for adults in that they tend to open the eyes of our illiterate masses to the more advanced conditions of life in other countries, their effect on the minds of children is, on the whole, deleterious.

The best way to undo the havoc wrought by Western films on the mental growth of children is to produce our own films to take their place, though they may be bad substitutes at the beginning. A national industry, too, will develop suited to the genius and traditions of this country.

TEN POINTS OF PRODUCTION

Many pictures produced in this country at present are defective in composition and acting and unfit to be shown both to adults and children. But as educational experts are agreed that the film could be usefully employed as a medium of instruction, a good start may be made in the production of films meant exclusively for children. When such large-scale production is undertaken, the following points may be considered:

(1) *The Story*: The film must present a good story. It must be short and simple, and its theme must be elevating and within the experience of the juvenile audience. Technical complications, adult conventions and unnecessary dialogue must be avoided. The sentiments of sexual passion, anger, hatred brutality and belligerence must be scrupulously eschewed, and the hero must have a strong character and good personality. It is very essential that the children should not be exposed to false romanticism or highly emotional situations, or presented with complex problems which they are not capable of understanding.

(2) *Avoid Excitement and Suspense*: The film should not excite or tax the sensory and motor nerves of the 'little barbarians.' A picture may be deemed good if it is greeted with the pleasant sound of interested talk among themselves coupled with honest laughter and occasional complete silence of absorbed attention.

(3) *Presentation should be Realistic*: Motion pictures and talkies intended for children should improve their learning, stimulate endeavour and build attitudes. To achieve this, they must be so shot that the pupil who sees it is able not only to observe motion as though he were present on the spot, but, through the producer's skilful use of unique angles, close-ups, chiaroscuro, and other optical devices, he is able to get even a better view than he would if he were an actual spectator of the action.

occupying troops was to take place very soon after the establishment of a National Korean Government M Gromyko wanted *first* the withdrawal of occupying forces by the beginning of 1948 so that the Election be held without pressure from external forces Against this Mr Dulles (U S A) was adamant as this withdrawal before the formation of National Government would mean chaos in Korea

The Eastern Bloc led by Russia considered it a dangerous precedent to have a United Nations Commission participating in the elections which were the right of the Korean people themselves M Manuilsky (Ukraine) said that elected organs were already formed in North Korea and if they did not exist in South Korea that was the responsibility of the U S authorities At every stage in the discussions M Gromyko (U S S R) charged the U S A aiming at transforming Korea into a "United States Colony"

The proposed U. N Commission was, as was said by M Zebeoureky (Poland) only one of the devices to support the imperialist policy of the U S A and the elections held under the pressure of that Commission would simply be "an offer of masked slavery to Korea". Great emphasis was laid by the members of the Eastern Bloc on the happy conditions prevailing in North Korea where elections had been already held, peasants had been given lands (Japanese landlordism had appropriated more than two thirds of land in Korea !) and labour and social laws had been promulgated This was in marked contrast to conditions in South Korea where U S A had left all social and economic reforms to be introduced, in due course, by the National Democratic Government of all Korea which was still to come into being U S A took a long time to realise that reforms of this nature had made a powerful appeal to the masses in favour of North Korea

THE U N COMMISSION AT WORK

On the 21st February 1948, this Commission started work at Seoul It was allright for the U N Secretary General Mr Lie to tell them that "they had been entrusted with one of the most difficult and delicate [illegible] United Nations" to help bring about the unification of Korea under a representative government and to expedite the withdrawal of the occupation forces But how were they to contact North Korea where U S S R's occupation army offered no co operation? Elections were held in South Korea "officially supported only by rightist parties and groups"* With all that the Provisional Government that was formed as a result of this election, received *de facto* recognition from China (Nationalist, Chiang Kai's) the Philippines and the United States But this did not help much Korea remained truncated A Unified and independent Korea was not in sight In the General Assembly of October November 1948, M Andrie Vyshnisky (U S S R) denounced the Commission' as a scheme to cover up foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea' The South Korean Government he said, was "terrorising the progressive people" that at the price of lawlessness and of a split in Korea, the U S A authorities had set up a South Korea 'puppet Government" which they widely advertised as the "all Korean Government' M Vyshinsky added that "the real supreme People's Assembly of Korea was in North Korea which had created the Government of the Korean people's Democratic Republic" and that ' to the people of this movement, belonged the future of Korea" †

DIVIDED KOREA A GRIM REALITY

In their reports to the Interim Committee, the U N. Commission had a good word to say about the Constitution framed by the Provisional Government, in as much at it had made provision for a number of social and economic reforms But the Commission was clear on the point that this National Assembly could not justify its claim to be the Government of the Republic with Sovereignty over the whole of Korea, for, the North Korean authorities had proceeded with their own programme for setting up a Government— a Pyongigan radio broadcast claiming 93 per cent of the population of North Korea voting and also South Korea sending up its representatives to *this North Korean Assembly* The Commission came to the conclusion that while

* U N Bulletin Vol V p 921
† U N Bulletin : Vol V p 801

"immediate unification was absolutely essential, the failure to achieve positive results must be attributed, in the main, to tension prevailing in the international situation". The opposing ideologies and politics "with ever-increasing violence in all parts of the world where they confront each other "made it futile to define peaceful relations between the North and South."

The Commission had also to report that South Korean Government shied at any proposal to bring the South and the North together even at a conference table "Despite the fervent desire for peaceful unification which the Population of South Korea wanted, its Government had made it clear that it viewed any suggestions for North-South discussion as a form of disloyalty". While deploring the attitudes of the South and the North, the Commission made an ominous reference to the growing military strength in the North and South, increasingly frequent exchanges of fire and armed raids along the 38th parallel and a possibility of a military conflict which, the Commission said, "would mean the barbarous civil war." They could not help reiterating their view that "the relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. continued to be the largest single and perhaps decisive factor contributing to the increasing hardening of relations between North and South."

In the fourth General Assembly debate (November, 1949) the U.S.S.R. called for the immediate termination of the U.N. Commission on Korea as "its activities are an obstacle to the unification of Korea (foreign intervention being not allowable), but the Assembly again adopted a resolution instructing its Commission to assist in bringing about the unification of Korea-, and as regards possibilities of military conflict to observe and report" on any developments which might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea."

Thus far the United Nations Assembly and its Korean Commission, in pursuance of U.S.A.'s demand; and it is now for the Security Council to do the bidding of U.S.A.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS

U.S.A. bears the brunt. Her interest in the Korean affair is of a varied nature. She has buttressed the tottering economy of South Korea which, broadly speaking, is at a great disadvantage compared to the North. Chemical fertilizers, iron, coal and hydroelectric power are the main economic assets for which the South is dependent on the North. American advice and funds are directing South Korea towards building up a self-sufficient economy internally. The Communists of the North may rejoice that they have at least succeeded in imposing a heavy financial burden on U.S.A.

But it is the political consideration that prevails over economic interests on both sides. "The two halves of Korea provide competing shop-windows of civil ideologies." On the part of U.S.A., there is no sparing of money and propaganda in favour of civil and political liberties as against the totalitarianism of the communists. It seems that this propaganda has offered inadequate attraction to the masses, in absence of social progress and improvements in standards of living. If the Koreans really survive the devastation which the present War must cause and live to see their own country re-united, the unification will have been brought about on the basis of either the Communist People's Democracy or the American-sponsored democracy, whichever is more fancied by the masses. Bayonets must not be the final arbiter.

And what about the strategic importance of Korea to both sides? U.S.A. will not let the fruits of the hard-won victory over Japan snatched from her by the Russians whose contribution to the defeat of Japan was practically nil. She is just feeling safe with the Pacific and she will use all her might to continue to feel easy on this score. But will Stalin no more dream of looking on the Pacific with the same sense of "my very own" as he already looks on the Baltic?

The lions will fight, but the little shrubs will be torn and crushed. The Koreans sighed for Independence. Who knows if they do not get quite blown up with atom bombs!

(4) *Brevity* The film should eliminate all unimportant and extraneous details and stress should be placed only upon the important situations in the story Clear explanations should occur simultaneously with the motion thereby strengthening the total impression

(5) *Should not Exceed 16 MM* The length of a film should not exceed 16MM in any case since it has been accepted as standard for class room use because of its availability inexpensiveness and ease of projection on portable equipment

(6) *Separate Educative from Entertainment Films* Films made for school use must be sharply distinguished from purely entertainment films Similarly films intended for theatrical use should not be made available for school use Separate theatres for children are advisable

(7) *Prefer Silent Films* Films can be either silent or sound since both types have their places in their appeal for children If sound is essential to the story or the subject to be taught then use the sound film If not the silent film may be preferred

(8) *Appeal to the Familiar* The film should acquaint children with many valuable facts about the world and particularly the areas in which they live The geography of the films should never be of the travelogue type which seldom gets inside the homes of the children The appeal should always be to the familiar which is an accepted principle of experts in child psychology

(9) *Classify the Films* There are marked differences of taste and temperament between boys and girls between children of different age groups and between children of one locality and another The producer must always remember that children will always like to see others of their own age and type It would be ideal if different types of films are produced suited to the different age groups of children, say 7 and 14 and suited to particular localities

(10) *Give top Priority for films of Achievement* Children should always be brought in contact with good examples of human behaviour and achievement The achievements of our national heroes and the lives of historic personalities may be considered as excellent themes Noble ideals may also be inculcated through the medium of *Puranic* stories carefully dramatised and without exposing the characters to communal ridicule, as is often the case to day

INDIA CAN DO IT

The Central Legislature passed during its last session the Cinematograph (Amendment) Bill whose object is to restrict the exhibitions not suitable for children and adolescents In order to prohibit the unrestricted exhibition of unsuitable films and to ensure the maximum circulation of all good films the Amendment provides for two kinds of certificates an 'A' certificate authorising exhibition to adults only and a U certificate authorising unrestricted exhibition This has been the standard practice in Britain for decades and India might have adopted it even long before The Governor General has given his assent to the Bill and it is now open for our producers to specialise in children's films and make fortunes

Our film industry is rapidly developing and will make enormous strides during the coming years For the present films meant exclusively for children are very few but when such films come to be produced in this country on a large scale they will prove to be a boon to tens of thousands of our children There is also much money awaiting to be made by the pioneers in this line

KOREA: THE COCK-PIT OF ASIA

By Mr. T. K. SHAHANI

STALIN'S OPPORTUNITY

THE concluding stage of the Anglo American War against Japan presented Stalin with an excellent opportunity to give final touches to his expansionist policy in the Far East. President Roosevelt had his fears that the war against Japan might be a protracted affair, in spite of the fact that by the end of 1944, Japan had, practically, ceased to be a Sea Power. The atom bomb was still in the making. Stalin was pressed to join the Allies in war against Japan. He knew that the entry of the Soviets in another war would be unpopular with the Russians: but as a good calculator, he also knew that while the risk was negligible, the prospect of gain was immense. The disgraceful episode of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 was, in his mind, Korea had then been recognised as solely under Japanese sphere of influence, with Russia completely out of it. He had with Roosevelt a secret understanding about the restoration to Russia of much that she had lost in the East in the Czarist period. Stalin "the traditionalist and the Revolutionary"—as Deutscher puts it*—is at his best on this occasion. "For forty years we have waited for this day." Within a few days after her entry into this war, Japan surrendered (August, 1945) to the Communist army of the Soviets in North Korea and to the U.S.A. forces in South Korea.

KOREA AND THE U. N. ASSEMBLY OCT. 1947

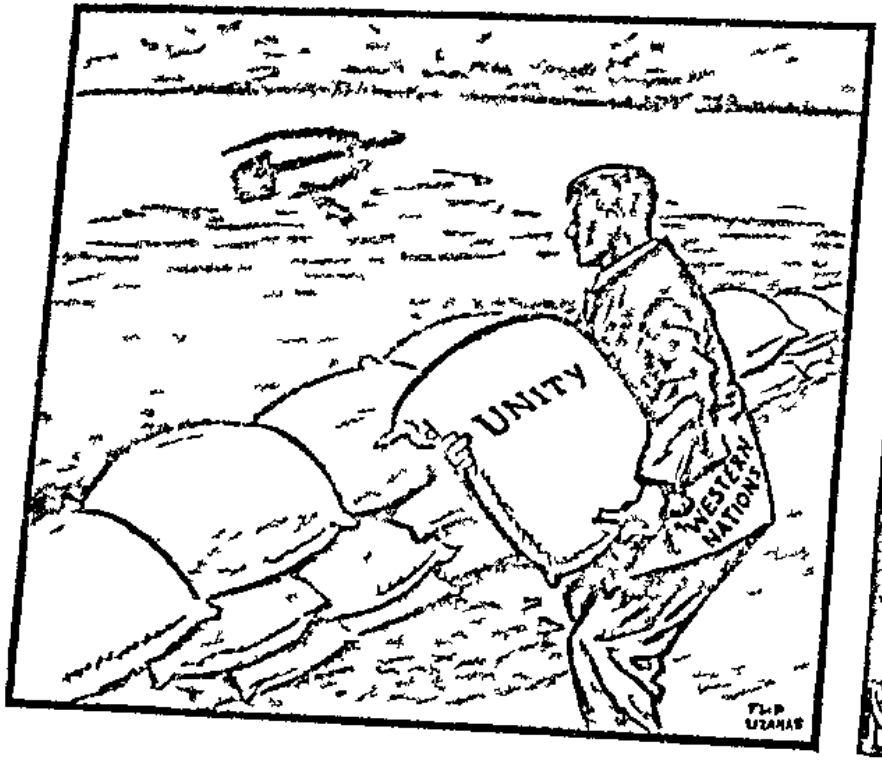
At the Moscow Conference of the representatives of U. S. S. R, U. S. A. and Great Britain (December 16 to 26, 1945) it was decided as a part of Peace Settlement, (1) that by an artificial line struck at 38th parallel, the North Korea, may be kept under the Soviet Army of occupation and the South Korea under the American Army of occupation, (2) that as the Koreans would want some training in self-Government, Korea may come under the Trusteeship arrangement in the hands of Four powers U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain and China, upto a period of five years,(3) that a joint commission be formed by the two occupation commands of the Soviet Union and U. S. A. to institute a Provisional Democratic Government for the whole of Korea in co-operation with which the Trusteeship Agreement was to be prepared.

When early in 1946, the joint commission started its work, there was no agreement on the word 'Democratic.' The Soviet would have in the Provisional Government only those who were willing to accept Trusteeship, whereas the U.S.A. was for keeping the door open to all who believed in Freedom. In fact, the Trusteeship arrangement was repugnant to all the Koreans, but the Communists were, somehow, brought round, and they alone, according to the Soviet command were eligible for inclusion in the Provisional Government. After a good deal of correspondence, M. Molotov (U.S.S.R.) seemed to accept some compromise. But the "cold war" had already started. The gulf of ideologies became wider. In Korea there was a deadlock.

Nearly two years passed. Militarily as well as economically the Communist-trained North Korea was in a strong position as compared with the U.S.A.-sponsored South. Political deadlock must be broken: and General Marshall (U.S.A.) succeeded in getting the Korean question placed on the Agenda of the U. N. General Assembly of October 1947, in spite of the resolute opposition from M. Gromyko (U.S.S.R.). The Moscow Agreement, he said, was to do the Post-war settlement and not the U.N.

In accordance with the usual procedure, the General Assembly placed the Korean question in the hands of the First (Political and Security) Committee which by a vote of 46 0, with 6 abstentions recommended on Nov. 5, 1947 that (a) the United Nations send a commission to Korea" to observe and consult in the creation of a free independent Korea". This to see that the Election of a Assembly was held not later

TOPICAL CARTOONS



COMMON DEFENSE

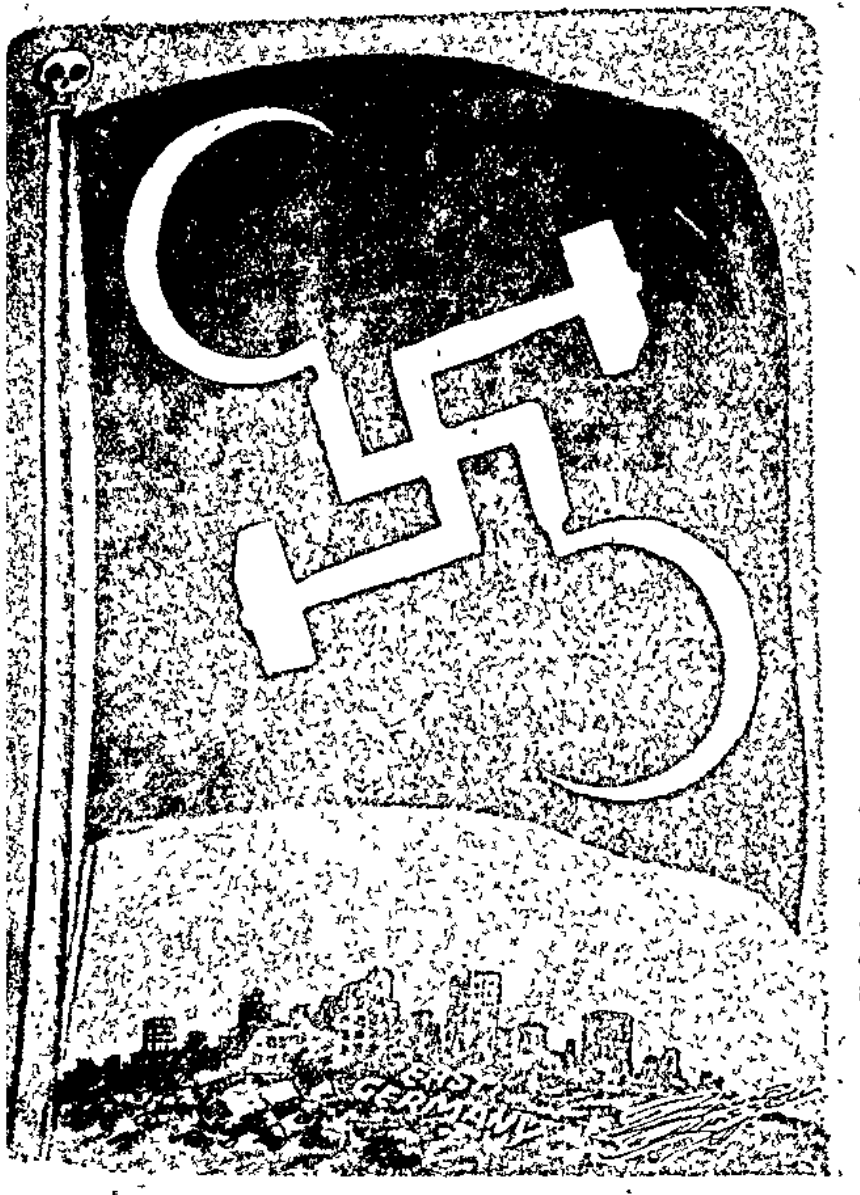
This cartoon characterizes the Western Powers as a strong and determined man building a levee of unity shown as the sandbags against the flood waters of Communism

—*The Hartford Courant*



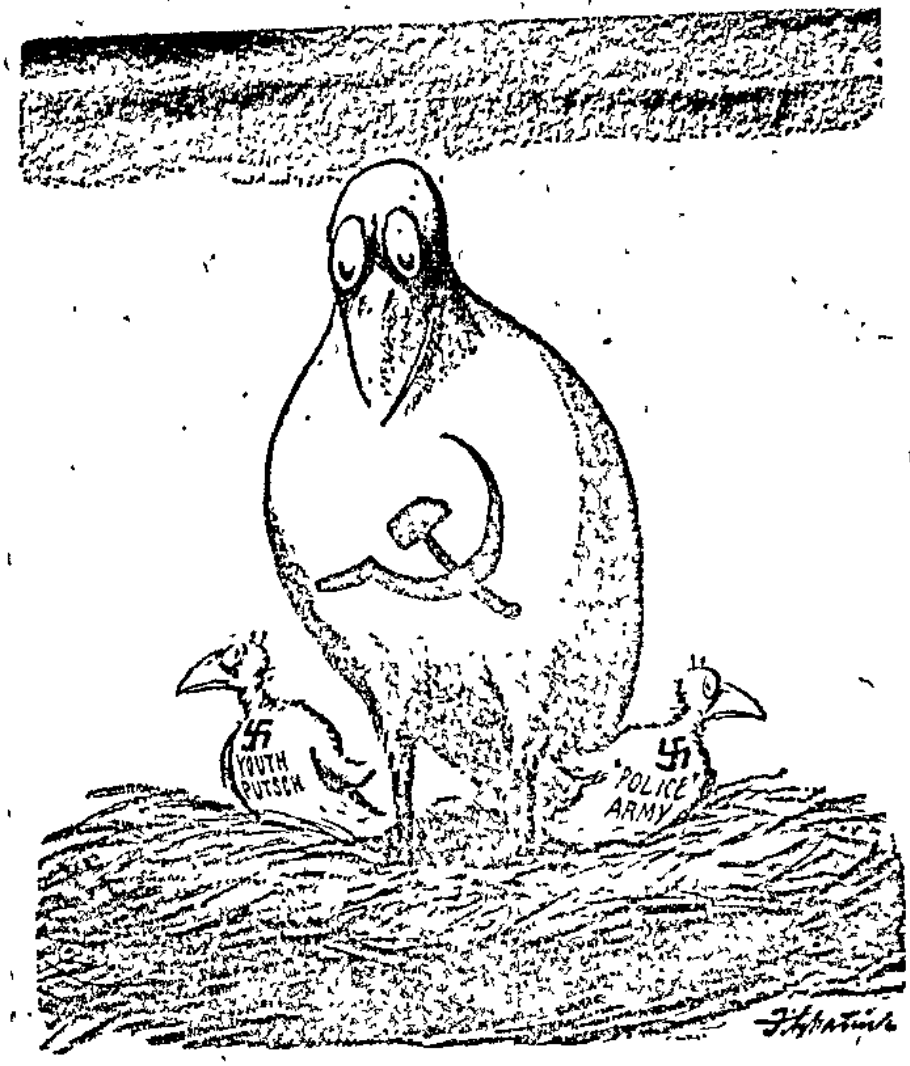
THEN WHAT'S ALL THIS BOTHER ABOUT ?

Courtesy *The Pioneer*



"THE SWASTIKASICKLEHAMMER"

A cartoon that appeared recently. It pictures the flag that flies over ruined East Germany as the old Nazi banner with the swastika emblem extended to include the hammers and sickles of the Communists. —*Los Angeles Times.*



"STRANGE PEACE DOVE"

pictures Soviet Russia mothering two young off-spring—one the "Nazi Putsch" and the other the "Nazi Police Army."

—*St. Louis Post Despatch.*

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

EVE AND ADAM

With thee conversing I forget all time
All seasons and their change all please alike
Sweet is the breath of morn her rising sweet
With charm of earliest birds—pleasant the Sun
When first in this delightful land he spreads
His orient beams on herb tree fruit and flower
Glistening with due fragrant the fertile Earth
After soft showers and sweet the coming on
Of grateful Evening mild then silent Night
With this her solemn bird and this fair Moon
And then the years of Heaven her starry train
But neither breath of Morn when she ascends
With charm of earliest birds nor rising Sun
On this delightful land nor herb fruit or flower
Glistening with dew nor fragrance after showers
Nor grateful Evening mild, nor silent Night
With this her solemn bird nor walk by moon
Or glittering starlight without thee is sweet

—*Milton*

REVOLUTIONS

If a great change is to be made in human affairs the minds of men will be fitted to it the general opinions and feelings will draw that way I very fear every here will forward it and then they who per et in error as this mighty current in human affairs will appear rather to resist the decrees of Providence itself than the mere designs of men

—*Burke*

BE QUIET AND GO A ANGLING

Here is one of the great closes of literature —from Isac Walton's Couple at Angler The pleasant discoursing of Venator and Piscator is over and Venator avering that he has learned much declares that henceforth

I will walk the meadows by some gliding stream and there contemplate the lilies that take no care and those many other little creatures that are not only created but fed by the goodness of God and therefore trust in him And so let everything that hath breath praise the Lord and let the blessing of St Peters Master be mine And upon all that are lovers of virtue and dare trust in His providence, and be quiet and go a Angling

THE RADICAL

I am accused of being a Radical If to seek to go to the root is to be Radical a Radical I am After all everything that flowers in beauty in the air of heaven draws its fairness its vigour from its roots, nothing living can blossom into fruitage unless thro nourishing stalks deep planted in the common soil Up from that soil up from the silent bosom of the earth rise the currents of life and energy Up from the common soil up from the great heart of the people rise joyously today streams of hope and determination that are bound to renew the face of the earth in glory I tell you that the so called Radicalism of our time is simply the effort of nature to release the generous energies of our people The great American people is at bottom just virtuous and hopeful, the roots of its being are in the soil of what is lovely pure and of good report, and the need of the hour is just that Radicalism that will clear a way for the realisation of the aspirations of a sturdy race

—*Woodrow Wilson*

DIFFICULT TO MANAGE

There is no class of men so difficult to be managed in a state as those whose intentions are honest but whose consciences are bewitched

—*Napoleon*

THE COMIC ATTITUDE TO LIFE

One of the most diverting of authors is Thomas Love Peacock who lived from 1785 to 1866 and spans, therefore "the long stretch from the classicism and elegance of the 18th century through the soulfulness of the Romantic Revival, to the heart of mid Victorian self satisfaction and prudery" As a comic writer he is by turns satirical witty, ironical and uproarious The completeness of his comical attitude to life is well defined in the statement of his creed, which, by the way is an example of his delicate and most literary handling of English

None shall laugh in my company, though it be at my expense, but I will have a share in the merriment The world is a stage and life is a farce, and he that laughs most has most profit of the performance The worst thing is good enough to be laughed at, though it be good for nothing else; and the best thing, though it be good for something else, is good for nothing better

WORK AND PAY

The better I work the less I earn,
For the soles won't crack, nor the uppers turn'

The better my work, the less my pay,
But work can only be done one way

—The Cobbler in "Chu Chin Chow"

THE TRUE JOY OF LIFE

This is the true joy of life, the being used for a purpose recognised by yourself as a mighty one, the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap, the being a force of Nature instead of a feverish selfish little clod of ailments and grievances, complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy.

G B S Epistle Dedicatory to Man and Superman"

A SONG OF KABIR

"The Jewel is lost in the mud
and all are seeking for it
Some look for it in the east,
and some in the west,
Some in the water, and some amongst stones
But the servant Kabir has appraised it
at its true value
And has wrapped it with care in a corner
of his mantle of his own heart"

THIS WOMAN WAS ONCE YOUNG

Arnold Bennett in his preface to "The Old Wives' Tales' tells us frankly how he saw the whole novel in an old woman, "fat, ugly shapeless and grotesque," who wandered into a Paris restaurant to dine

'I reflected, concerning this grotesque diner 'This woman was once young, slim, perhaps beautiful There is an extreme pathos in the mere fact that every stout, ageing woman was once a young girl with the unique charm of youth in her form and movements and in her mind And the fact that the change from the young girl to the stout, ageing woman is made up of an infinite number of infinitesimal changes, each unperceived by her only intensifies the pathos'

DEATH AND LIFE

And if, among the noiseless, grasses Death
Should come behind and take away my breath,
I should not rise as one who sorroweth;
For I should pass but all the world would be
Full of desire and young delight and glee
And why should men be sad through loss of me?

The light is dying, in the Silver blue
The young moon shines from her bright window through

The mowers are gone and I go, too

Sir Edmund Gosse
in "Lying in the Grass".

A BEGGAR'S SERMON

There is the story of the London beggar, to whom an old lady approached and handed a penny, with the charming words "I won't give you this, my good man, because I think you deserve it, I don't give it to you because I think it will do you any good, I just give it to you because it makes me very happy to give it to you" And the beggar replied "Oh, make it a tenner, mum, and thoroughly enjoy yourself"

E Raymond.

I STROVE WITH NONE

I strove with none for none was worth my strife:
Nature I loved and next to Nature, art:
I warmed both hands before the fire of life,
It sinks and I am ready to depart

—*Landor.*

A BACHELOR'S DREAM

Then I told them (the children) how for seven long years, in hope sometimes, sometimes in despair, yet persisting ever, I courted the fair Alice W-n; and as much as children could understand I explained to them what coyness and difficulty, and denial meant in maiden—when suddenly, turning to Alice, the soul of the first Alice looked out of her eyes with such a reality of representment that I became in doubt which of them stood before me, or whose bright hair it was; and while I stood gazing both the children gradually grew fainter to my view, receding and still receding, till nothing at last but two mournful features were seen in the uttermost distance, which, without speech, strangely impressed upon me the effects of speech. "We are not of Alice, nor of thee, nor are we children at all. The children of Alice call Bartrum father. We are nothing; less than nothing, and dreams. We are only what might have been"—and immediately waking I found myself quietly seated in my bachelor chair, where I had fallen asleep with faithful Bridget unchanged by my side.

—*Lamb* Dream-Children.

REMEMBER

Here is a tiny little poem by Mary Coleridge (quoted by Ernest Raymond in his "Through literature to life) which holds in poignant grasp an experience common to us all

Some hang above the tombs,
Some weep in empty rooms,
I when the iry blooms.

Remember
I when the cyclamen
Opens her buds again
Rejoice a moment—then
Remember

WE LIVE IN DEEDS, NOT YEARS

We live in deeds, not years; in thought, [not breaths,
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart throbs.
He who most lives who thinks most,
Feels the noblest, acts the best.

Philip James Bailey.

NARENDRANATH FORGETS

In those days of harrowing penury after his father's death Narendranath (later Swami Vivekananda) one day entreated Sri Ramakrishna to pray to the Divine Mother on his behalf for the removal of his pecuniary difficulties. Sri Ramakrishna said tenderly that it was not his habit to make such mundane demands of the Mother, and persuaded Narendranath to approach the Divine Mother personally with his own petition. In the words of Narendranath:

"Reaching the temple, as I cast my eyes upon the image, I actually found that the Divine Mother—was living and conscious, the Perennial fountain of Divine Love and Beauty. I was caught in the surging waves of devotion and love. In an ecstasy of joy I prayed, 'Mother give me discrimination! Give me renunciation! Give unto me knowledge and devotion! Grant me that I may have an uninterrupted vision of Thee!' A serene peace reigned in my soul. The world was forgotten. Only the Divine Mother shone within my heart.

"As I returned, Sri Ramakrishna asked me if I had prayed to the Mother for the removal of my worldly wants. I was startled at this question and said, 'No Sir, I forgot all about it. But is there any remedy now?' 'Go again', he said, 'and tell Her about your wants.' I again set out for the temple, but at the sight of the Mother again forgot my mission, bowed to her repeatedly and prayed only for love and devotion. The Master asked me if I had done it the second time. I told him what had happened. He said 'How thoughtless! Could you not restrain yourself enough to say those few words? Well, try once more and make the prayer to Her. Quick!' I went for the third time, but on entering the temple a terrible shame overpowered me. I thought 'What a trifle I have come to pray to the Mother about! It is like asking a gracious king for a few vegetables. What a fool I am!' In shame and remorse I bowed to Her respectfully and said, 'Mother I want nothing but knowledge and devotion.'"

Pandit Nehru's Korean Policy

The Government of India's foreign policy as revealed in our opposition to the crossing of the 38th parallel and non participation in the new Korean Commission have caused great disappointment and bitterness in America. Pandit Nehru who has so long been the idol of democratic America and was so often acclaimed as the greatest Asian statesman has suddenly become the target of violent criticism. For instance the *Washington Post* has now discovered it has lost faith in his world statesmanship and has chosen to call him the

> woolly Pandit and an academic world splitter in world affairs with no comprehension of or no willingness to recognize realities. Well perhaps he has too much on his plate at present to be depended upon for anything more than oratory and is too bemused by his fealty to chip-on-the-shoulder nationalism to see the world situation in perspective.

While one can understand a certain degree of bewilderment at the Government of India's policy in the international sphere such criticisms are doubtless due to ignorance of Indian sentiment and complete misunderstanding of India's main objective.

India's main objective is peace, and peace in Asia can be maintained only by facing facts and recognising the national upsurge in China which stands behind the new Chinese Government. Russia and China being the big factors in Asia there can be no peace without their co operation and goodwill. Peace is indivisible. The Indian approach to all international conflicts is that every effort must be exerted to prevent war and, if war does come about, then all that can be done should be attempted to bring it to an early end. In his Press Conference in Delhi the Prime Minister put his position clearly when he emphasised that it was wrong to think "that it is inevitable for world conflict to take place between the democratic world and the Communist world" and every effort should be made to avoid it.

> The crisis of the world requires every country to search its conscience and seek ways of action which lead to the peace which we all desire. We cannot sacrifice tomorrow because of the passion of today.

So far as the Korean question is concerned, Pandit Jawaharlal has argued earnestly for U.N. action stopping at the 38th Parallel. His reason for this is that it is the surest way of ensuring a cessation of hostilities.

In the light of events Pandit Nehru's suggestion that the United Nations should have given more time to the North Koreans before asking General MacArthur to cross the 38th Parallel, has proved wide of the mark. If he thinks that the period of grace would have enabled the North Koreans to lay down arms and to seek a peaceful solution of their country's future he has already been contradicted by events. The North Koreans were given time to reconsider their position at psychologically the most appropriate moment. They refused to repent the aggression they had launched and preferred to invite war on their own soil.

It is true that MacArthur's march through N. Korea has not had the reaction feared by India but Pandit Nehru's stand on the question, in view of the strong criticism abroad deserves to be placed on record if only as an authoritative refutation of ill conceived criticism.

A Great Chancellor of the Exchequer

The retirement of Sir Stafford Cripps Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, on grounds of ill health deprives the Labour Government of the services of one of the supreme architects of its fortune in recent times. Sir Stafford was indeed the main driving force behind Britain's economic recovery and as his successor Mr Hugh Gaitskell truly observed 'his brilliant mind his steadfastness of purpose and complete selflessness have been vital features in helping England through the most difficult period.' We in India who have known him through a period of crisis in our history could endorse these words without reservation. Indeed it is his strenuous unsparing and ceaseless work during three years that is responsible for the breakdown in his health. For the past five years, as the Prime Minister acknowledged he has borne a tremendous burden 'greater, I think than any previous holder of our office.' Sir Stafford is the man who pulled Britain out of her economic abyss—and sacrificed his health and personal popularity to do it.

The Korean Situation

Though India was not for carrying the war beyond the 38th parallel the U. N. Council, having decided by a majority to go ahead, Gen. MacArthur has swept through North Korea with an ease and rapidity which is in sharp contrast to his own experiences in the earlier stages of the war. Pyongyang, the North Korean Capital fell on the 19th of October and thereafter the U. N. forces marched from post to post with comparative ease And then to prevent the retreat of the enemy forces into friendly Manchuria the General has carried out a triumphant landing of well-equipped parâtroopers in appropriate spots so as to prevent fresh groupings for offensive. The General, counting on Soviet and Chinese non-intervention, is confident of complete victory in a short time.

Meanwhile it would appear that the Truman—Mac Arthur conference in Wake Island has made the objective clear. The President is anxious that as far as possible nothing should be done to provoke Soviet or Chinese hostility and direct intervention in the Korean conflict.

But danger seems to lurk in another unexpected quarter. The South Korean President Mr. Syngan Rhee has begun to strut about in a way calculated to jeopardise the work of pacification and reconstruction that must follow the cessation of war. In spite of the specific decision of the United Nations Committee to place captured Northern Korean territory only under U. N. administration Mr. Rhee has thought fit to appoint five governors to rule the provinces of the north. Blissfully unconscious of his own imbecility without American backing he describes the North Korean government as a puppet regime and his words and actions have of late tended to be provocative. The U. S. should resist the temptation of imposing his rule on people who do not want him and the future of Korea must be left entirely in the hands of its own people. Gen MacArthur should therefore put this man Rhee in his proper place and begin the work of conciliation after the conflict is over, with the sole view of Korean unity and Korean interests.

Partnership of Peace

Soon after his dramatic meeting with Gen. MacArthur President Truman made a policy pronouncement, avoiding the particular issues discussed at Wake Island but calling in general terms for what he happily phrased a "partnership of peace" with the people of Asia. He also appealed for Russian co-operation in establishing a workable system of collective security.

Asia's industrial and agricultural prosperity, its social and political progress, he declared, were ardently desired by America. America has shown its anxiety to defend Asiatic "freedom" by its readiness to enter the Korean fight.

Now these are welcome sentiments. But Asia's doubts about American professions arise from the action of its agents in Asia and in the treatment accorded to Asian claims in the Councils of the world.

Gen. MacArthur's intentions about Formosa and American support of French imperialism in Indo China and the objection to the recognition of the new regime in China run counter to Asian sentiment. The professions of democratic faith seem singularly void of content and sincerity when one examines their doings in the recent past.

As an up country comtemporary righty asks:

> How much democratic faith is there, we wonder in the U.S. "partnership of peace" with Syngman Rhee, who on the Americans' own admission, maintains by the grace of General MacArthur a brutal "Police State" as odious as any behind the Iron Curtain. Where is the democratic virtue in switching off American bombers from the Korean theatre to Indo China for saving the French colonial Bourbons? And there was no democratic cause served by wasting billions of dollars to keep the Kuo Min Tang rump in saddle, while the only party capable of meeting the Communist challenge, the Democratic League was hounded out, ruthlessly suppressed by Chiang KaiShek's gunmen with the tacit approval of the American patrons.

America is waging an all-out struggle to stop the progress of Communism. It is up to its leaders to decide "whether the end they have in view can be achieved by alliances with forces of Asian reaction or by frank recognition of realities."

Mr. Tandon's Cabinet

It was thought that the Nasik Congress had said the last word on the rumour of the rift in Congress But the protracted negotiations and discussions between the Congress President and the Prime Minister and the consequent delay in announcing the New Working Committee had tended to revive speculation and controversy When at last Mr Tandon announced the list there was a country wide sigh of relief that all's well that ends well It is comforting that the Congress with Nehru and Patel and C R and Azad has a fair contingent of Government spokesmen and the New Working Committee could now function with that sense of responsibility which in practical affairs, will have a sobering effect on the plans and programmes of non official bodies Thus strengthened Congress and Government are now assured of a more wholesome atmosphere for the common tasks that await them

The New Working Committee contains six Ministers and eight Presidents of the Provincial Congress Committees of Tamil Nad, Bombay, the Punjab West Bengal Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra and Mahakoshal

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, at his Press Conference in Delhi referred to his joining the new Congress Executive, and said his main consideration in arriving at this decision was how best to implement the policies laid down at Nasik He added that the Congress President should try to follow the lead given by the Nasik delegates and 'if he does not, he gets into trouble"

When his attention was drawn to this remark by Pandit Nehru, Mr Purshottam Das Tandon Congress President later said "When the Congress passed some resolutions, I expect they will be carried out But the Government also has to act in the spirit of the resolutions"

The Congress gains in dignity and responsibility while Government will be assured of popular support which, it is in the power of the Congress to bring to the task of administration

Invasion of Tibet

The Peking announcement of the liberation (an euphemism for invasion) of Tibet was certainly as sudden as it was unexpected India is a friendly neighbour equally interested in the peaceful settlement of the Tibetan issue She has stood by Red China and her rights in the U N. Secondly the tripartite parlays among Tibetan, Indian and Chinese delegates are now supposed to be going on While parlays are going on it is certainly queer to find the Red Army marching into Tibet So the Peking announcement was a rude stock

The Government of India have, therefore asked their Ambassador in Peking, Sardar K M Panikkar, to hand a "formal note" to the Chinese Government, expressing Government of India's "surprise and regret" at the action of the Chinese Government in ordering their armed forces to march into Tibet

Giving this information, an official Press Note also expresses the "considerable concern" with which the Government of India read the report in the Press

Official circles in New Delhi, we are told, are extremely perplexed and disappointed at the Chinese Government's action without a word of explanation in advance To India, which has been led to believe by the Chinese Foreign Office that China would settle the future of Tibet in a peaceful manner by direct negotiation with the representatives of Tibet the latest development has naturally come as a shock

The reference in the official Peking announcement to "liberation from imperialist forces" has caused surprise, says a press Correspondent and the question has probably been posed to the Chinese Government as to whom they have had in mind when they made this statement The only country adjoining Tibet is India and it would be ludicrous to suggest that India has any imperialistic designs on Tibet Perhaps the reference was to forces inside Tibet working for some outside powers" But the fact remains that the Government of India and unofficial circles which had sympathy for China have been rudely shaken by the development

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SHAKESPEARE'S PROBLEM PLAYS By E M W Tillyard Chatto & Windus 8s 6d

Making an arresting departure from the traditional grouping of the plays Dr Tillyard regards *Hamlet* as a problem play better grouped for purposes of study with the accepted problem comedies' *All's Well that Ends Well, Measure for Measure* and *Troilus and Cressida* than with the great tragedies of Shakespeare's mature period *Othello, King Lear* and *Macbeth* Dr Tillyard says that *Hamlet* and the three problem comedies are distinguished from the other plays in that in these Shakespeare is concerned *throughout* (italics ours) with either religious dogma or abstract speculation or both' that in them the dogma and speculation are imperfectly absorbed into the general substance of the plays, that the tone is gravely earnest but not pessimistic and that Shakespeare is interested in observing and recording the details of human nature for its own sake instead of subordinating his perception to a great over riding theme Further in each play, though in different degrees of significance, recurs the theme 'a young man gets a shock'

In justifying the inclusion of *Hamlet* in this group Dr Tillyard says that while *Hamlet* has an adequate tragic hero and the traditional element of sacrificial purgation, Hamlet's mind doesn't under go a moral revolution comparable to that which takes place in the minds of Oedipus or Lear or Samson resulting in enlightenment and the assurance of a new state of being a final state of reconciliation which leaves the hero as well as the spectator and student of tragedy feel finally ennobled comforted and sustained True Hamlet is overwhelmingly obsessed with a sense of his mother s guilt to the exclusion almost of crime of his uncle and that once he has shocked her into a realization of her guilt, he is more even tempered But while Shakespeare is intensely interested in Hamlet's mind, according to Dr Tillyard problems, their richness and their diversity and not their solution come first with him in this play Dr Tillyard indeed throws refreshingly new light on the unique hold of *Hamlet* on readers but we venture to think that he has not quite succeeded in disestablishing its character as a true tragedy though it is admittedly richer and more various in content than tragedy usually is

Dr Tillyard finds *Troilus and Cressida* a play of the same type and though it has far less tragic content 'sheer wealth of display counts here far more than the lessons we learn from the way events are disposed" There is a powerful intellectual grasp of the artistic problem, a cunning union of the two great themes, in the love of Troilus and the war for Troy, the emergence of Troilus and Ulysses as dominant and contrasted characters Troilus standing for honour and Ulysses for policy providing a God's plenty of "powerful if astringent delight" Dr Tillyard s analysis of this play, the longest and perhaps the best in the book makes fascinating and instructive reading

On *Measure for measure* which has evoked widely differing views, Dr Tillyard steers a course somewhere midway between the total condemnation of Victorian critics and the enthusiastic and unmeasured acceptance of modern critics like Dr R W Chambers. Dr Tillyard perceives the basic inconsistency between the two halves of the play and attributes it partly to artistic fatigue in Shakespeare and partly to the influence of Shakespeare's source, Whelstone's Promos and Cassandra

It is scarcely possible, and thank God it is not necessary in literary criticism, to reach final conclusions in these matters Dr Tillyard however has thrown plenty of new light on these plays and the stimulating freshness of his approach must set students of Shakespeare thinking and reading Shakespeare again

DIARY OF THE MONTH

—— o ——

Sept 25 Death of Maharaja of Bikaner in England

Sept 26 U N forces take Seoul

Sept 27 South Korean forces reach the 38th parallel

Sept 28 Indonesia elected 60th U N Member

Sept 29 Seoul handed over to Syngman Rhee

Sept 30 No war pact proposal with Pakistan renewed

Oct 1 Trade relations between India and Pakistan come to a stand still from to day

Oct 2 Gandhiji s birthday celebrations

Oct 3 Pandit Nehru inaugurates XI Pacific Relations Conference at Lucknow

Oct 4 U S Mission in Formosa recalled to Japan

Oct 5 Afghan Ambassador in Delhi refutes Pak charge of Afghan participation

Oct 6 U N appeals to Indonesian Govt to halt Military action against S Moluccas

Oct 7 U N Assembly gives go ahead signal to MacArthur

Oct 8 Jogendranath Mandal M nister of Law and Labour in Pakistan Govt resigns

Oct 9 Gen MacArthur s call to N Koreans to surrender

Oct 10 Indonesia reject's U N ceasefire appeal

Oct 11 Russia formally proposes a Big Five Conference on International peace

Oct 12 Russ a vetoes Lie s re election to U N Secretaryship

Oct 13 83 West Bengal detenus ordered to be released

Oct 14 Bombay Mill strike called off —U N forces advance on Pyongyong

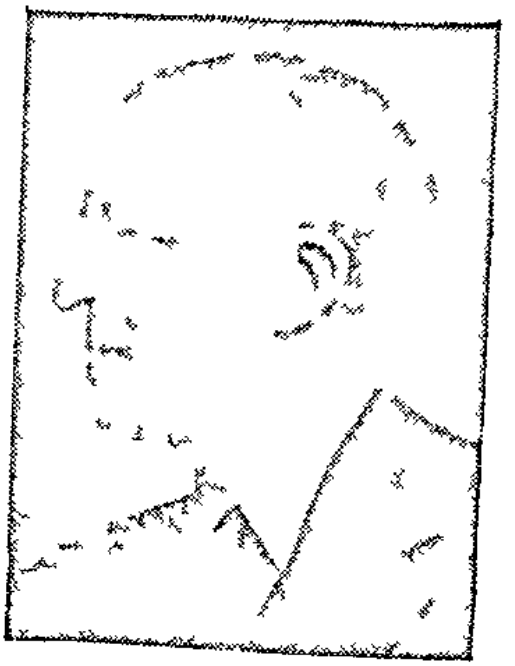
Oct 15 Trum n MacArthur meeting in Wake Island

Oct 16 New Congress Executive announ ced by Mr Tandon includes the Prime Minister and Sardar and C R

Oct 17 Presdt Truman calls for partner ship of peace with the people of Asia

Oct 18 U N forces take Pyongyang

Oct 19 Acheson plan approved by U N Political Committee



Sir STAFFORD CRIPPS

Oct 20 S r Stafford Cripps British Chancellor of the Exchequer resigns

Oct 21 Rajaji opens Research Institute in Mysore

Oct 22 French forces evacuate Lao Binh

Oct 23 M Vyshinsky urges adoption of Soviet plan for Atomic Control

Oct 24 United Nations Day President Truman addresses the U N Assembly

Oct 25 Pek ng announces invasion of Tibet

Oct 26 H M the King officially opens the new Chamber of the House of Commons

Oct 27 Kashmir National Conference condemns U N s failure to solve the dispute

Oct 28 The first All India Convention of Working Journalists meets at Delhi Mr Chelapati Rau presiding

Oct 29 King Gustav of Sweden aged 92 passes away at Stockholm

Oct 30 Treaty of friendship signed between Britain and Nepal at Khatmandu

Oct 31 Counter attack by N Korean forces threatening allied base

READERS' DIGEST

WHAT GANDHIJI PREACHED AND DIED FOR

The *Mahratta* culls the following passages under appropriate headings from the writings and speeches of Gandhiji They deserve to be treasured as among the precious thoughts of the Mahatma

THE DEATH OF THE BRAVE

He who perishes with sword in hand is no doubt brave, but he who faces death, without raising his little finger, is braver Let us all be brave enough to die the death of a martyr, but let no one lust for martyrdom.

CHARACTER

The end of all knowledge must be building up of character. What is education without character, and what is character without elementary personal purity?

DEMOCRACY

My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest.

On God's earth nobody is low and nobody is high. Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and Man.

PRAYER

Prayer is the key of the morning and the bolt of the evening.

The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the world.

Prayer is not an old woman's idle amusement.

He who hungers for the awakening of of the divine in him, must fall back upon prayer.

REFORMER

Where is the reformer who has not a price put upon his head?

All reforms owe their origin to the initiation of minorities in opposition to majorities.

No reform has ever been brought about except through intrepid individuals breaking down inhuman customs and usages

A reformer's business is to make the impossible possible by giving an ocular demonstration of the possibility in his own conduct.

IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is a negation of God.

Imperialism is increasingly becoming a dead weight, if only because it is based on highly organised violence.

At best, western democracy is merely a cloak to hide the Nazi and the Fascist tendencies of imperialism.

The greatest menace to the world today is the growing, exploiting, irresponsible imperialism.

The plan to vivisect India is a contribution to imperial growth.

ARMAMENTS

The only antidote to armaments, which are the symbol of violence, is Satyagraha. Real disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another. Forcible disarmament of India by the British Government was indeed a grave wrong and cruel injustice.

INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrial Civilisation is a disease because it is all evil. I have been a determined opponent of modern civilisation. Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilisation.

THE STEVENSON COMPANION Arranged and Introduced by Hampden Phoenix House London

The Centenary of Stevenson's birth is a fitting occasion for recalling the words and traits of an author who is loved as much as he is admired all over the English speaking world The brave adventure of his life was in tune with the courage and cheer of the happy moralist he was We have in the pocket Stevenson a fare of such variety and richness that no Stevensonian can afford to miss Stevenson played the sedulous ape to many models and his style as in phrases like the whirling weathercock of a brain is typically precious but who would care to miss the wisdom and generosity and the bracing common sense of so much of what R L S chose to say in that charming collection of Essays—*Virginibus Puerisque*? A superb teller of tales—*Tusitala*—with his fame secure in Kidnapped and Treasure Island he was also a fine poet and an essayist of considerable charm His letters and books of travel are still a source of perennial entertainment Thus this selection is fairly comprehensive of Stevenson's writings at the highest and widest level of achievement And then the romantic story of Stevenson's life is told in a long and valuable introduction by John Hampden who is himself a Scotsman and an authority on R L S The story is interesting in itself but a knowledge of it as a knowledge of Lamb's life is bound to quicken our appreciation of his work For everything that he wrote carries the impress of his personality as in Montaigne or Lamb

THE NATURE OF CREATIVE ART By K S Venkataramani Svetaranya Ashrama Mylapore Price Rupee one

The brochure of 27 pages with the addition of an appreciative Foreword by Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar and the Author's own Preface prints what Mr Venkataramani had delivered as lectures at several Indian Universities Thought and expression of a high order are indeed evidenced in these pages which are all too few The themes included here Life and Art Rhythm style and substance criticism and Creative Art Creative Art as Yoga Sadhana, and a new vision of life and art are all of profound and absorbing interest each affording scope for a whole book for itself Mr Venkataramani has chosen to deal with them in brief He blends the language of literary criticism with the language of philosophy and religion His citations are from both the East and the West Among other things he points out that the function of criticism is self realisation just as that of creative art Mr Venkataramani's quotations are not later than of Matthew Arnold and Walter Raleigh If he had cared to quote T S Eliot he would have found a great deal after his own heart We value Mr Venkataramani's judgment all the more because it is spontaneous and un influenced by other writers in the field

PROF C S SRINIVASACHARI SIXTY FIRST BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION VOLUME (The Celebration Committee Chepauk Madras)

The Commemoration Volume of Essays and Studies in History presented to Prof Srinivasachari on the occasion of his 61st birthday is a fitting tribute to the work and worth of a scholar and teacher who has made himself very popular among students and professors in South India Prof Srinivasachari combines learning with a modesty and affability so becoming in a teacher of youth and his colleagues and students and friends could not have hit on a more appropriate way of recognising his work and his special contribution in the field of historical research Among the contributors are well known names in Oriental scholarship and the personal appreciations and tributes from so many of his colleagues are eloquent testimony that the teacher's work is not confined to the classroom only The volume appropriately includes an account of the Professor's life and career as a teacher of youth and a chronological list of his writings during the last two decades and more We join the writers in their whole-hearted appreciation of the Professor's services to the world of historical scholarship and wish the Professor many more years of fruitful studies and active service in the cause of education

THE WARDHA SCHEME. By K. L. Shrimali, Ph.D. Published by Vidya Bhavan Society, Udaipur. (1949) Rs. 5.

Dr. Shrimali tries to show how the Wardha Scheme takes the place of the English system of education and endeavours to reconstruct Indian Society. Thus he holds that the Western education did great harm to the Indian mind as well as to the national culture. It did not develop a sense of citizenship and social efficiency. On the other hand, the Wardha Scheme tries to give expression to the character of national life and respond to changes in culture. It should create a new co-operative society and aims at a curriculum centred round physical and social environment and craftwork. The curriculum should help both an intellectual understanding of surroundings and culture and a capacity to contribute to social progress. The plan visualises the importance of pre-school education in nursery schools, as well as of the education of adolescents. The basic craft that is chosen is to be intimately bound up with the life of the child and it has got to be taught as a medium of education and not primarily as a vocational craft.

The mother-tongue should have a creative as well as utilitarian values; and it should enable the child to classify and clarify his experience. Social studies should be so framed in their syllabus as to meet the needs of changing society and stress the ideals of our heritage and hopes for the future.

Thus the Wardha Scheme should have a definite orientation, as well as a practical aspect; and it should further develop national consciousness. Our author proves, or tries to explain, the identity of ideals and purposes between the Gandhian philosophy of truth and non-violence and the Wardha Scheme in its underlying moral philosophy. As the scheme aims at preparing the children for the new era which is emerging, it cannot, in the strict sense, have any finality and will have to be modified as our needs and ideals are redefined and re-interpreted in the light of experience and in view of social change.

TITTLE TATTLE. By Rup Lal Kapur, Bodleian & Co., Madras Pp. 160.

This book consists of ten sketches or short stories narrated with spirit. The stories are realistic and varied by short disquisitions on general topics. The difference between biography and autobiography is brought out in one story, the methods of geological examination are brought out in another. Scraps of humour are inserted between the longer narratives. Attractive as the sketches are they are of unequal merit. And yet it is a genial companion for an idle hour. We wish, however, the printing were more inviting.

A TOWN LIKE ALICE—Nevil Shute. William Heinemann Ltd. 10/6.

Jean Paget and Joe Hartman meet in the Malayan jungles as Japanese prisoners. Joe admires the girl's pluck and Jean thinks Joe is crucified for stealing chicken to help the women and children prisoners. But Joe does not die. The two meet in Australia, marry and prosper—a common yarn.

BOOKS RECEIVED

TIMELESS. By Prince Nicholas Tchkotova Putnam & Co., Ltd., London.

SIXTY YEARS OF FLEET STREET. By Hamilton Fyfe, W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd., 43 Essex Street, London.

KAMBA RAMAYANAM. A Study by V. V. S. Aiyar. The Delhi Tamil Sangham, New Delhi. Rs. 7.

FROM CAVE PAINTING TO COMIC STRIP. By Lancelot Hogben. Max Parish & Co., Ltd. Ad print House, Rathbone Place, London.

LABOUR AND EASTER WEEK. A Selection from the writings of James Connolly. At the sign of the Three Candles, Fleet St., Dublin.

THE END OF AN AGE. W. R. Inge, Putnam & Co., Ltd., London.

SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM (James Connolly) At the sign of the Three Candles, Fleet St, Dublin.

RUMI: POET & MYSTIC Translated by Reynold A Nicholson, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

PROGRESS IN NEGRO STATUS AND RACE RELATIONS 1911-1946. The 35 Year Report of the Phelps Stokes Fund, United States Information Service, Madras.

GANDHIAN ETHICS. By Benoy Gopal Ray. Foreword by Richard B. Gregg, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN INDIA

Addressing the East India Association on India's social problems Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar said it was inevitable that money power should become a greater element in social life when one had to deal with an industrial progressive combative and acquisitive system of civilisation The growth of the Indian social system might be profoundly modified by the new element gradually coming into her life and society There was a very distinct change of outlook which had to be guarded against

Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar stressed that throughout the centuries the tendency in the Indian sub continent was towards a composite culture and race There would have been complete integration he said but for the incursion of Turks Arabs Afghans and people who belonged to the great proselytising and militant faith of Islam He was not blaming anyone but one of the things that tended towards cleavages between races and the elimination of those influences moving towards the gradual assimilation of different cultures was the legal system brought in by the British Government Now the task of the Government in India was to hasten the evolutionary process of integration which was inherent in the country

India's history taught them that she had been more tolerant towards other faiths creeds and civilisations than most other countries In the great experiment now being enacted the building of a new nation—the innate genius of India for unifying different elements must count for a great deal

To day many communities in India were not fully cognisant of their strength but thought only of their weaknesses and grievances

TRIP TO MOON IN 30 YEARS

Technical Advances in the building and firing of rockets have demonstrated that a human landing on the moon is possible—and perhaps achievable—within 30 years A London scientist Mr Valentine Cleaver Chairman of the British Inter Planetary Society told this to the first International Space Travel Congress in Paris

War said Mr Cleaver brought truly amazing technical progress in rocket design and further development for ultimate inter planetary flight by human crew is only a question of gradual evolution needing the efforts of many scientists in all parts of the world All current atom and rocket research inevitably contributes to the day when such flight will be reality

Mr Cleaver said We may find new species of fellow dwellers with us in the universe Our whole outlook cannot fail to be profoundly affected when our terrestrial affairs are viewed for the first time in their true perspective It may be that by providing a new outlet for our energies space travel may put an end at last to man's disastrous wars

IN SHAVIAN TERMS

What is the basic income in the Shavian term? George Bernard Shaw has fixed it at £ 1 200 a year Mr A T Neal of Derby wrote recently to Bernard Shaw asking his support for a flat pension rate of £ 2 a week But Shaw wrote —

Old age pensions are not my job I believe in pensions for life No such thing as a basic pension exists The basic income is a different matter In terms of the present money it would be at least £ 1 200 a year and at most £ 4 000

CHEIRO AND OSCAR WILDE

Somewhere in London towards the close of the last century a simple unassuming, grey eyed person was reading the palms of an exclusive gathering of English aristocrats, writes Mr. Mukul Gupta in the *Orient Illustrated Weekly* His shrewd, penetrating looks sparkling with intelligence lent emphasis to his unusual powers and personality

He was telling the past of the young gentlemen and the sprightly ladies who laid their hands before him and also foretold what the future had in store for them His uncanny powers made them stare wide in amazement But one of them were from distance a sceptic smile all the while He hid himself behind a thick curtain and through two slits—just big enough to let two hands pass through—he stretched out his palms Now the palmist, the gathering thought, would be on his trial, for, he knew not to whom the hands belonged—a king or a pauper He was taken aback for a moment and a moment only to see the unusual character of the hands stretched out before him In the palm of the left hand there were unmistakable lines of extraordinary brilliance and meteoric success But the right hand told a different tale It supported the brilliance all right but at a certain point the lines broke and there were unerring signs of a brilliant career ending in pathetic ruin and profound disgrace He looked at his audience and asked if he should give out his readings in public or was it that the owner of the hands should prefer to be told in private? "There is nothing for him to hide from us," smiled out the ladies and the gentlemen who knew so well the man behind the curtain and could by no stretch of imagination think that anything could ever go wrong with him "Well, began the palmist his voice betraying a rudely shaken mind, "the left hand is the hand of a king, but the right hand is that of a king who will send himself to exile" "At what date? was the sceptic query from behind the curtain "Between your forty first and forty second year," was the firm and instantaneous reply

The curtain moved and the palmist was startled to see the face of the famous man whose fearful future he had just foretold

"We would rather give you another chance to revise your readings if you would care to," spoke one of the gathering who seemed to have no doubt that the prediction was error full, hasty and fantastic "I stick to every word of what I have said," was the firm and unwavering reply of the palmist, for, he added, quoting from the Scriptures,

Who am I to put a different meaning to signs or seals that God caused on the hands of all sons of Men, that the sons of Men might know their works

The man behind the curtain was none else than Oscar Wilde and the man who told his future was Count Louis Hamon, known professionally the world over as Cheiro Oscar Wilde was then fast rising to the peak of eminence

Was there any link, he thought between the uncanny predictions of the unusual palmist and what he himself wrote in his play "Every one is born a king and most people die in exile" Was it that in a moment of ominous prescience he wrote his own judgment? As he drove home that night in his slow moving hansom he repeated to himself the words of the palmist "the hand of a king a king who will send himself to exile"

And every word of Cheiro came true almost to the day predicted, cruel truths though they were The verdict of Cheiro sums up in the fewest words the remarkable career of the most romantic and sorrowful genius of the nineteenth century.

SURGICAL CURE FOR CRIME

A new brain operation which may help some types of habitual criminals to become normal law abiding citizens is being investigated by surgeons and scientists at Oxford University. The operation, according to *Globe*, involves the destruction of a small part of the upper surface of the brain It has been performed on a number of patients at an Oxford hospital.

The treatment has not been successful in cases where the patient is so abnormal as to be certified insane The operation is based upon the result of experiments on monkeys conducted at Oxford It was found that aggressive, bad tempered animals became very tame after damage to a particular part of the brain

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CHEIRO AND OSCAR WILDE

Somewhere in London towards the close of the last century a simple unassuming, grey-eyed person was reading the palms of an exclusive gathering of English aristocrats, writes Mr. Mukul Gupta in the *Orient Illustrated Weekly*. His shrewd, penetrating looks sparkling with intelligence lent emphasis to his unusual powers and personality.

He was telling the past of the young gentlemen and the sprightly ladies who laid their hands before him and also foretold what the future had in store for them. His uncanny powers made them stare wide in amazement. But one of them wore from distance a sceptic smile all the while He hid himself behind a thick curtain and through two slits—just big enough to let two hands pass through—he stretched out his palms Now the palmist, the gathering thought, would be on his trial, for, he knew not to whom the hands belonged—a king or a pauper. He was taken aback for a moment, and a moment only, to see the unusual character of the hands stretched out before him. In the palm of the left hand there were unmistakable lines of extraordinary brilliance and meteoric success But the right hand told a different tale It supported the brilliance all right but at a certain point the lines broke and there were unerring signs of a brilliant career ending in pathetic ruin and profound disgrace. He looked at his audience and asked if he should give out his readings in public or was it that the owner of the hands should prefer to be told in private? "There is nothing for him to hide from us," smiled out the ladies and the gentlemen who knew so well the man behind the curtain and could by no stretch of imagination think that anything could ever go wrong with him "Well," began the palmist, his voice betraying a rudely shaken mind, "the left hand is the hand of a king; but the right hand is that of a king who will send himself to exile." "At what date?' was the sceptic query from behind the curtain. "Between your forty-first and forty second year," was the firm and instantaneous reply.

The curtain moved and the palmist was startled to see the face of the famous man whose fearful future he had just foretold.

"We would rather give you another chance to revise your readings if you would care to," spoke one of the gathering who seemed to have no doubt that the prediction was error full, hasty and fantastic. "I stick to every word of what I have said," was the firm and unwavering reply of the palmist, for, he added, quoting from the Scriptures.

Who am I to put a different meaning to signs or seals that God caused on the hands of all sons of Men, that the sons of Men might know their works

The man behind the curtain was none else than Oscar Wilde and the man who told his future was Count Louis Hamon, known professionally the world over as Cheiro. Oscar Wilde was then fast rising to the peak of eminence.

Was there any link, he thought, between the uncanny predictions of the unusual palmist and what he himself wrote in his play: "Every one is born a king, and most people die in exile." Was it that in a moment of ominous prescience he wrote his own judgment? As he drove home that night in his slow-moving hansom he repeated to himself the words of the palmist...."the hand of a king....a king who will send himself to exile"

And every word of Cheiro came true almost to the day predicted, cruel truths though they were. The verdict of Cheiro sums up in the fewest words the remarkable career of the most romantic and sorrowful genius of the nineteenth century.

SURGICAL CURE FOR CRIME

A new brain operation which may help some types of habitual criminals to become normal law-abiding citizens is being investigated by surgeons and scientists at Oxford University. The operation, according to *Globe*, involves the destruction of a small part of the upper surface of the brain. It has been performed on a number of patients at an Oxford hospital.

The treatment has not been successful in cases where the patient is so abnormal as to be certified insane. The operation is based upon the result of experiments on monkeys conducted at Oxford. It was found that aggressive, bad tempered animals became very tame after damage to a particular part of the brain.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Dedicating the bronze portrait of Swami Vivekananda at the Ramakrishna Vivekananda centre of New York Swami Nikhilananda observed that it was the finger of God that guided the Young Vivekananda to the distant shores of America During his life as a wandering monk in India he said

Swami Vivekananda discovered both the secret of India's past greatness and that of her future regeneration Loyalty to the spiritual truths of their forefathers he found had preserved the culture of the Hindus for centuries in spite of many aggressions from outside The dynamic religion of the Hindus has made it possible for them to assimilate into their society many foreign elements Renunciation and service have always been India's national ideals and she had spread her influence beyond her borders not through the power of the sword but through the power of the spirit Spirituality the Swami was convinced still formed the back bone of India's national life He realized that if India neglected her spiritual ideals she would meet with dire consequences Her future contribution to the world would be made in the realm of spirituality

The second secret he learned was that the cause of India's present backwardness was the poverty and illiteracy of the masses Because she had neglected the study of the laws of nature she had fallen behind the Western countries in the material amenities of life This defect, the Swami felt could be remedied only through the knowledge of science and technology, which she must learn from the West India and the West must share with each other their respective heritages the knowledge of the spirit and the knowledge of matter Both were indispensable for the fullest manifestation of the divine potentialities of man and the creation of a happy world

THE MARVEL THAT'S PLASTIC SURGERY

Seven years ago British plastic surgeons completely changed the appearance of a girl by severing 17 bones of the skull and repositioning them to improve her appearance says the *Globe* Now that their work has been proved of permanent benefit they have made their achievement public

The surgeons are Sir Harold Gillies and Mr Stowart Harrison The girl is now a pleasant looking nurse aged 21 Seven years ago her upper jaw was set so far back that her lips almost touched her misformed nose Her eyes protruded and the roof of her mouth was so sharply arched that she could not speak properly

The result was to stir the pity of the surgeons who decided to operate They first broke the bones of the nose and reshaped the nose Then they cut through the front part of the skull behind the eyes severed the cheek bones at the base of the temples and cut across the roof of the mouth

This enabled them to pull the upper part of the face forward and correct its previous faults When the wounds were healed, the girl's parents could hardly believe she was the same girl, and the girl herself, after feeling for years that she was a freak, found that she was able to lead a normal life

GANDHI NO SENTIMENTALIST

Gandhiji was no sentimentalist, says Acharya Kripalani in the *Vigil* 'I have rarely met a man more cruel

I know of occasions when he would not have avoided rivers of blood flowing for a cause he considered right and just provided it was the blood of willing victims On one occasion when a companion of his had a slight bullet wound he wired to him saying that he would have congratulated him if the bullet had gone through his heart in the service of the nation. On another occasion when I pointed out to him the failing health of a companion to whom, at his instance strenuous duties involving hard work and worry, were being assigned and told him that he was thereby endangering his life Gandhiji's reply was What does it matter if he dies? If then hardness is opposed to sentimentalism Gandhiji was hard hearted A real reformer has to be hard hearted Much of pacifism that we hear of is mere sentimentality It is the shrinking of the nerves at the sight of cruelty and blood In Gandhiji there was no such sentimental shrinking from blood He knew life was hard arduous and even cruel He wanted to mitigate its hardship and cruelty by looking calmly and unflinchingly at its ugly visage One can't be squeamish if one has to undertake the task of drain cleaning And Gandhiji's whole active life was a prophylactic against the stinking scum that society had collected round itself through the ages He therefore needed strong nerves which undoubtedly he had

WORLD WAR III

"The coming months will be fraught with danger. At any moment, a rash move by one great power could turn a local action into a world war."

This is the warning given by Mr. Richard Crossman, Labour M. P., discussing the international situation in the *Sunday Pictorial*, London. There are three ways in which it could happen, Mr. Crossman says;

1. Observing that America is deeply committed in Korea, Russia might start to probing elsewhere. She could foment trouble in Persia, for instance, or over throw Tito.

2. The Chinese Communists might be persuaded to intervene with their vast armies in North Korea.

3. The Americans might get embroiled with Chinese Communists over Formosa

If any one of these things were to happen these months, a general war would be almost unavoidable. While the first two depend on the attitude of communists, number three does depend on us, Anglo-Americans. Unless these dangerous drifts in Anglo-American policy are closed, we could drift into World War III, in the same way as Europe drifted into World War II last time.

BENDRE THE ARTIST

"If I were asked to name the most versatile painter in Bombay, which next to Bengal, is the most art-minded State in India" writes Mr. G. Venkatachalam, the well-known art critic who has done much to bring unknown but talented artists to the notice of the public. Writing in *Mysindia*, he says: "I would unhesitatingly name N. S. *Bendre*, the newly appointed Professor of Painting at the Baroda University." There are, of course, others who have specialised in some branch of painting more than Bendre and, therefore, are his betters in that field of art, like Hebbar for rhythmic compositions and Chavda for the beauty of his simplified lines. Jagannath Ahivasi is an out-and-out traditionalist both in life and art, even as Newton is an ultramodernist. Razi is essentially a colourist, while Mali is a delightful portraitist. But, taken all in all, Bendre is the most outstanding artist in Western India.

Bendre, we are told, is one of the most artless and simple-minded of men.

He has no airs or poses; nothing of the "arty" haughtiness of the half-baked artists common in big cities. He lives a simple life, works hard, and fast, is friendly and is devoted to his home and family. Even the experiences of a world tour have not much touched his life, however much they may have enriched his art.

Bendre is forty now, and has been painting, for nearly twenty years. Born and educated at Indore, he came to Bombay for his art education. A distinguished graduate of the J. J. School of Art, he continued his studies at Lucknow, Santiniketan and Madras, thus enriching his style and technique.

He was not satisfied with merely learning from or copying great masters, but was humble enough to learn from his fellow artists even juniors. Thus he was a friend and colleague of both young and old, an artist with an all India consciousness He did not cry down the Bengal School of Painting, nor was he all praise for the leaders of the renaissance. He appreciated the vital nature of the new movement, though trained in the academy methods of the Bombay School, and did not hesitate to benefit himself from the techniques of artists like Deviprasad Roychoudhry, Manishi Dey, Ishwar Das and others. He is catholic in his mind and heart, and hence his versatility.

Bendre, like all great artists, has always been an experimentalist, says Mr. Venkatachalam.

He is as skilful a miniature painter as he is a mural artist. His famous series of "Omar Khayyam" (seventy five 3 x 2 inches miniatures) in a mixed technique, executed patiently with the aid of a fine brush, created quite a sensation in Bombay, and was immediately acquired by a private collector.

The series ought to go to the National Art Gallery at Delhi.

A LIBEL ON A CHRISTLIKE MAN

Alfred J Russell of Port Elizabeth South Africa writing to *Life International* takes exception to a statement ascribed to the Duke of Windsor and referring to street riots organised in India by Gandhi and his followers That appeared in its issue of June 5 under a picture illustrating A King's Story This says the writer truly is a gross libel on the most Christlike man of modern times

The riots may have been caused by some disobedient followers of the late Mahatma Gandhi just as so many cruel wars have been waged by the disobedient followers of Jesus Christ But Gandhi believed in and practised the now almost forgotten early Christian principle of nonviolence and was never at any time guilty of any act of violence

The writer says that he was deeply pained to read such a glaringly inaccurate statement in life and asks the journal to correct it out of consideration for the millions of people of all races who love and revere the name of this Saintly Indian

MISPRINTS

Compositors are on the whole careful men and if they have a sense of humour they are not as a rule keen on displaying it at the expense of their professional reputations writes Allan Mr Laing in the *Liverpool Daily Post* Therefore practically all howlers in print are unintentional which makes misprints more genuinely funny

The following examples are quoted out of the legion available An Oxford journal describing T E Lawrence's deathbed used the phrase While famous specialists tried to have his life

The evening paper which printed Melville was expected to howl after lunch in view of his success at Horsham

The report of a train colliding with a cow The engineer putting on full steam dashed up against the cow and literally cut it into calves

Misprints often afford new light on history for example when we were told that William Rufes was killed while hinting in the New Forest

An American compositor setting up a description of Theodore Roosevelt's presidential inauguration printed For sheer democratic dignity nothing could exceed the moment when surrounded by the Cabinet Mr Roosevelt took his simple bath as President of the United States

In the placid pages of a love story the happy reader found the astonishing statement Gently he lifted her tea stained face to his

Mr Witter Bynner the American poet read in his newspaper that he had been the pot of the evening Mr Bynner remarked genially that they probably took it for a recital of chamber music

A housing Committee recorded as having completed ten houses of the parlous type

The newspaper leading article which read If ever there was a point on which a Foreign Secretary should be left free to exercise his own discretion it is on hanging a British representative whom he thinks unlikely to work whole heartedly with him on a given line of policy says *Dixon's Paper Circular*

FROM A CYNIC'S NOTEBOOK

1 The average woman is happy before a glass the average man after one

2 Platonic love is possible at three score years and ten

3 Marriage is like a besieged fortress those without want to get in and those within want to get out

NEHRU AS WORLD STATESMAN

In an article under the caution ' Nehru imparts a Lesson ', a well known Chilean Weekly, *El Quijote* pays high tributes to India's Prime Minister and describes him as a world statesman who 'contributes to the art of the statesman a sense of sincerity and of objective preciseness which clears up problems" The paper goes on to add

In the midst of a world of uncertainty and confusion the voice of Jawaharlal Nehru is a just and sensible one which clears up and defines concepts He may well be called the 'wise man imbued as he is with the serene Hindu philosophy and the patience to wait—qualities which also distinguished his master, friend and companion—Mahatma Gandhi—in the struggles of the Indian Congress

Giving its reasons why among the statesmen of the world, Pandit Nehru stands out as one possessing equanimity the paper observes that it is

not because he has behind him an immense sub continent, politically stabilised and on the road with an astounding determination to an economic re birth Not because of the outstanding role which India is playing in South East Asia, nor because he is the standard bearer of the slogan 'Asia for the Asiatics but because of the weight of his own irreproachable personality

Recalling how on several occasions during India's struggle for freedom Pandit Nehru along with his leader Mahatma Gandhi was obliged to "eat British prison bread' the paper remarks

But each time he came out with his prestige further enhanced An aristocrat by blood and spirit his English education gave him the tool which made it possible for him to understand Western intentions, but it did not even superficially affect his oriental ways of thinking As a statesman he plans in oriental terms philosophises as an oriental and builds up his country on a continental basis his country is a continent and it has an inevitable role of directing the destiny of all that part of the world

Supporting Pandit Nehru's stand on the Korean problem the paper concludes by observing.

Nehru contributes to the art of statesman a sense of sincerity and of objective preciseness which clears up problems If Communist China had been accepted by the United Nations, he had said, many problems would not have even arisen with a profound knowledge of the East and of its ambitions and hopes he adds that the Korean problem must be decided by the Koreans themselves In that conflict there is no germ unless it be so desired of a Third World War

U S IN ASIAN COUNTRIES

'Dislike for Americans and the U S Government is increasing rapidly abroad As arrogant rulers over foreign nations, as the rich man who is willing to help his poor relatives only if they do as he says, as a prop for reactionary governments without support or influence in their own countries, the American government is stimulating hatred everywhere "

This is the conclusion of Mr C L Sulzberger, the chief foreign correspondent of the *New York Times* Mr Sulzberger, in a recent signed article in the paper, draws instructive parallel between the feelings of the world towards British imperialism during the heyday of the British Empire and their feelings towards U S now. He says

The British government during the last two centuries was powerful arrogant and hated Throughout the Far East America is assuming more and more the role which weakened Britain has been forced to abandon The people of the East struggling for their independence both political and economic from the industrialised nations of the West feel more and more that the American policy stands in the way of their inspiration

In India and other Eastern countries and increasingly in West Germany and even in France, neither the ruling classes nor the common people are convinced that their best interests will be served by joining the American war camp Sentiments of neutrality is strong and growing One of the chief complaints in Asia is against American support for completely discredited ruling classes This led to the disaster for American policy in China and is well on the way to leading a similar disaster in Indo China as well

He concludes. 'Even Anti Stalinist leaders of India and other Asian governments know that one cannot indefinitely keep in power governments which have no popular support whatever."

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

THE SARDAR'S APPEAL TO MUSLIMS

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel was presented with a joint civic address by the municipalities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad on October 7 Replying to the address the Sardar restated the role of Muslims in India and the "determination of the Government of India to root out the antisocial and violent elements" in the disturbed areas of Hyderabad

Sardar Patel said the Communists in India were bringing death and destruction to innocent persons in the name of an ideology The Indian Communists were entirely different from those of other countries, particularly Russia The beating killing, and looting of innocent people in various parts of the State were unheard of in any other part of the world

The Deputy Prime Minister believed that some of the policemen and officers of the old regime were hand in glove with the Communists in the State

Sardar Patel said the Hyderabad Corporation Bill submitted by the State Cabinet was awaiting the assent of the Union President There would be elections to the civic bodies of Hyderabad and Secunderabad as soon as the measure came into force He pointed out that the Government of India would not be in a position to extend any adequate financial assistance to the Hyderabad Government, and in that context referred to the declaration of the Pakistan Prime Minister "that India is the only enemy from which they (Pakistan) have anything to fear" "You know that until we are sure of Pakistan's designs we shall have to spend crores on our defence "

He went on to say

I wish to say to Muslims that they are equals that they have equal rights as Indian citizens and that they are entitled to live in peace, and under the protection of the law and Government At the same time every Indian citizen a Hindu or a Muslim, will have to behave as an Indian feel as an Indian and act as an Indian and the sooner he realises this the better

The other day, the Governor of West Punjab stated at Lahore that Pakistan had to maintain an Army to protect the three crores of Muslims in India I am surprised that he had the cheek to say so

If anybody has played false to the interests of Indian Muslims, if anybody has damaged their cause irreparably, if anybody has exploited their feelings and sentiments it is those who wanted this country s partition

If anyone amongst you believes that they will protect you you will be sadly disillusioned I would therefore, ask my Muslim friends not to put faith in those words and not to be misled by those tactics

I would also appeal to Hindus to forget the past After all partition was engineered by a comparatively few who live in the cities Lakhs of Muslims in the villages hardly knew anything about it They never bothered about Pakistan What wrong have they committed to deserve different treatment ?

INDO PAK DIFFERENCES

If they want us to live in peace and if they want to compose differences why do they not settle the Kashmir question ? Why don't they go and persuade Shaikh Abdullah and the Muslims in Kashmir to join Pakistan ? Instead they claim Kashmir as theirs and have resorted to force to take it How can we give Kashmir to them ?

We are a secular State For us, there is equality between Hindus and Muslims How can we go back on these ideals How can we acknowledge them as the custodian of Muslim interests in India We have three and a half crores of them here They are our own people We cannot transfer them to their care unless any one of them wants to go there himself

Then there is the question of canal waters They owe us dues for the water that they have taken but they will not pay up They want to settle this in their own way There is enough water for both the countries They have deprived the Hindus and Sikhs of their canal land, and pushed them out

Now they wish to say that that those who have come to the Punjab from the West have no claims to the waters which are flowing in their own area This is a doubly injurious game and we are not prepared to surrender our legitimate rights in that matter either

Nevertheless we shall never obstruct efforts at peace if they are honestly meant It was in that spirit that we signed the Delhi Agreement You see how it is functioning

The true test of that agreement will come when Muslims can come back freely to India and Hindus can go back to East Bengal

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

NEW CONGRESS EXECUTIVE

The Congress President Mr Purshot tamdas Tandon has announced the new twenty man Working Committee of the Congress which includes the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru Sardar Patel Mr C Rajagopalachari Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and two General Secretaries Mr Kala Venkata Rao and Mr Mohanlal Gautam The only woman member of the committee is the ex Education Minister of Junagadh Mrs Pushpa Mehta one of the four women members of the A I C C

Following is the full committee

Mr Purshottamdas Tandon—President
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—Treasurer
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Mr C Rajagopalachari
Mr Jagjiwan Ram
Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Mr S K Patil
Mr Kamaraj Nadar
Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon
Mr N G Ranga
Mr Atulya Ghosh
Mr Siddhinath Sharma
Mr Laxmi Narain Sudhanshu
Mr B S Hirey
Seth Govind Das
Mr Gokul Lal Asawa
Srimati Pushpa Behn
Mr Kala Venkata Rao } General Secretaries
Mr Mohanlal Gautam }

The new Working Committee contains six Ministers and eight Presidents of the Provincial C ngress Committees of Tamil Nad Bombay the Punjab West Bengal Assam Bihar Maharashtra and Mahakoshal

GENERAL ELECTIONS IN INDIA

The Government of India wants to hold the General Elections by April May 1951 and if everything goes on well the elections can be held by that date said Mr Sukmar Sen Chief Election Commissioner in a talk with Pressmen

He said the earliest date they could be ready for actual polling in the elections was April 15 1951

He added that the polling day could only be fixed by Government as it was a political decision

COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

It has been decided to send a Parliamentary delegation to participate in the forthcoming Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference to be held in New Zealand during November December 1950

The composition of the delegation will be as follows Seth Govind Das M P leader of the delegation Mr R K Sidhwa M P Mr R Venkataraman M P M Dev Kanta Borooah M P and Mr Chimanlal C Shah Mr M N Kaul Secretary to the Parliament of India will also accompany the delegation

The agenda of the New Zealand Conference includes the following subjects Foreign affairs defence and Pacific relations migration Parliamentary Government economic relations (trade and finance)

While in New Zealand the delegates will be the guests of the New Zealand branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

MEMBERSHIP OF HINDU MAHASABHA

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha meeting at Moradabad on October 2 under the presidentship of Dr N B Khare decided to throw open the doors of the Mahasabha to non Hindu minorities of India who have got large stakes in the country which they will be anxious to safeguard under the system of Rashtra

The activities of non Hindu members would however be limited to the Parliamentary part of the Mahasabha programme and in carrying it through legislatures

This decision which envisages a fundamental change in the 30 year old conservative constitution of the Mahasabha was adopted to remove considerable misgivings amongst non Hindu minorities as to the part they will be allowed to play under the new order of Hindu Rashtra

The resolution emphasises that the Mahasabha was based on the principles of democracy and nationalism and makes no discrimination amongst the various communities of India

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDI

South Africa

INDIAN S AFRICAN ISSUE BEFORE U N O

The United Nations General Assembly dec ded to place on its agenda the qu stion of treatment of Indians in South Africa despite the Union's objection

The Assembly accepted the Steering Committee's recommendation on the subject

Mr G P Jooste, chief South African delegate, maintained that the Assembly was not entitled to discuss the matter because its Charter did not allow it to deal with matters of domestic Jurisdiction. He insisted that the treatment of South African nationals whether of Indian or any other origin, was essentially a domestic matter and, therefore, no concern of the Assembly. He added "I wish to reserve my Government's position on this matter."

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar declared

The fact that the United Nations had, during the last three years, discussed the matter, and passed resolutions concerning it is enough proof to show that the United Nations does not consider that the matter is one within the jurisdiction of South Africa only

In addition, the Assembly had last year passed a resolution to set up a Round Table Conference for talks on the question between South Africa, India, and Pakistan

India was willing to abide by that resolution, and had abided by it But that was completely done away with by the legislation (Group Areas Bill), passed in South Africa which had introduced for the United Nations another complication "Human rights had been violated"

The Steering Committee voted by 10 to one for the inclusion of the item in the agenda.

Two abstained (Britain and Venezuela) and Australia voted against.

Ceylon

RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN CEYLON

At the seventh annual conference the Ceylon Trade Union Federation at Colombo on September 29, the following resolutions were adopted on the problems affecting the Ind community.

The seventh session of the CTUF, condemns Citizenship Immigration, Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) and other allied Acts as reactionary measures directed against the majority of the Ceylonese working class and depriving them of even the limited rights which they to day enjoy The session also condemns the refusal of the Government to grant the just demand of the Ceylon Indians for franchise, civic and other democratic rights

Nevertheless, the session calls upon all Ceylon Indians to register themselves as Ceylonese in order to make use of even these limited rights provided for by the above mentioned Acts The session demands that all Ceylon Indians and other immigrants should be granted franchise rights if they are normally resident in Ceylon and full citizenship rights if they adopt Ceylon as their home

The session declares that the Government's proposed scheme of Ceylonisation is only a scheme to give some of the present available jobs to some Ceylonese in place of the non nationals who are now holding the jobs The proposed scheme does not provide for increasing jobs, nor does it really set out to solve the unemployment problem The session, therefore, warns the working class that the proposed scheme is being utilised by the Government to fan communalism.

REGISTRATION OF INDIANS

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce in a communication to the Government of India says that according to reports received by it from Ceylon, the facilities provided there for the registration of Indians under the Ceylon Citizenship Act were "far from satisfactory."

The Chamber says that due to the lack of facilities only 4,000 Indians, out of 900,000 in Ceylon have so far been registered Only three centres were opened for registration purposes, and the procedure adopted for registration was also "dilatory and very elaborate."

EDUCATIONAL

RURAL UNIVERSITIES

The Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel commended to the educationists of India the starting of rural universities for training the youth in constructive and nation building ways so that as future citizens they might shape India's destinies on sound lines

Sardar Patel was addressing the members of the People's Education Society Aurangabad of which the Law Minister Dr B R Ambedkar is the founder

The Sardar said he was told at Indore the other day that schools there were working three shifts He had known of shifts only in mills in Bombay That showed there was such a great demand for schools and colleges But the question was—what students should do after their education At Indore students gave the answer Give us some jobs

He commended to educationists the model college town built at Vallabh Vidyanagar near Anand in Gujerat

My mind works on the line of having a rural university instead of modern universities where the morals of students are spoiled Sardar Patel said Today many of them wanted to go abroad for higher studies The tendency must be checked because when they return only some of them 'are fit to work'

MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE SCHOOL

Founded 118 years ago and after over 100 years in a building in George Town the Madras Christian College School has moved to new premises in Chetput which were officially opened by H E the Governor of Madras

Situated in the vast open space are the impressive new buildings constructed and furnished at a cost of over Rs 11 lakhs The central block contains a well equipped laboratory There is also provision for audio visual education There are two art rooms and one craft room The school hall built separately from the main block has a well equipped stage

HINDI IN THE SOUTH

An appeal to the South to exercise its creative powers" and contribute to the development of Hindi, not only as the State language but as a common national language was made by Mr R R Diwakar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting in the Government of India addressing new graduates at the Convocation of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha Madras on September 9

Referring with disapproval to 'a certain school of thought' which proclaims itself to be anti Hindi, Mr Diwakar remarked that 'if we look at Hindi with suspicion fear or indifference, we shall suffer irretrievably and make Hindi also suffer because, then it will have to go without our contribution"

Though English cannot be conceived of as the lingua franca' of India, he said in the course of his address we must continue to take advantage of it as an international medium a source of contact with world thought and a vechicle for knowledge of scientific progress

HINDI PRACHAR SABHA IN MADRAS

Founded thirty two years ago under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi the Dakshina Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha has made great strides towards the propagation of Hindi in South India It has now over 3000 trained workers who labour for the cause of national solidarity by popularising the national language all over South India The success of the Sabha's work may be gauged from the fact that over 4 50 000 candidates have so far appeared for the various examinations conducted under its auspices There are over 600 examination centres 1000 high schools and 35 colleges where Hindi is being taught In the Madras city alone, there are 10 000 students learning Hindi in the classes conducted by the Sabha's workers The Sabha has published till now 160 books which are used as text books for its examinations

LEGAL

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JUDGES OF HIGH COURTS

A contention that Judges of High Court who had resigned before the enforcement of the Constitution, were not the Judges of the High Court according to the Constitution, was thrown out by a full bench of the Supreme Court of India on Oct 10

This contention was made by the counsel of Naqui Karan of Bihar, while moving for special leave to appeal against the Patna High Court judgment sentencing Naqui Karan to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment on charges of theft

The petitioner's argument was that Justice Agrawalla of the Patna High Court who had dismissed his revision petition could not legally function as *an ad hoc* judge of the High Court as he had resigned from the bench of the High Court before the Constitution came into force

In the end, Their Lordships rejected the petition

JUDGMENT ON COMMUNAL G O

Dr T S S Rajan, Minister for Health answering an interpellation in the Madras Legislative Council stated that the Government has taken *note of* the High Court's judgment holding that admission to the Medical College on the basis of the community of the candidate was contrary to the provisions of the Constitution

The member asked for *information* whether, as a result of the decision of the High Court, the basis on which candidates were originally selected for admission into the Medical Colleges had been since altered and if so, what the revised basis was

The Minister replied The Government have taken *note* of the High Court's judgment for their guidance and future action pending the results of the appeal filed by the Government before the Supreme Court, the basis for admission subsequent to the judgment cannot but be on the lines of the High Court's decision

DETENUS TO BE RELEASED

The vacation bench of Calcutta High Court, consisting of Justices Mookherji and Guha, held the detention of 89 detenus in West Bengal jails as invalid and ordered their immediate release

INDEPENDENCE OF THE PRESS

Mr K Rama Rao Editor of the *Searchlight* and Mr A K Tewari, Printer and Publisher of the paper, were "honourably acquitted" in the case of defamation brought against them by Khan Bahadur Abdul Khair Mallick, former General Manager of the B B Light Railway by Mr A P Sinha, *First Class* Munsif Magistrate of Patna

The Munsif observed in his judgment —

A newspaper is a most important vocal organ of society As such some sort of independence has to be granted to it for its proper and healthy working otherwise it cannot prove itself to be much useful in serving society

In the suit filed against Mr Rao by Mr Mallick, it had been stated that the *Searchlight* in its issue dated August 9, 1949, published a communication from the information Officer of the Railway in which it was alleged that the complainant's services were dispensed with in the terms of the contract, on the grounds of mismanagement and of auctioning a large number of articles

The Munsif observed

Admittedly the accused persons had no ill will or any sort of malice against the complainant Under such circumstances no *mala fide* of the accused persons can *be inferred The accused* are within their journalistic right to publish a letter which came from the information Officer of the Railway for publication

The statement of Mr Rao signifies that the mismanagement of affairs of the said Railway Company was the burning question of the day and the public must be very curious to know all about it In order that the public may have the occasion to see both sides of the picture it was incumbent upon the Editor to publish the rejoinder of the information Officer in the absence of which there was only one aspect of the controversial matter before the public In order that the public may not get a wrong impression by presentation of only one aspect of the matter before them, it was the bounden duty of the accused as a journalist to place the reverse side of the shield The publication of the news by the Editor was a matter of public interest As such the accused have committed no offence and they are protected by the provisions of *exception 9* appended to Section 499, I P C

It is too much to expect from an Editor to publish a particular news only after a full fledged inquiry and thorough verification If such a duty be cast upon an Editor it will be very difficult for him to publish any news whatsoever.

TRADE AND FINANCE

INDIA'S OVERSEAS TRADE

India has maintained a favourable trade balance in respect of both hard and soft currency areas during the first seven months ending July 1950 The overall balance of trade position during this period shows a surplus of Rs 3 42 crores as against a deficit of Rs 170 14 crores in the corresponding period in 1949

As against Rs 81 67 crores worth of imports from the hard currency area Rs 84 crores worth of goods were exported to those places resulting in a favourable balance of Rs 2 33 crores This compares favourably with the adverse balance of Rs 51 29 crores in the first seven months of 1949 when India's exports were valued at Rs 9 99 crores and imports at Rs 111 28 crores

In regard to the soft currency area the favourable balance amounted to Rs 2 03 crores with imports valued at Rs 187 92 crores and exports at Rs 189 95 crores In the corresponding period last year the adverse balance was as much as Rs 111 01 crores

Trade with Pakistan showed a favourable balance of Rs 76 lakhs in the month of July The total trade during the first seven months of this year also recorded a favourable balance of Rs 4 32 crores as against an adverse balance of Rs 2 77 crores in the corresponding period of last year

HARD & SOFT CURRENCY AREAS

For purposes of import into and export from India the list of hard and soft currency countries has been revised and is now as follows

Dollar Area U S A and any territory under the sovereignty of the U S A Canada (including Newfoundland) other American account countries consisting of the Philippine Islands Bolivia Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Equador Guatemala Haiti Honduras Mexico Nicaragua Panama Salvador and Venezuela and Liberia

Hard Currency Area Argentina Belgium and her possessions Western Germany (that is the American British and French zones of Germany excluding the territory of the Saar) Switzerland and Japan

Medium Currency Area Portugal and her possessions (excluding Portuguese India)

Soft Currency Area All other countries except Pakistan and the Union of South Africa

Provisional figures of India's foreign sea and air borne trade on private and Government account during June 1950 are as follows Merchandise exports Rs 820 lakhs re exports Rs 1 19 lakhs and imports Rs 46 21 lakhs Total Rs 79 49 lakhs

Treasure (excluding currency notes and Government of India coins) exports and re exports Rs 1 lakh imports negligible

The total value of exports including re exports of merchandise and treasure fell short of imports by Rs 12 98 lakhs

Total values of transit trade (in merchandise) of foreign countries on India's borders included in the above re exports Rs 86 lakhs and imports Rs 2 lakhs

WAYS TO SAFEGUARD INDUSTRIES

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries have in a memorandum to the Import Control Enquiry Committee suggested the use of import controls to safeguard the interests of indigenous industries and further the cause of Indian shipping and insurance and the imposition of heavy duties on imports of luxury articles The Federation have also suggested measures for speeding up of issue of licences

The Import Control Enquiry Committee was set up by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Mr Tulsidas Kilachand President of the Federation to go into the various aspects of import controls and their working

The Federation in their memorandum to the Committee have welcomed its appointment and have appealed to it to consider four square the question of utilising the import control restrictions for the dual purpose of safeguarding the balance of payments position and the interests of indigenous industries "

WOMEN'S PAGE

MISS ALICE BACON

Miss Bacon, M P for North East Leeds and Vice Chairman of the Labour Party, 1949 50 who has been elected Chairman of the British Labour Party, has spent all her life in an atmosphere of Labour politics her father having served for 28 years as a Secretary of the Miners' Federation in the Normanton area of the West Riding Educated at an elementary and then at a secondary school, Miss Bacon was trained as a teacher and before her election to Parliament in 1945 was senior assistant mistress at Normanton Modern School

She joined the Labour Party at the age of 16 and in 1941 was elected to the Labour Party Executive at the age of 30, the youngest woman ever to be elected In 1945 she was elected to the Women's Consultative Committee which advises the Minister of Labour and she is also a member of the Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations, which represents two millions in the Trade Union Labour Party and Co operative Movement

DO WOMEN REALLY CARE ?

A question posed by women about women is contained in the report of the British Women's Electoral Committee a body concerned with securing and maintaining equal rights with men—do they really want such freedom?

The Committee, worried at what they describe as the 'inertia' of ordinary members at the last general election, have come to the conclusion that at the present rate of progress it will be a long time before the House of Commons has a really representative body of women M Ps. Yardstick of progress made is that just over 30 years ago, the first woman M P. entered Parliament, to day, the total is still only, 21

The Committee wants to make women interested in their political freedom and plans to launch a new campaign to ensure better result at the general election —whenever that occurs Core of campaign will be the creation of a committee of women M Ps from all parties

WOMEN'S SUPPORT TO U N.

Ways of supporting the United Nations and increasing the participation of women in U N activities were discussed at the recent fifth World Congress of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women Delegates from 18 nations, representing more than 300 000 members, attended the London meeting

'The United Nations offers a great opportunity for us to help shape the kind of world in which human rights cease to be words alone and become realities,' said Miss Sally Butler of the United States retiring International Federation president in addressing the Congress Stating that women 'have only scratched the surface' of their potential influence in world affairs she said that 'a real drive is being made for more and more appointments for women at high levels throughout the United Nations and its agencies But we must bear in mind that women must have qualifications and training to aspire to these posts, and that the training must begin at home'

A three day seminar on the United Nations highlighted the program at the World Congress The discussions were led by Mrs Margaret Hickey of the United States as chairman of the United Nations Committee of the International Federation.

A new two year national program entitled 'World Affairs Are Your Affairs' was launched at the convention Its purpose is to help American Federation members 'explore major world issues, examine policies proposed to meet them, and show them the role they can take in shaping the kind of relations with other nations which make for peace and understanding among the peoples of the world'

FROM A CYNIC S NOTEBOOK

1 The average woman is happy before a glass, the average man after one

2 Platonic love is possible at three score years and ten

3 Marriage is like a besieged fortress those without want to get in, and those within want to get out

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GENERAL

PACIFIC CONFERENCE

Strong condemnation of the racial discrimination in South Africa a reference to Kashmir and Korea and "fears of the Asian nations that Asia may be converted into a battle ground against the USSR highlighted the discussions in the Round Table groups of the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference at Lucknow The Round Table group for the study of economic aspects of nationalism mainly devoted its discussions to the problem of national self sufficiency, trade and investment

A reference was made to the Kashmir problem at the meeting when the Pakistan delegate asked 'Why the U S A has acted so quickly in Korea and not in Kashmir?

A U S delegate, defending his country's policy said that there was a general feeling that the dispute in Kashmir would be settled without recourse to the articles of UN Charter It seemed that they had 'misjudged' it The Security Council was nevertheless seized of the Kashmir issue and he hoped that the United Nations would find a way out to settle the dispute amicably within the shortest time

CONDITIONS IN E PAKISTAN

The West Bengal Government, in a Press Note issued on October 10 expressed surprise at the statement issued by the East Bengal Premier Mr Nurul Amin at Karachi stating that absolute normalcy prevailed in East Pakistan and that there had been a complete absence of communal incidents in the Province since the Delhi Pact "From time to time" the Press Note added,

several hundred instances of violation of the Pact had been brought to the notice of the Government of East Bengal including the commission of serious crimes against life and property

The Press Note said that the rosy picture of conditions in East Bengal as painted by Mr Nurul Amin was belied by conditions in Dacca town itself where the majority of the Hindus had left the town for the Indian Union long after the Delhi Pact

MORAL HYGIENE CONFERENCE

The first All India Moral and Social Hygiene Conference at its third and concluding session at Delhi on October 21 demanded the creation of a separate Ministry of Social Welfare at the Centre as well as in the States

The conference has also demanded taking of steps by State Governments for a stricter and more stringent enforcement of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act within their respective areas and the setting up of special courts to try 'in camera' cases of social vice

By another resolution the conference urged the Central and State Governments as well as local bodies, to establish adequate number of venereal disease clinics in their respective areas and give free treatment to patients

Attended by fifty delegates from all over India the conference discussed at length several aspects of prostitution, like its nature, its causes duty of the State and the community, the legal aspect, health problems relating to prostitution and rehabilitation of prostitutes.

DR P RAMA RAU

As a mark of recognition of his contribution to the science of Radiology the American College of Radiology has elected Dr P Rama Rau of Madras, an Honorary Fellow Dr Rama Rau has been associated with Radiology for 25 years, and is one among the pioneers of that science in India He did X ray Diagnosis and Physiotherapy as early as 1924 and later went to Vienna to specialise, being awarded the D M R in 1931 He was elected to the Austrian Roentgen Society in 1937, and to the German Roentgen Society in 1938

He has attended as a Delegate, the 3rd, 4th and 5th International Congresses of Radiology in Paris, Zurich and Chicago, and represented India at the Rheumatic Congress at New York in 1949 Dr. Rama Rau was Secretary of the Indian Radiological Association from 1946 to 1948 and its President in 1949

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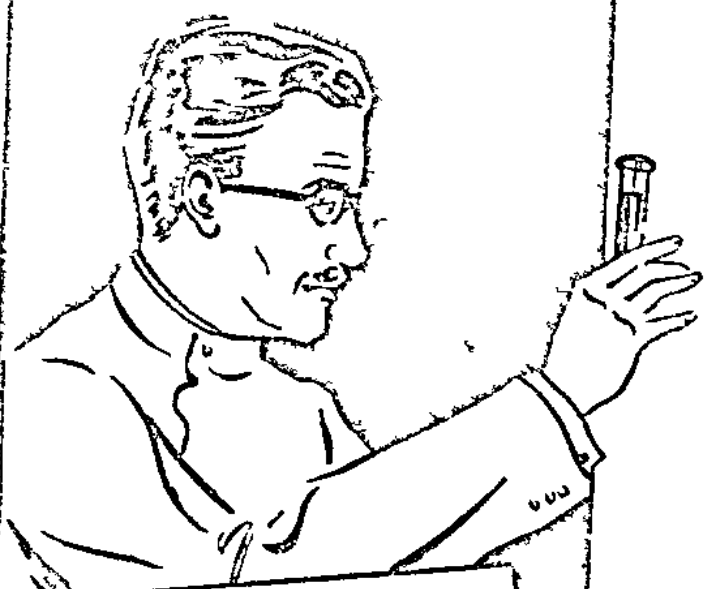
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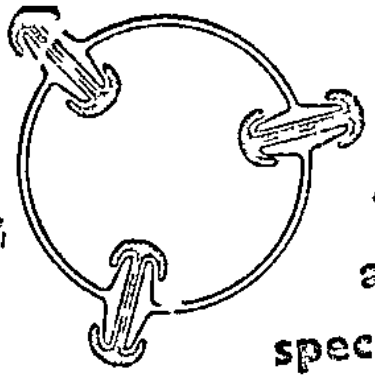
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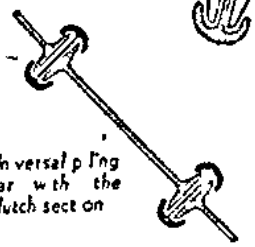
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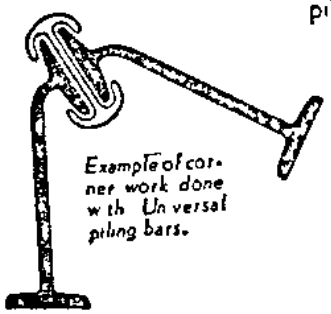
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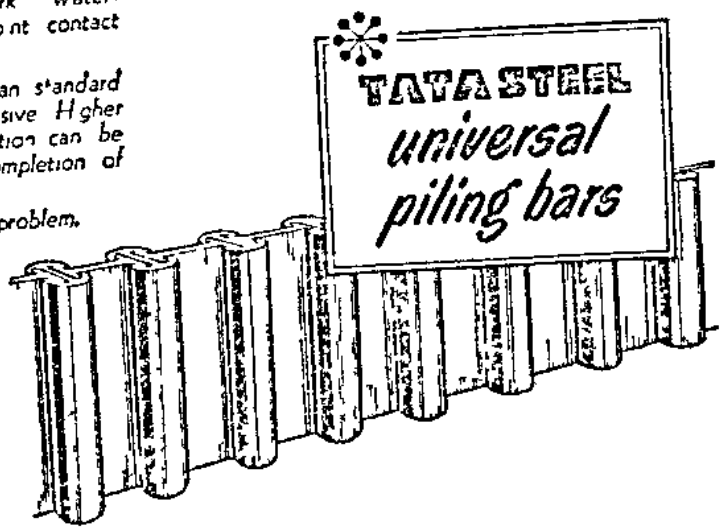
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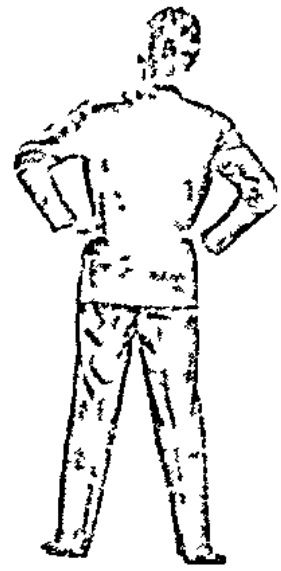
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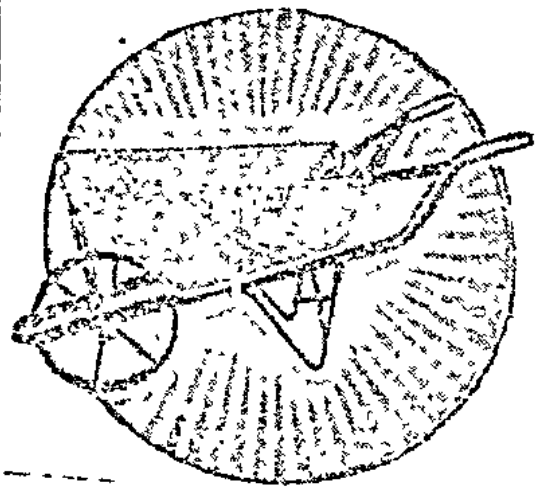
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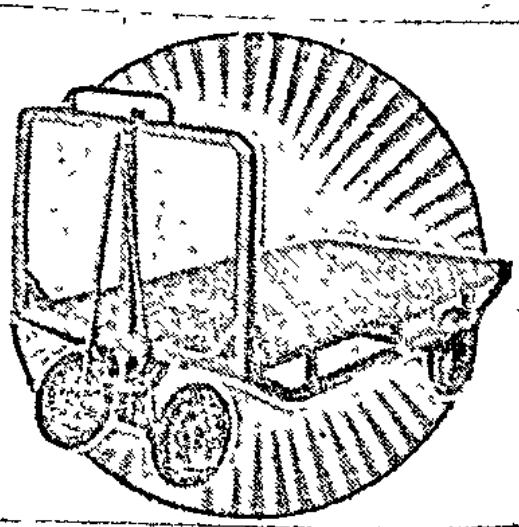
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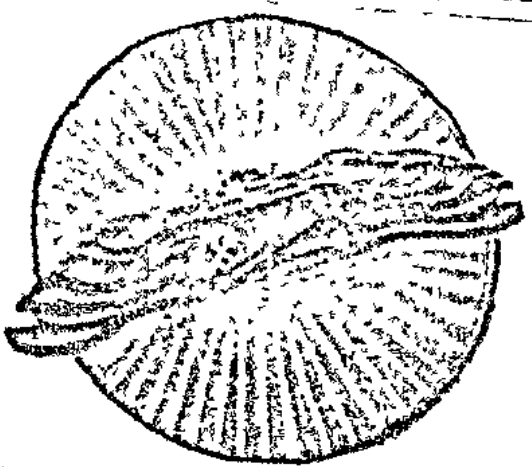
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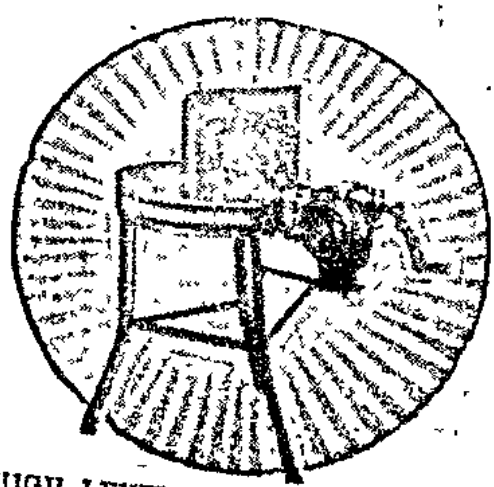
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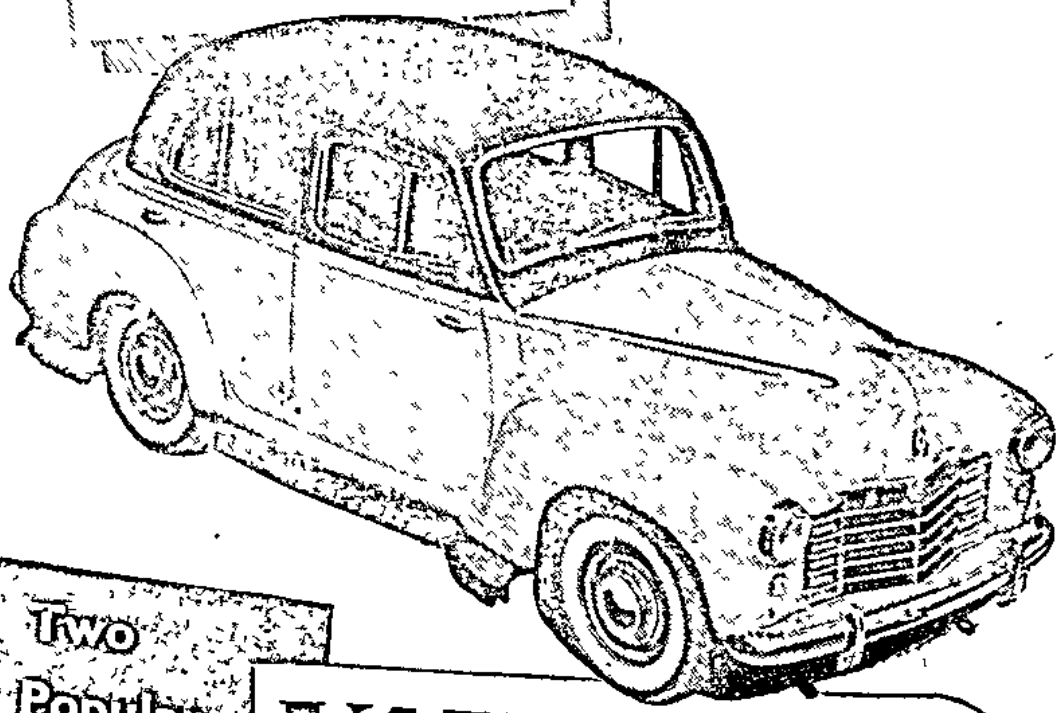
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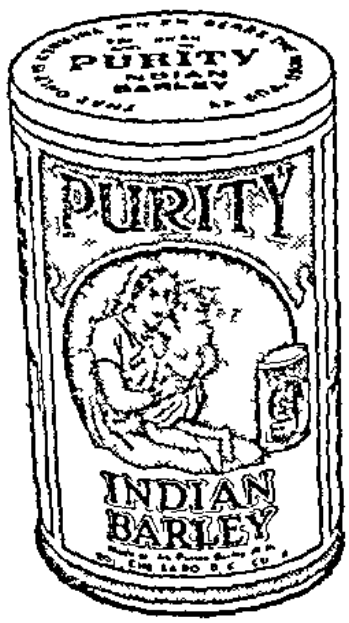
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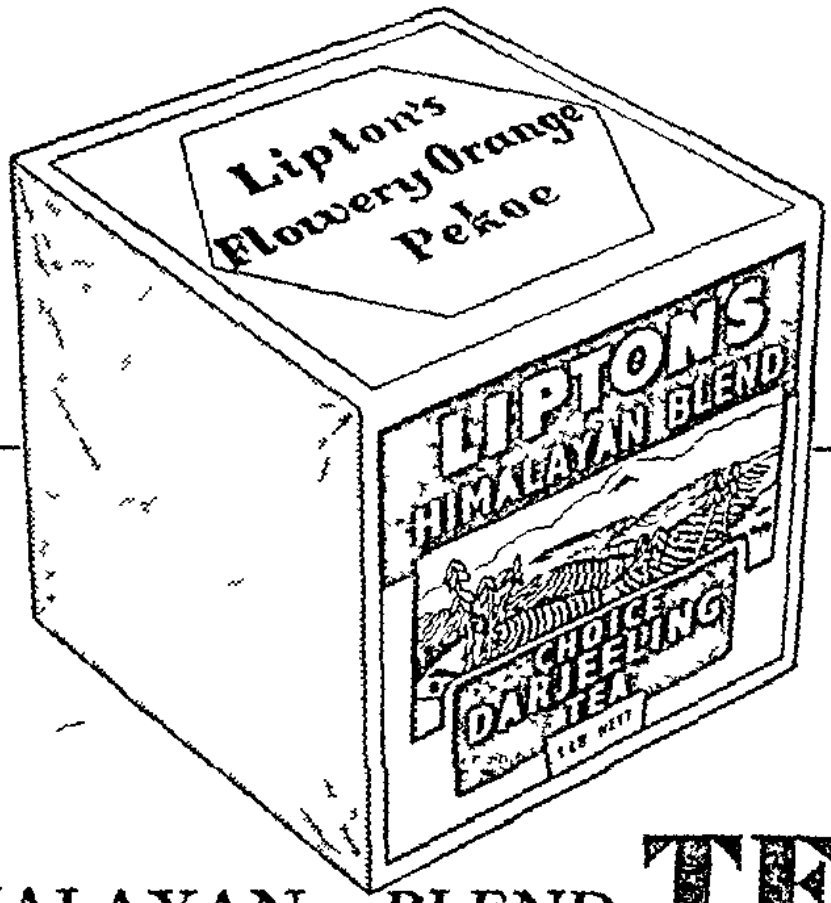
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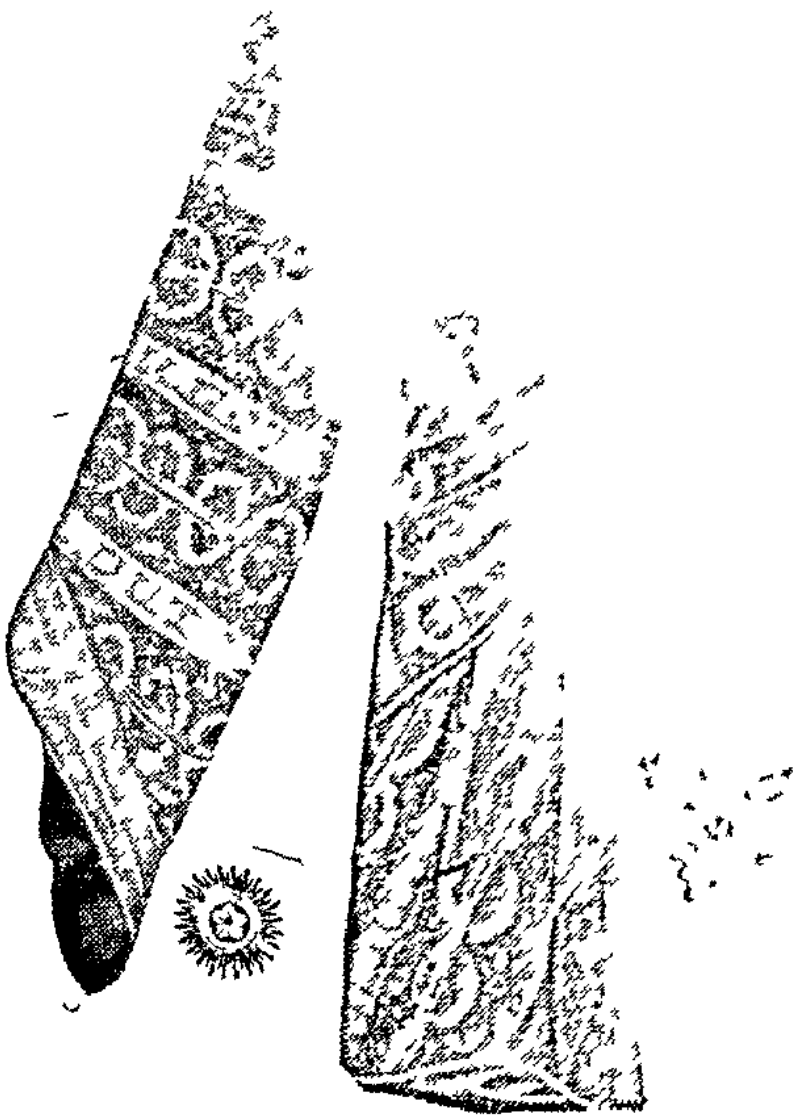
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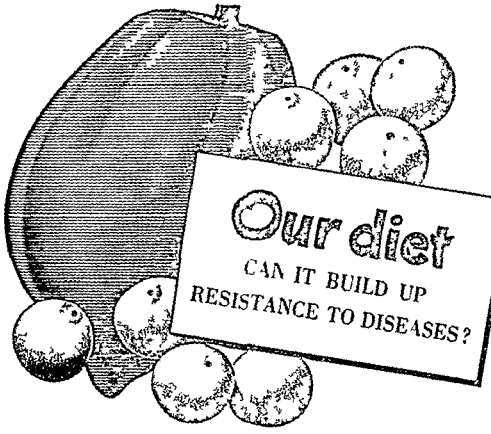
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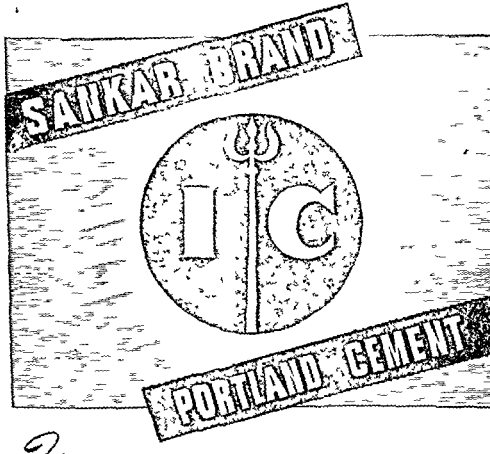
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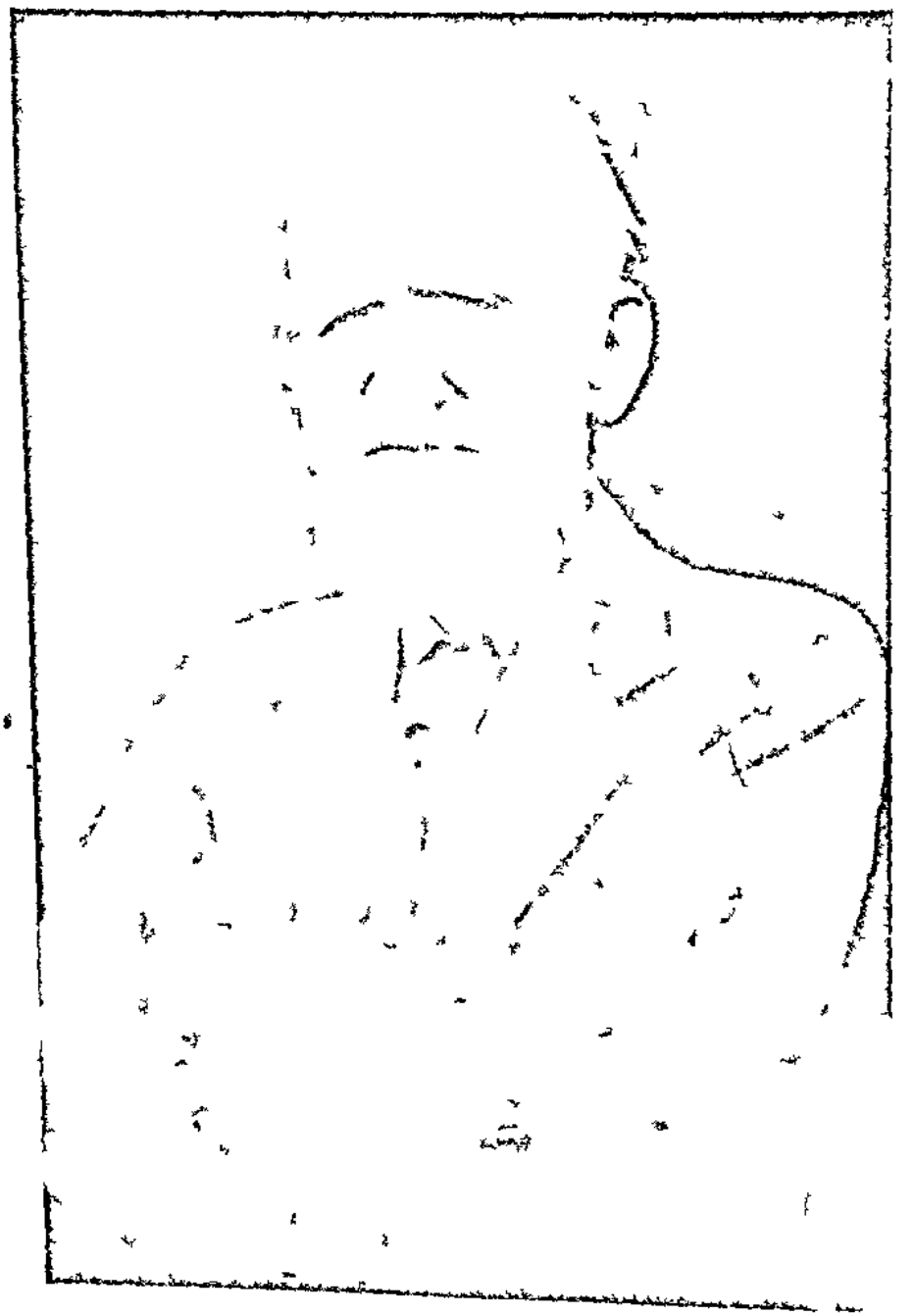
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GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Managing Editor : MANIAN NATESAN *Editor* G NATESAN

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GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

By Mr K G MENON ICS

(Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore–Cochin)

"THE young beggar is getting quite outrageous. I left him this morning roaring and heaving like a bull" So wrote Shaw Senior to his wife about young George Bernard, then one year old. For years thereafter, barring a brief period of mediocrity in youth and middle age, the youngster continued consistently to be outrageous, l'enfant terrible shocking the world with epigrams paradoxes and poses and provoking everyone with outbursts from pulpit platform, stage and the press. And just as he lived, volcanic energy erupting unpredictably, so he died when we were least prepared for it and after recovering from two surgical operations that might have killed a younger man.

On his ancestry, Shaw himself has enlightened us. His mother—Elizabeth Lucinda Gurly—"was the daughter of a country gentleman, and was brought up with ruthless strictness to be a paragon of all lady-like virtues and accomplishments" Not knowing what marriage meant and having to choose between a tyrannical aunt and an irate father with a second wife, she preferred an impecunious and elderly husband in George Carr Shaw, squint eyed drunkard two degrees removed from an Irish baronet. The third child and first son of this union was George Bernard He had little schooling and was soon office boy and clerk in a Dublin firm But Shaw was not meant for a musty office and escaped to London where through a long apprenticeship of failure as pamphleteer, public speaker and novelist, he was sustained by his mother who taught music. An accidental meeting with William Archer projected him into his new career as art critic, whereafter and especially as critic of music and drama, a new star was born This Star, G B.S., was according to Shaw, 'one of the most successful of my fictions G B.S. bores me, except when he is saying something that needs saying and can best be said in the G B S manner. G B.S. is a humbug." We cannot help agreeing, but when he says "G B S is not a real person: he is a legend created by myself: a pose, a reputation. The real Shaw is not a bit like him," we reserve judgment, as the two pictures seem as different as Augustus John's portraits and Rodin's bust. For, into the composition of that complex personality went conflicting ingredients that produced the brew of a witch's cauldron that Shakespeare never dreamt of. It made Shaw doubt his own sanity, while his periodical public pronouncements left his listeners gaping with equal

uncertainty One of his weakest vanities is the comparison between himself and Shakespeare Duffin, Frank Harris and other biographers allege that Shaw declared his plays to be better than Shakespeare's Shaw has denied the allegation but has certainly said that during his days as dramatic critic he postulated certain requirements for successful plays and proceeded to excel in them in *unprecedented* fashion "My plays are no more economic treatises than Shakespeare's he says in his self sketches and all my plays were written (not) as economic essays (but) as plays of life character and human destiny, like those of Shakespeare or Euripides" Shaw is therefore not averse to comparison with Shakespeare He is also proud of the socialism of his plays the plays of ideas he created—with all the earnestness of the Morality plays of old —against the bleak background of 19th century classical melodrama Against the pedestal on which these plays are set up, 'It is useless to talk of Shakespeare's depth now' continued Shaw "There is nothing left but his Music Our Bard is knocked out of time There is not a feature left in his face'

In defence of Shaw, it must be admitted that, in many ways Shavian drama is unique 'My governess taught me my alphabet' Shaw admitted "but nobody taught me to write plays which were denounced as no plays until they made so much money that the fashion changed and I was hailed as successor to Shakespeare" But the process of successful play writing was tedious and lengthy Archer Ibsen inspired, tempted Shaw to collaborate in providing the dialogue for a conventional plot The attempt was still born, but when Grein started the Independent Theatre on the pretext that "there were, in England hundreds of dramatic masterpieces unacted by the commercial theatres," Shaw "produced the necessary evidence" by building on his previous abortive effort into a three act play. The effort failed but convinced Shaw (on his own evidence) that he was "a born master of the theatre" "It made a sensation out of all proportion to its own merits or even demerits and at once I became infamous as a dramatist I had not achieved a success but had provoked an uproar and the sensation was so agreeable that I resolved to carry on" He therefore pegged away at it criticised mercilessly the old type 'well made" play, threw into the scrap heap the problem crisis-denouement structure and shocked critics and audiences with virile social satire, socialistic philosophy and intriguing and amusing dialogue or even monologue The comparative failure of the early plays only inspired Shaw to greater effort until his association with the Court Theatre in 1904 established a vogue for him that has not been paralleled in this century

Shaw has claimed that the aim of his plays is to make people think In this task, he succeeded admirably With an originality and daring unsurpassed even in an adventurer, he turned the stage into a platform and pulpit for 'sermonising' his fast growing audience on the widest variety of subjects covering love marriage domestic felicity science, creative evolution social evils religion, politics and economics Hence hostile critics complain that Shaw's success—such as it is—is ephemeral and that plays (pleasant or unpleasant) dealing with slum landlordism, suffragettes, prosti

tution or jealousy will not endure and are, in Ruskin's phraseology, mere "books of the hour." But Shaw has produced so many plays that even if a few perish and even if readers fail to be attracted by racy dialogue or matters of the moment, who can deny the lasting qualities of his classical comedies, YOU NEVER CAN TELL and ARMS AND THE MAN and of his historical plays, CESAR AND CLEOPATRA and SAINT JOAN?

Right through his writings and even when he caricatures himself, he distinguishes in his heroes two personalities, one invested with the halo of divinity or the curse of criminality and the other, the debunked hero or criminal, who is human and true to nature and none the less to be venerated or abhorred because tradition and reality are different. This debunking of popular versions—inverted melodrama, as Bentley calls it—attracted attention as much by its originality as by its moral, that divine or super-human attributes—as in the case of St. Joan—are not indispensable or even necessary for a country girl to be a heroine.

But even these tricks were soon out of fashion with Shaw. Once he had established himself as a play-wright, he ceased consciously to write plays in the accepted sense and wrote just as he pleased, with the supreme knowledge that a 'made' man could sell anything. All his favourite themes, even his crazy ideas, for some of which he has left all his property, were ventilated. Thus he publicised his cherished views on phonetics in PYGMALION, creative evolution in MAN AND SUPERMAN, politics in JOHN BULL'S OTHER ISLAND and ANDROCLES AND THE LION, parents and children in MISALLIANCE and the Medical profession in the DOCTOR'S DILEMMA.

The plays soon became inadequate media for the dissemination of Shaw's views. Hence the Prefaces. They have often little or no connection with the plays they preface. Here he was in his element, shorn of all pretense (unless deliberate) and not circumscribed by the requirements of the stage. Here he displayed with proselytising zeal the numerous range of ideas with which he sought to energise the masses out of their inertia. He set himself up as ostentatiously churlish and censorious, spouting unpalatable truths and half truths, championing lost and weak causes and inviting the disapprobation due to a disagreeable personality and earning Oscar Wilde's rebuke, "he has not an enemy in the world; and none of his friends like him". And yet he surprised the stranger by his amiability and friendliness. As he says of himself, "No truthful contemporary portrait can ignore either this extraordinary power of exciting furious hostility, or the entire absence of any obvious ground for it. It has been said that Shaw irritates people by always standing on his head and calling black white and white black. But only simpletons either offer or accept this account. Men do not win a reputation like Shaw's by perversity and tom-foolery. What is really puzzling is that Shaw irritates us intensely by standing on his feet and telling us that black is black and white is white, whilst we please ourselves by professing what everyone knows to be false." Nor is it true that Shaw disliked to be liked or disliked fellow beings. "My life belongs to the community and I find it a life-long privilege to do everything for the community", a confession totally incompatible with the [illegible] ade in Shaw and

through their admission as integral factors of a new brave free world This happened really when the accredited representatives of 41 nations assembled in San Francisco in the spring of 1945 to formulate the Charter of the United Nations No one could participate in efforts to build solid foundations for a peaceful and free world without recognising and supporting the aspirations of the subject or dependent peoples amongst them and we owe to the United Nations the fact that their Charter has given due prominence to this matter It was thus that three out of the nineteen Chapters of the Charter of the United Nations have been devoted to this subject of the International Trustee system which has replaced the pre war mandate system of the League of Nations and is broader in scope involving as it does a more extensive International supervision Five years later we have seen how a Trustee has had to interfere on behalf of the ward in the Pacific area when South Korea was attacked by the North It may be of interest to recall that very recently Ralph J Bunche the Director of Department of Trusteeship and Information from non self governing territories who has laboured hard in the cause has been awarded the Nobel peace prize To prepare the seventeen million people living in Trust Territories for independence is described as one of the basic and most important objectives of the International Trusteeship system as defined in the Charter The system really came into being in February 1945 when the leaders of the Big Three met at Yalta and decided to convene two months later the San Francisco meeting By December 13 1946 the first Trusteeship agreements were approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council assumed responsibility for eight Trust territories in March 1947 to which two were added later by December 1 1949 ten territories were being administered by six different administrating powers The examination of petitions from individuals and groups in the Trust territories or to the Trusteeship system and sending periodic visiting missions to investigate conditions on the spot in the respective territories are some of the methods by which the Trusteeship Council's supervision is carried out The latest (sixth) session of the Trusteeship Council ended on April 4th last in Geneva. It completed a draft agreement for what was formerly known as Italian Somaliland A revised statute has also been completed for Jerusalem which is to have an International regime under the direct administration of the United Nations

That is not all Since the United Nations Charter was signed at San Francisco the following countries have gained their independence The Phillipines India Pakistan Burma Ceylon Jordon Israel Korea and the United States of Indonesia Together these have a population of 600 millions which is four times the population of the United States and over a quarter of the entire population of the world

III HUMAN RIGHTS

While whole nations are being admitted to independence and to a place among the United Nations while the Trusteeship is progressing with ten wards under its care the Human Rights provisions of the United Nations Charter have provided for the creation of a commission under the distinguished Chairmanship of Mrs Franklin D Roosevelt and it has worked for over two years on drafting the universal declaration of Human Rights which was

adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is the first declaration of Human Rights for the whole World in all history and includes not only the traditional rights to political and religious freedom but is also an expression of economic and social rights—the right to work, to social security and to a decent standard of living. Though it is not in itself a Law it is a source of Law and raises a standard to which all men everywhere can make an appeal and by which they can measure the standard of their Government. 'Two million copies of 'Human Rights' translated into thirty languages, put on films and posters and repeated through broadcast represents but the beginning and the precursor of a much wider circulation through a much larger number of languages.

Another aspect of the U.N. activities is the promotion of higher living standards without which mere freedom of speech and religion and equality of opportunity to all regardless of the colour of their skin or the character of their faith may make life lopsided and inadequate. The political issues confronting the United Nations are not less important than the economic or the broadly human rights. The people's republican government of China at Peking which has been recognised by twenty six governments of which fifteen are member governments of the United Nations, has provided the one bone of contention before the great organisation. The 450 million people of China have the right to be represented in United Nations by whatever Government has the Power "to employ the resources and direct the people of the State in fulfilment of the obligation of membership in the United Nations." Though the intervention of the United Nations on two occasions in the Kashmir affair has not only proved ineffective, but resulted in great suspicion in the mind of a party regarding its impartiality, yet it must be admitted that there are many resources for peace, as in the case of Palestine and Indonesia, at the command of this great International body.

There are several other aspects of this great organisation relating to the Economic and Social Council which has dealt with thirty-five items during the last session in February at Lake Success. Questions like long term factors of development, high levels of world trade and production, inflation, lack of balance in world trade, maladjustments between full employment, economic development and balance in international economic relations, are some of these. The Economic Commission for Asia and Far East (ECAFE) is an important organ of the United Nations. International Road problems with uniform red signs and signals, economic development of underdeveloped countries, training in public administration, financing through an International Bank under-developed countries—The International Monetary Fund,—these are some of the subjects engaging close attention. A social commission and a Human Rights Commission, a Committee on Slavery, Trade Union Rights, Forced Labour, Freedom of Information, Narcotic Drugs, United Nations' appeal for children, International Children's Fund, are other collateral matters of interest before the organisation. All these are preliminaries and prefatory to a larger synthesis which begins in India at any rate with the

revealing unexpected tenderness and concern for humanity

Shaw's politics and political economy were shaped by Henry George and Karl Marx, but distinctive like all his other creeds and faiths His brand of Socialism—Fabianism—was a way of life rather than a school of thought and was developed with the assistance of Sydney Webb Leigh Joynes and Sydney Olivier And for twenty seven years he dominated the Fabian Society and helped to keep its flag flying, when other Socialist parties were rent with schisms and splits For this achievement Shaw claims, with mock modesty, that one Irish element in its management ' was responsible!

On Shaw's brand of Irish wit and humour, it is unnecessary to dilate There is none knowing the English language who is not familiar with sufficient Shavian explosions to keep any company merry He gave it hard, but often took it back hard Rejecting an invitation for lunch from Lady Randolph Churchill he protested, I will not come What have I done to provoke such an attack upon my well known habits? But he had caught a tartar for Lady Churchill replied, "I know nothing about your habits, but I hope they are not quite as bad as your manners ' Proposing the toast of dramatic critics at a public dinner, Shaw proudly proclaimed that he was a critic himself where upon Max Beerbohm, who replied, retorted I was once at a school where the master used always to say 'Remember, boys I am one of your selves ' Another well known story, where Shaw does not come off so badly, is about Isadora Duncan, who wanted a child with her beauty and Shaw's brains and was rebuked with the reply that if, by a Mendelian mistake the child inherited *her* brains and *his* looks it would be a monster! Symbolic of the cutting edge to Shaw is the story he himself created that an Indian prince's favourite wife was banqueting with him, when she caught fire and was burnt to ashes before she could be extinguished. The prince took in the situation at once and faced it. "Sweep up your missus," he said to his weeping staff, ' and bring in the roast pheasant" That was an oriental Shaw! Many of these stories were given currency by Shaw himself, probably with an eye on whimsical self advertisement And realising this, he wants Frank Harris to have said that "there is nothing interesting to be said about Shaw that he had not already said about himself!"

No two critical appraisals of Shaw are likely to agree on most points because he was an incorrigible and continuous actor and the sham and real Shaws are difficult to distinguish. This was really the tragedy of Shaw. He put up a facade of levity and buffoonery to attract attention, but when he wanted to be taken seriously, he continued to elicit laughter The very vehemence of his outbursts made him look capricious and unreliable. "Our laws make law impossible", he said, "our liberty destroys all freedom, our property is organized robbery Our morality is an impudent hypocrisy, our wisdom is administered by inexperienced or mal experienced dupes. Our power is wielded by cowards and weaklings and our honour is false in all its points" Such wholesale condemnation of everything that makes life worthwhile without the suggestion of any alternative the idea even that God is a finite force that has not realised itself, that Science is overdone and should be relegated to its proper place, that longevity is proportionate to the number of times one masticates vegetarian food and in fine, that life is life only for supermen of Shaw's type here and hereafter, do not conduce to universal popularity or understanding Was it frustration at being misunderstood and criticised that impelled him to write this epitaph for *The Evening News*

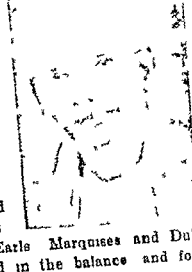
Hic Jacet
BERNARD SHAW
Who the devil was he?

Things have not happened to me on the contrary it is I who have happened to them, and all my happenings have taken the form of books and plays '—Sixteen Self Sketches

From Village Panchayat to World Government

BY DR B PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

THE World's problems fall really under two categories—one centering round the racial principle and the other round the principle of Nationalists Nationalism was hailed as a universal panacea for all the ills that flowed from the springs of feudalism When Feudal magnates, however, like Squires and Knights Baronets and Barons Viscounts and Earls Marquises and Dukes were weighed in the balance and found wanting because they lacked inspiration of the high and ennobling principles of humanity and universal brotherhood they were all bracketed under the common vinculum of aristocracy and made to give place to democracy Nationalism became the one divinity at whose shrine the devoted and faithful offered worship for a time But soon the transformation of the Feudal into the Industrial civilisation brought to the fore an aristocracy of wealth in place of that of birth and a new revolt was raised asking for the heads on a charger of these very nobles But this time it was Labour that rose against Capital In effect then, the world developed into a muscle like structure enclosing within one fascia various bundles of muscular fibres and fibrils each being an aggregate of mutually antagonistic elements Today Feudalism continues in varying degrees in form as well as function as an integral part of Nationalism while Nationalism itself functions as the base and purposeless counterfeit of the genuine coin which was struck at first in the mint of an equitable and equalitarian society The politico Industrial or more briefly the economic amalgam has proved more attractive than either of the component elements and has called for but one solution—in a world Federation as the remedy for all conflicts between the East and West, between politics and economics between Feudalism and Nationalism between wealth and labour

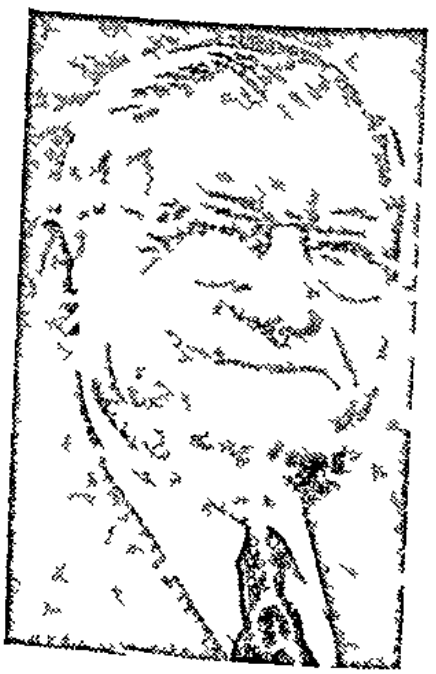


II UNITED NATIONS

This analytical process by which the centre and hub of human welfare is made to rotate round the five principles of Food and Raiment Housing, Education and Medication has, while concentrating the world's attention upon the primary and fundamental needs of man at the same time introduced an element of International rivalries which created in turn a constant striving after supremacy in control over marketing during peace intervals and over munitions during war time The result was that the Industrialism which represents the former and the Militarism which represents the latter have converted these alternating periodical tensions into a perpetual craving for what we call Imperialism To subdue such an unhealthy outgrowth of a healthy organism a new graft has been evolved called the United Nations Organisation after the second World War which arose from the inevitable recognition of the intense co operation offered by the subject peoples on the earth in the great world Wars, which have compelled a fair share of the fruits of victory being accorded to them

Village Panchayat otherwise to be understood as the Village Republic and end with the concept of a democratic World Government Such a world organisation is not as fantastic as it looks nor as new fangled as it is thought to be for our forbears had the imagination to visualize it in that pithy expression *Vasudhika Kutumbakam* Nor is it difficult to devise it for when we have followed how the village republics now revived in India and the City States of ancient Greece now being revived have at long last reappeared on the world s scene of politics and economics how these have been federated together into District organisations Provincial Government and a Central National Authority we can readily picture the world government as but the extension of the Federal idea which is the synthesis of provinces or States The World Government would in turn be the pinnacle of the pyramids composed of Federations States and Village Republics Everywhere a measure of autonomy is ensured to the component units while each unit parts with a measure of its authority to the Federation that it erects This implies that in order to form it and thus break the dead locks between Governments each component nation would be willing to forego or reduce its national sovereignty A World Convention may immediately be summoned in order to prepare a Charter—say in five years and be dissolved the moment the Charter begins to work following the assent of a certain percentage of the world s nations

It is only thus that the shortcomings the United Nations Organisation can be made up for As things stand India and China and the U S S R together contain half the population of the world but cast only 10 p c of their votes The twenty Latin American Republics represent 7 p c of the population but cast 40 p c of the votes In the General Assembly of the U N which chooses the members of the Security Council it is pointed out that Luxemburg with a population of 3 00 000 and India with 300 millions have each a single vote These disparities have to be set right and then the functions of the World Government fixed The Central Authority so created may have to exercise monopoly of armed force The Atomic force and Food may likewise have to be under this one supreme body When thus the destructive forces and the constructive elements are brought under central control a new World Government will have been though in a rudimentary form brought into being And when this is done this will be the greatest achievement of the Twentieth Century



Dr Andy Hall American Doctor of the Year

Conciliation composed of five qualified persons available to assist it by serving on commissions of inquiry or of conciliation

Because of the Great Power and ideological conflict between the East and the West the United Nations has been unable as yet to provide the Security Council with armed forces To aid it in some degree in the peaceful settlement of disputes and operation of missions the United Nations in 1949 established a— United Nations Panel of Field Observers and a United Nations Field Service

As a result of the East West conflict the United Nations has also been unable to agree on plans for the international control of atomic energy and the regulation of armaments

MEETING GROUND

However the United Nations has provided a meeting ground where the tension arising between the East and the West has from time to time been eased An outstanding example of this was the lifting of the Berlin blockade in May 1949 after a series of informal talks between the United Nations representatives of the powers concerned

In spite of the ideological differences the United Nations has taken major steps to raise the standards of living in underdeveloped countries and to make all nations aware of their responsibility toward the welfare of others

For example the United Nations and its specialized agencies have worked out a programme of technical assistance to help the underdeveloped countries strengthen their economies by making fuller of their resources

This assistance includes sending individuals and teams of experts as advisers training local people holding seminars helping governments obtain technical personnel equipment machinery and other necessary supplies

REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

The three regional commissions of the Economic and Social Council are dealing with the economic problems in their respective regions (Europe Asia and the Far East and Latin America)

In addition to these and the Council's nine functional commissions which deal with specific activities such as transportation employment human rights population and so forth there are ten existing specialized agencies and three in the process of being established

SPECIALISED AGENCIES

They are the International Labour Organization Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization International Civil Aviation Organization International Bank for Reconstruction and Development International Monetary Fund Universal Postal Union International Telecommunication Union World Health Organization International Refugee Organization and the World Meteorological Organization International Trade Organization and Inter Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization respectively

These inter governmental agencies are concerned with economic social cultural scientific and technical problems Their activities are integrated with the United Nations on the basis of special agreements made between agencies and the United Nations

More than 500 employees of the United Nations have moved into offices in the new 39 story UN Secretariat Building first building to be completed on the 17 acre UN World Headquarters site in New York City

Trygve Lie (right) Secretary General of the United Nations presents the blue and white flag of the United Nations to Ambassa lor Warren Austin United States representative to the United Nations

For example, on December 10, 1948, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights which proclaimed a common standard for all people and all nations and defined the inherent freedoms and rights of all men.

PROTEST AGAINST GENOCIDE

On December 9 of the same year it unanimously branded the killing of groups of people (genocide) as a crime under international law

The United Nations has also taken over the operation of a worldwide system of control over dangerous drugs, such as opium and cocaine.

It has adopted a Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and Exploitation of Others and is drafting one on the nationality of married women as well as declarations on the rights of children and on old-age rights

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) supplies needy children and pregnant mothers throughout the world with food, medicine, and clothing.

Over the last three years the United Nations, through its advisory social welfare programme, has supplied 60 social welfare consultants to governments.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship System of the United Nations was set up to provide for the administration of the territories still under mandate after the Second World War, for dependant territories detached from enemy states as a result of the war, and for such other territories as might voluntarily be placed under it. The Trusteeship Council constantly examines reports and recommendations on the territories with a view to promoting political progress toward self-government, improving educational facilities, and bettering the social and economic conditions of the people in the territories

The International Court of Justice deals with disputes submitted to it by conflicting nations. In addition, some organs of the United Nations, and some specialized agencies, are authorized to request the Court for advisory opinions Through the work of the Court, the International Law Commission and the conventions and recommendations adopted by the General Assembly, the field of international law is being extended.

The International Law Commission held its first session in 1949 and began to work to further the development and codification of international law.



Mrs. Elizabeth Bender Cloud, leader in education and social welfare, has been chosen "American Mother of the Year", by the American Mothers Committee.

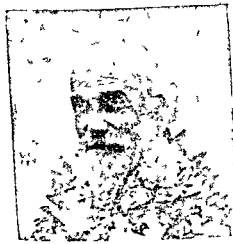
SRI PURSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

PRESIDENT, INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By Dr. M. HAFIZ SYED, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Biography

SRI Purshottamdas Tandon was born at Allahabad in 1882. He had his early education at C. A. V. High School. After passing the Entrance Examination



SRI PURSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

from this school he got himself admitted into the Muir Central College in that city.

In 1903 he graduated from the Allahabad University. He took the M. A. and LL. B. degrees from the same University in 1905.

In 1906 Sri Purshottamdas started practice as a lawyer at the Allahabad High Court. At this time he was a junior to the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Tandon was now fast rising to fame in the legal profession but he had to leave it in 1914 for a new distinction that offered itself to him. He became the Law Minister of the Nabha State in that year. He continued in this position till some time in 1918. In 1919, shortly after coming back to Allahabad from Nabha, he was elected Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality.

POLITICAL CAREER

Long before this he had started his political career by joining the Congress Movement. He had nominal association with the Congress since as far back as 1899, but he took an active part in its politics for the first time in 1917 as a delegate to the Surat Session of the Congress held that year. His first work of note as a Congressman was the opposition he offered to the principle of separate electorate for Muslims on the eve of the conclusion of the Lucknow Pact in 1916.

In the meantime Sri Tandon had been practising at the Allahabad High Court since his retirment from service in Nabha State. His reputation as a lawyer had also reached its zenith by now. But in serving the Motherland he soon gave up his lucrative practice. This was in 1919 when he took an active part in the agitation against the Rowlatt Act. As Gandhiji gave his clarion call to Satyagraha as a protest against this invidious Act Tandonji was in the vanguard of the movement.

The British Government's answer to this movement was Jallianwallabagh and the nation's answer to Jallianwallabagh was non-co-operation, the greatest national upsurge in India that had occurred hitherto. Tandon was in the forefront of non-co-operation as led by Mahatma Gandhi. It was in this connection that this much incarcerated U. P. Congress man had the first of the seven terms of imprisonment that he had suffered in life. This time he served for a year and a half beginning from December.

On his release from prison Purshottamdas Tandon was

the U P Congress by being elected its President

Tandon's interest in life has been somewhat multifarious In 1923 while continuing his political activities in full vigour he undertook the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the Punjab National Bank as its Secretary He also became its General Manager and continued in this position till sometime in 1929

In 1929 Sri Tandon joined the Servants of the People Society founded by the late Lala Lajpat Rai and was elected President of this popular national organisation

When in 1930 Gandhiji started his first Civil Disobedience campaign Sri Tandon joined the movement whole heartedly He was imprisoned twice in connection with Civil Disobedience

A KISAN LEADER

During this time Tandonji also evinced great interest in agrarian problems by founding the Central Kisan Sangha He also organised a powerful no rent campaign in U P in 1932

In the general election of 1937 Sri Tandon was elected to the U P Legislative Assembly When Congress decided to take up office he was elected to the responsible position of the Speaker of the U P Legislative Assembly

Close towards 1940 Tandonji resigned Speakership of the U P Assembly obeying the Congress mandate for the relinquishment by Congressmen of all official positions under the Government as a part of the Congress policy for non participation in the British War effort He was also kept in detention for about a year since some time in 1940 under Defence of India Act Again in August, 1942, he was arrested and thrown into detention in connection with the Quit India movement He was released after a period of over two years

In December 1946 Sri Tandon was elected a member of the Indian Constituent Assembly

ELECTED PRESIDENT

On September 2 last Sri Purshottamdas Tandon was elected President of the Indian National Congress after defeating his rivals Acharya Kripalani and Sri Shankarrao Deo in a keen contest which sharply characterised the presidential election for this year's Congress session at Nasik

Besides being a politician, Sri Tandon is also a renowned Hindi scholar and a patron of Hindi learning He was one of the founders of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan In 1910 when the Sammelan was brought into existence he was its first General Secretary In 1923 Sri Tandon presided over the 13th session of the Sammelan

His right to become the head of the supreme national organization rests on his multifarious services to the cause of the Indian nation and its struggle for freedom which is the birth right of all human beings He was bred and brought up at a time and in an atmosphere which was surcharged with the fear of the high and mighty, a system of bureaucracy, which could not tolerate for a moment any expression of opinion regarding India's freedom To protest against any wrong policy or action of the Government of the day was considered rank sedition. The schools and colleges in those days believed in enforcing rigid discipline based on fear and would not allow any alumni

of theirs to take part in public affairs or in any political movement.

Sri Purshottamdas Tandon had the inestimable advantage of coming in contact with the late venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya whose outstanding personality attracted a few youngmen whom he guided and inspired to be serviceable to the cause of the country. Sri Tandonji was one of those fortunate young men who contacted him in his early days and was immensely benefited by his saintly life, exemplary patriotism and selfless service. He rightly looked upon Malaviyaji as his political guru. His love of freedom, his desire of selfless service, his deep interest in Hindi literature and his enthusiasm for the ancient Indian culture were virtues which he imbibed from his guru. The seeds of all these qualities in him were sown by Malaviaji which took root, blossomed and developed in his life during the whole course of his political career.

Very few people know in India that Tandonji's early education was imparted by a Muslim Maulvi from whom he learnt Urdu and Persian. His sense of gratitude to this teacher, as he himself told me once, is so deeply engrained in his heart that he still remembers him with respect and affection as his first teacher and inspirer. It was on account of this education that Tandonji has as much command over correct spoken Urdu as he has over Hindi.

On account of his advocacy of Hindi language and literature as the National language of India his call to his Muslim brothers to cultivate the sense of unity and faith in a common culture has created misunderstanding amongst the Muslims of India. In fact whenever he made any public utterance on the absurdity of the two-nation theory and a common Indian culture, a hue and cry has been raised against his policy and almost all the Urdu journals have ruthlessly criticised him as a communalist of the first water and also as one who is responsible for deepening the cleavage between the two communities.

CULTURE AND RELIGION

It will not be out of place if we explain in the words of Dr. Sampurnanand what Tandonji means by a common Indian culture. "Culture is another word which is difficult to define and it means many things to many men. It is meaningless to equate culture with religion, but it is equally foolish to deny that religious belief is one of the most powerful components of a people's culture. Every new religion or religious reformation has been the starting point of a new cultural reorientation. Indian culture is a positive entity and it is incorrect to say that to-day there exists a distinct and exclusive Hindu, Muslim or Christian culture. All these various streams have now merged to form the mighty and all-inclusive current of Indian culture, although it is an undeniable fact that this culture derives some of its strongest driving force and individuality from what, for want of another term, may well be called Hindu sources. When a reference is sometimes made to Hindu culture or the desirability for propagating it, there is no intention to ask anyone to adopt the worship of Hindu Gods and Goddesses or the institution of wish to make people put on

or begin to call themselves by names of Sanskrit origin All that is meant is to emphasise certain distinctive features of Indian culture

HIS ADVOCACY OF HINDI

His advocacy of Hindi by Tandonji and some of his supporters says Dr Sampurnanand is often looked upon as a proof of communalism Nothing could be farther from the truth With the exception of Sanskrit Hebrew Arabic Latin and possibly Pali and Zend no other language has any intimate connection with any religion The adoption of any particular language as a country's state or national language is a question to be decided on purely practical and secular considerations So far as India is concerned we feel that only a language based on Sanskrit can occupy this place Other things being equal we want that words of Sanskrit origin should have preference over others Like all living languages our national language which can only be Hindi will adopt words from outside But it will mould them as dictated by the peculiarities of our grammar and pronunciation and there is no suggestion to boycott or drive out words of foreign origin which have worked their way into the structure of our language through decades of usage ' One may or may not agree with this opinion but surely there is no need to foul the atmosphere by reading a communal meaning into the advocacy of Hindi or imputing to us the motive of imposing Hinduism over Non Hindus by underhand means

AS A SPEAKER OF THE U P ASSEMBLY

As a Speaker of the U P Legislative Assembly he earned the reputation of being the best Speaker Though as a Speaker, never accepted the British convention of the Speaker's position to be aloof from party politics he maintained the dignity of the Chair in such a way that the minority party or parties never thought that he was capable of giving a biassed opinion He, in fact enjoyed the confidence of all parties and all persons and held aloft the banner of the Speaker with great honour and distinction The opposition party in the U P Assembly paid him the most handsome tribute when he laid down the reins of his exalted office As a Speaker he was always bold impartial and intrepid He had great mastery over parliamentary practice and procedure He did not hesitate to rebuke even the Ministers when he found them deviating frem parliamentary procedure

HIS MANY SIDED CHARACTER

That Tandonji had a lucrative practice at the bar is known to many people He still has a keen delight in tackling intricate problems of law

Very few people know that at one time he was pressed to accept the position of 'Guru" by an important section of the members of the Radhaswami faith with which he has had a long connection He declined the offer But his interest in the cultivation of higher purpose in life has continued unabated through all the vicissitudes of his active public life

As Billy Sunday famous American evangelist paused for breath during one of his more violent sermons a young sceptic in the congregation took the opportunity to interject a question

"Who was Cain's wife?" he demanded

In all seriousness the perspiring preacher replied I honour every seeker after the truth But I should like to warn this man that he shouldn't risk salvation by too many inquiries after other men's wives

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

THE VICE OF DEPARTMENTALISM

"I really feel disposed to ask: is there such thing as a head of the Government, and what are Secretaries for but keep him acquainted with the administration? Would it be considered credible, outside the departments, that these really very important issues, affecting the constitution or dismemberment of provinces, should have been under discussion for more than a year, without the file ever being sent or the subject even being mentioned to the Viceroy? They are all matters in which I take a great interest, in which I should be unfit to be the head of the Government if I did not take such an interest, and which I have frequently discussed with Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners. Meanwhile, the departments, without a word to me, are also discussing it among themselves. Even the Finance Member had an opportunity of recording his opinion upon the manner in which India ought to be parcelled out; and finally at the end, a cut and-dried reply is submitted to the Viceroy as though his signature were a sort of obligatory but perfunctory postscript to the entire discussion.

"I do not suppose for one moment that this has been a conscious omission or that there has been in anybody's mind the faintest idea of conducting the dissension except according to the most orthodox methods. But that is just where my complaint comes in. People sometimes ask, what Departmentalism is. To any such I give this case as an illustration. Departmentalism is not a moral delinquency. It is an intellectual hiatus—the complete absence of thought or apprehension of any thing outside the purely departmental aspects of the matter under discussion. For fourteen months it never occurred to a single human being in the departments to mention the matter, or to suggest that it should be mentioned. Round and round, like the diurnal revolution of the earth, went the file, stately, solemn, sure, and slow, and now in due season, it has completed its orbit and I am invited to register the concluding stage. How can I bring home to those who are responsible, the gravity of the blunder or the absurdity of the situation? —*Lord Curzon.*

LED TO REST

As a fond mother, when the day is o'er
Leads by the hand her little child to bed,
Half willing, half reluctant to be led,
And leave his broken playthings on the floor,
Still gazing at them through the open door,
Nor wholly reassured and comforted
By promises of others in their stead,
Which, though more splendid, may not please him more:
So Nature deals with us, and takes away
Our playthings one by one, and by the hand
Leads us to rest so gently, that we go,
Scarce knowing if we wished to go or stay,
Being too full of sleep to understand
How far the unknown transcends the what we know. —*Longfellow.*

THE MESSAGE OF ASTRONOMY

"Looked at in terms of space, the message of astronomy is at best one of melancholy grandeur and oppressive vastness. Looked at in terms of time, it becomes one of almost endless possibility and hope. As denizens of the Universe we may be living near its end rather than its beginning of time. We have come into being in the fresh glory of the dawn, and a day of almost unthinkable length stretches before us with unimaginative opportunities for accomplishment. —*Sir James Jeans.*

ADAM AND EVE

Here is the superb close of Paradise Lost —one of the great closes of literature— in which Milton describes how our grand parents bid farewell to Paradise and looking back Some natural tears they dropt and wiped them soon The profoundly human touch is couched in words which must be read aloud to have the full flavour of the pathos

In either hand the hastening angel caught
Our lingering parents and to the eastern gate
Led them direct and down the cliffs as fast
To the subjected plain then disappeared
They, looking back all the eastern side beheld
Of Paradise so late their happy seat
Waved over by that flaming brand' the gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms
Some natural tears they dropt but wiped them soon
The world was all before them where to choose
Their place of rest and Providence their guide,
They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow
Through Eden took their solitary way

A NEW HORIZON

There is always a new horizon for on ward looking men and although we dwell on a small planet immersed in petty business and not enduring beyond a brief period of years we are so constituted that our hopes are inaccessible like stars and the term of hoping is prolonged until the term of life

—*R L S*

TRUTH AND REALITY

I find myself now taking more and more as literal fact what I used in my youth to admire and love as poetry

—*F H. Bradley*

RECIPE FOR QUARRELLING

There were two old men living in one cell, and never had there even the paltriest contention them So the one said to the 'Let us have a quarrel the way men do' But the other said 'I do know how one makes a quarrel' first said Look, I set a tile us and say, 'That is mine' and do say 'It is not thine it is mine' And thence arises contention and squabble' So they set the tile between them and the first said That is mine and the second made reply — 'I hope that it is mine' And the first said 'It is not thine it is mine' To which the second made answer, If it is thine take it After which they could find no way of quarrelling (From the *Sayings of the Fathers* quoted in *Churchman*)

IN MEMORIAM

Here is a devastating parody of Tennyson's In Memoriam by St John Henkin

When pondering much of how and why
And lost in philosophic lore
The thought that two and two are four
Consoles me in my agony

The sun sinks ever in the west
And ever rises in the east.
I feel that this is sure at least
And cannot doubt but it is best

YOUNG AND OLD

Young men are fitter to invent than to judge fitter for execution than for counsel and fitter for new projects than for settled business —*Bacon*

LOVE OF GOD AND MAN

He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen
How can he love God Whom he hath not seen ?

—*I Epis St John III* 17 18

THE PATRON

Seven years, my Lord, have now past,
I waited in your outward rooms, or repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it, at last, to the verge of publication. The Dictionary without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a Patron before.

The Shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with love, and found him a native of the rocks.

Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it: till I am solitary*: and cannot impart it; till I am known and do not *want* it.

*n tender recollection of his dead wife.
Johnson's letter to Chesterfield: Feb. 7, 1755.

HARDY'S LAST POEM

A pathetic interest attaches to a poem with which Hardy celebrated his 86th birthday. Hardy died soon after.

"Well, World, you have kept faith with me,
Kept faith with me;
Upon the whole you have proved to be
Much as you said you were.
Since as a child I used to lie
Upon the leaze and watch the sky,
Never, I own, expected I
That life would all be fair."

CHARACTER

The measure of a man's character is what he would do if he knew he would never be found out.—*Thomas B. Macaulay.*

I AM ALONE

On the death of his only son who was the prop of his age Edmund Burke wrote to a friend:

The storm has gone over me, and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about use. I am stripped of all my honours; I am torn up by the roots and lie prostrate on the earth. . . . I am alone. I have none to meet my enemies in the gate. . . . I live in an invited order. They who ought to have succeeded me have gone before me. They who should have been to me as posterity are in the place of ancestors.

—*Burke.*

HIPPO

I thought I saw a city clerk
A—getting on a bus,
I looked again and found it was
A hippo-pot a-mus,
If that should come to dins, said I,
There won't be much for us.

GREAT SOULS

Great souls are not those who have fewer passions or more virtues than the common, but those only who have greater designs.

—*La Rochefoucald.*

WORDS AND ACTIONS

Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.

—*Dhammapada.*

OWES NO HOMAGE TO THE SUN

"There is surely a piece of Divinity in us; something that was before the elements and owes no homage to the Sun.

—*Sir Thomas Browne.*

TO TRAVEL HOPEFULLY

To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive, and the true success is to labour.

—*R. L. S.*

HINDU LAW AND ITS CODIFICATION

By Prof K R R Sastry M A M L

(Professor of Jurisprudence University of Allahabad)

HINDU Law is a Code of duties Nations of antiquity in the Indo Gangetic plain in Babylon in Egypt in Greece and Rome had evolved rules and regulations binding the societies then extant

In understanding an essentially moral and comprehensive system of Jurisprudence rudely shaken by the transplanting over it of more than one hundred and fifty years of foreign administration two opposite approaches have to be avoided One has to steer clear off the track of a mere antiquarian on the one hand and that of a devastating iconoclast on the other

A PEEP INTO ITS PAST

A historical method of study helps us to understand the present and then the future can never paralyse us

Far away in a misty past certainly two thousand five hundred years ago a comprehensive body of rules and regulations in a three fold setting of *Achara* (Conduct) *Vyavahara* (Legal) and *Prayaschitta* (Expiation) was found in a great work ever since known traditionally as the *Dharmasastra of Manu* Closely following it is another *Smriti* of the Sage Yagnavalkya Three other *Smritis* by Narada Brihaspati and Katyayana have *developed* the writings of the two illustrious forerunners in a logical realistic and consistent trend of reconciliation

THE WORK OF COMMENTATORS

When the brilliant commentators Vijnaneswara and Jimutavahana emerged in the horizon they found a few prior commentaries written by Asahaya Viswarupa and Medhatiti and monumental works and dialectics by Jaimini Sabare Swamin and Kumarila Bhatta

Hindu Jurisprudence got its first natural development *from within* at the hands of Kumarila Liberalizing tendencies had started shifting the centre of gravity from *Srutis* to the *Smritis* The third tional source of Dharma is *Sadachara*

Kumarila a profound follower of Mimamsa gives a conscious turn to take *what good men do* and regard it as evidence of Dharma The very fact of their being good and learned men coupled with their unquestionable motives is proof of the fact that the act must have some basis in the VEDA

IMPACT WITH ISLAM

Foreign elements of an aggressive type had entered into India when the commentators and digest writers had set their unselfish intellects to these chosen tasks

Having no great part to play in a wider sphere of administration the subtle philosophical logical Hindu mind retreated into its shell of orthodoxy after producing digests under the patronage of local kings chieftains and petty potentates

To the credit of the rule of the Moghuls be it stated that they were glad to leave the Hindus undisturbed in their laws and customs so long as their taxes had been collected

ADVENT OF THE E I COY

With the advent of the East India Company who without any plan succeeded in becoming the legal sovereign in India British courts were established These courts were enjoined by statutes to follow the *personal law* of the parties in matters like inheritance succession marriage and religious usages

Faced with the difficulties of alien laws customs usages and beliefs it redounds to the great energy of Sir W Jones and Colebroke among others that they mastered the codes and the commentaries by having them translated with the aid of Pandits of Bengal Benares and Mithila

The last nail on the direct efficacy of *Dharma Sastras* and *Pandits* was struck in 1864 when that institution which had assisted the courts of the company was abolished

With the end of the eighteenth century the qualitative comment and digests had run out and Hindu law and custom had been entrusted to Anglo Hindu courts and vakils practising therein

HIGH COURTS & THE PRIVY COUNCIL

It is a great tribute to the High Courts and the Privy Council that in the main they had tried to apply fairly the rules of Hindu Law and Custom to the litigants Priests of the traditional school were shocked at the mutilation" of Vedic texts by the commentaries of even Mitra Misra What with foreign Judges and a strange back ground it is only surprising that few inroads as e g the letting in the purchaser for value work out his rights to partition based upon the equity of standing in his vendor s shoes or the claims of a number of females to succeed as *Bandhas* in Madras contrary to *Smriti Chandrika* should have been made into the sacrosanct Hindu joint family

The centre of gravity had further shifted from *Smriti* to custom and usages of a district

PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS AT WORK

The impact of modern ideas and contact with Christian friends as also the discoveries of Science on our modes of living were bearing fruit from the beginning of the nineteenth century Progressive elements of Hindu society since Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar have quarried wisdom from the Upanishads and the *Smritis* A text in the PARASARA SMRITI supporting remarriage of widows under certain circumstances was dug out of it since it had been allowed to rust by the significant silence of commentators since Madhavacharya

From 1800 to 1946 at least fifteen piece meal enactments have emerged out of the anvil of the Indian Legislature *modifying supplementing* and *superseding* many branches of Hindu Law

THE CHALLENGE OF THE TIMES

Hindu Law must be prepared to meet the challenge of the times In fact it is the *adaptability* of Hindu Law to changing conditions and circumstances that has helped to maintain it as a living force It is significant that the *Smritis* which are the ultimate repositary of the law themselves recognize the principles of such growth and develop ment The five eminent Hindu judges of the Calcutta High Court who have bestowed the above tribute to our *Smritis* doubt the wisdom, necessity or feasibility of codifying the whole of the personal law of the Hindus

THE CODIFICATION COMMITTEE S APPROACH

The Hindu Law Committee on codifica tion consisting of very learned and judicial minded Hindus have shown caution in their mode of approach

'Nor can we believe" say the Rao Committee 'that the thoughtful reformer will wish to lay violent hands on the ancient structure of Hindu Law except for proved necessity It is a spacious structure with many schools and by a judicious selection and combination of the best elements in each, he should be able to evolve a system, which while retaining the distinctive character of Hindu Law will satisfy the needs of any progressive society"

A draft Code was recommended by the Hindu Law Committee Subject to a dissentient minute the majority submitted their report to the Government of India on February 27 1947 The Draft Hindu Code that has emerged out of the Select Committee of Indian Parliament in August 1948 consists of 189 sections and seven schedules

SALIENT CHANGES IN SUCCESSION

The most important obligatory change is in the devolution of heritable property of males intestate In the list of enumereted heirs is found the *widow and daughter* Without going further into its details it gives for the first time to a daughter *a half share*

Nothing except narrowness and lack of liberality can justify the exclusion of the daughter to a share in the property Though there are progressive Hindus who want to give an equal share to the daughter as to the son it is necessary to suggest a compromise which I am informed the Congress will incorporate in its desire for compromise

A SUGGESTION

If and when a d- her *landed property* for provision is to be ad law of pre emption to

be obliged to sell it to her brother This will prevent further fragmentation of agricultural holdings

Of all arguments of an unconvincing character the one that a son in law is a stranger admitted to the Hindu family is hard to beat for its crass prejudice based on fear The son and the son in law are like the obverse and reverse of a coin

CHANGES IN MARRIAGE LAWS

Provision is made for Civil marriages between Hindus This *does not at all affect* the existing right of Hindus to have the *Sacramental marriage Sagotra* marriages have been validated

It is true that provision has been now made for *judicial separation* on well known grounds as suffering from loath some diseases keeping a concubine legal cruelty desertion and ceasing to be a Hindu

Provision for nullity or invalidity of marriage is also made on grounds of polygamy or polyandry impotency *sapinda* marriage or lunacy

A PROGRESSIVE APPROACH NECESSARY

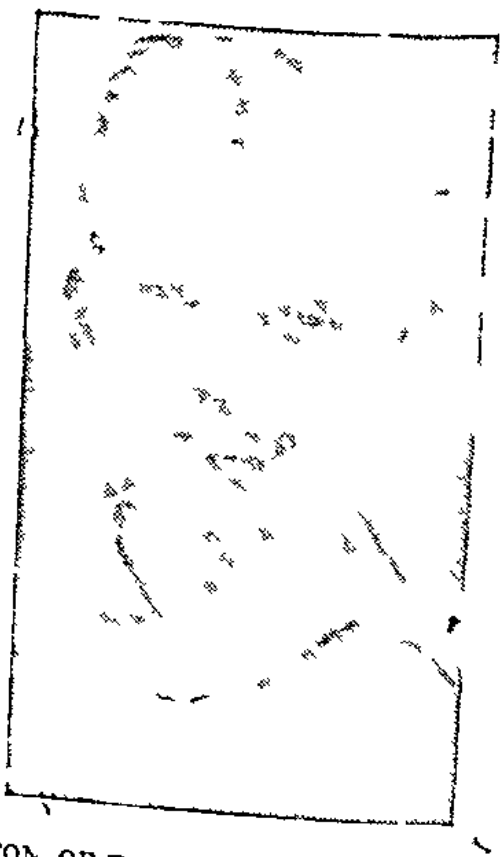
Existing Hindu Law and usage have resulted in certain grave social anomalies in Hindu society A Hindu husband has been allowed to practise polygamy strictly imprisoning his wife to the kitchen Under the name of shastraic marriage the Hindu wife has been allowed to wither away in agony distress and despair Where women are not honoured there the Gods are not pleased so wrote our Manu

The need has arisen for our modern Manus whom we have elected to frame our fundamental law of the constitution of Indian Republic to so amend and codify certain essential branches of Hindu Law

The case of the young childless widow has been facing our social conscience so long for a scientific remedy The natural trend of piece meal legislation 1850 is to restore the Hindu daughter *a position of security* as an heir in family

Woman is a gift of God and not a property of men In that excellent citadel of marriage is a *social cultural purpose* has never been the expectation of culture to treat woman only as bearing machine regardless of her inclinations or objectives in life The of our journey in life with resting as *Brahmacharya Grahastha Vanaprast* or *Sanyasa* is a part of our *basic stab*

In this land of *glorious mothers* to we owe everything in life of *steadfast* who have preserved and passed on culture and of dynamic law givers commentators and *followers of Dharma* it just and necessary that this structure with many patches should now and then receive healthy changes under which the reformer and the traditional can live in harmony each respecting the other



HILTON OF THE COMMONWEALTH TEAM

Malcolm Hilton the 22 year old Lancashire bowler who is a member of the Commonwealth Cricket Team now touring India.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTMAS TREE.

BY NORA SECCO DE SOUSA

—:z:—

THE Christmas tree with its toy-laden and gaily decorated branches is such a notable and time-honoured feature of the Season of presents and good things, that Christmas without a tree would be unthinkable. To children particularly, it is such a perennial source of delight and wonder that even in the sun-set years of their life, it evokes childhood dreams woven around Father Christmas in his flowing red robe and long white beard distributing largess. Every Christmas it is customary for the King to send from the Royal estate two tall Christmas trees to St. Paul's Cathedral, where one is always to be found illuminated at night on the steps by the west door. Every club and social institute also has one at this time of the year, not less private homes, even if only in miniature. It is interesting therefore to trace the birth of the Christmas tree as well as Father Christmas who forms part and parcel of it, and find out how they both came to play such an important and heart-warming role in the Yuletide festivities.

Fact and fiction, history and legend all have their share in the Christmas tree custom, and many are the likely explanations for its origin. What is true is that trees played a very important part in ancient mythology, especially the "World Tree," which Tacitus mentions as a monstrous pine, planted in a sacred enclosure and dedicated to the Earth Goddess. The sacred tree of the Germans was the pine, and the Great Oak at Wetzlar was dedicated to the God of Thunder. It is probable that the Christmas tree is of the same creation. In his delightful sketch "A Christmas Tree" Charles Dickens gives a colourful picture of an English Christmas-tree which he calls "that pretty German toy." It was also from the early emigrants from Germany and England that America received the Christmas tree. In pre-Nazi days the Germans cherished with sentimental unction their Weihnachtsbaum —the Christmas tree which was the centre of their Christmas festivities. According to a popular legend, Martin Luther wandering on starry Christmas Eve through the woods, became so wrapt in the beauty of the star-twinkling sky, that he cut a small snow-laden fir tree and on reaching home set it up for his children illuminated with candles, to serve as a reminder of the heaven from where Christ came.

Others say that the Christmas tree was first introduced in Germany by St. Boniface, an English monk who became afterwards known as the apostle of Germany where he preached the Gospel. One Christmas Eve he came across a group of worshippers who had gathered round the Great Oak to sacrifice a human victim to their war-god Thor. St. Boniface rescued the victim, and to show the poor people that they had no need to fear the non-existing Thor, he felled the Oak tree which as it touched the ground with a mighty thud, split into two halves revealing between them a beautiful young fir tree. The missionary declared that the fir represented Christ and thus the fir tree became the Christmas tree. Another legend tells that Paracelsus, the alchemist, one day came to a fir tree and hearing strange sounds and mutterings within, he put his ear to the bark. It was a demon inside begging to be released and promising in return to show his deliverer the secret method of brewing the elixir of life. Paracelsus pulled out a plug which had been driven into the tree to extract turpentine, and the demon was released. He kept his word and gave the secret to the alchemist. "Now," said Paracelsus, "I cannot understand how a mighty spirit like you could have come through such a small hole, will you do me the favour of explaining this to me?" "Certainly," said the demon, whose vanity was touched, and changing himself into a spider, he crawled back into the hole. Paracelsus immediately replaced the plug, and ever since the demon remained a prisoner in the tree. Rather a perverted and conception of the Christmas we know it, which spirit but is an emblem good will.

Scholars however trace the origin of the Christmas tree to a popular custom prevalent in ancient Rome where the people used to deck their houses with laurels and green trees at the Kalends of January Others traced its birth to a legendary yet popular belief that on Christmas Eve the orchard awoke from its winter slumber and that fruit bearing trees just for one night blossomed and bore fruits The first historical allusion to the Christmas tree is to be found in the diary of a citizen of Strasburg written in the year 1605 At Christmas he writes they set up fir trees in the parlours at Strasburg and hang paper and apples golden foils etc Later references to the Christmas tree became more frequent and Goethe Schiller and others mentioned it in their writings The Christmas tree was a comparatively small fir tree decorated with tapers and placed on a table according to a description of the Christmas tree ceremony as it was held in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century Presents for various members of the family were not hung on the tree but placed at the foot of it and the tree was carefully guarded from all curious eyes in a specially locked room which was only opened at Christmas Eve when all the members of the household were allowed to feast their eyes on the surprise master piece

In 1840 Princes Helene of Mecklenburg introduced the Christmas tree into France and the following year it made its appearance in England brought by the Prince Consort In a letter to his father Prince Albert says This is the dear Christmas Eve on which day I have so often listened with impatience for your step which was to usher us into the present room Today I have two children of my own to give presents to who they know not why are full of happy wonder at the German Christmas tree and its radiant candles

The patron saint of Russia is St Nicholas also known as Santa Claus from the Russian name for him Sankt Klaus He lived in Russia about the fourth century and later became Bishop of Myra It was infant piety and his acts of kindness the benefit of young people particularly ren that wove the legend of Santa Claus paying all children a visit at Christmas and leaving a gift behind So popular is this genial gentleman that he is welcomed by children of all communities the world over and presides at every Xmas function St Nicholas enjoys great popularity among Anglo Saxon children and the eve of his feast which falls on the 6th December is a time of festive stir in Holland and Belgium The old custom used to be for someone on this day to don episcopal dress with purple gown a mitre and staff and go from house to house inquiring about the behaviour of the children so that the good ones could be rewarded and the bad ones punished Even to day on St Nicholas eve the children before going to bed put out on the window sill their wooden shoes well filled with hay and carrots for the saint's white horse The good children find sweets and toys instead of hay and carrots when they awake while the naughty ones are disappointed to see their shoes untouched except for the addition of a big rod

In France Father Christmas is known as Bonhomme Noel and he does not come alone Pire Fouettard accompanies him carrying a birch so that he is not too welcome by bad children In the Slavonic countries his name is Mikulas and his assistant is a horrible fellow called Crampus In Spain the children do not hang up their stockings but place a basket before the window on the 6th of January for the Wise Men of the East to come and present them with gifts as they once did to the child Jesus Balthazaar and Melchior present toys to good children while Gaspar the dark king brings only coals to naughty ones What is little known however is that St Nicholas or Santa Claus is also the patron saint and benefactor of many picturesque vocations and thieves gangsters pawnbrokers pirates spinsters and sailors all appeal to him The Knights of St Nicholas is another name for the light fingered gentry Be it as it may the Christmas tree and Father Christmas are inseparable features of the season of Peace and Goodwill and long may live to gladden our hearts

ECONOMICS OF RUBBER

BY MR. T. R. SHANKAR

WITH the dawn of the automotive age, natural rubber has been most coveted of tropical crops. Our ...lling mechanized age is abjectly ... upon the supply of millions of tons of rubber obtained from the ... Hevea tree. The rapid develop- ... of the bicycle and automobile industries since the dawn of the present century has created an enormous demand for natural rubber, and with a large part of the civilized world still riding on pneumatic tyres, rubber has become one ... the raw materials indispensable to ur present industrial age.

The growth of the rubber industry rom a primitive gathering activity, arried on by semi-savages in the equato- ial rain forests, into one of the most mportant plantation industries of the tropics, is one of the spectacular developments of the twentieth century. Among the numerous actual or potential producers, the Hevea tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*) has attained pre-eminence thanks to its high yields and the excellent quality of its rubber. The bark of this tree yields a ready flow of latex, a milky juice, the rubber contained in which coagulates upon treatment with smoke or with weak acids. It is then made either into balls or into thin, crepe-like sheets. With the invention of the vulcanization process by Charles Goodyear in 1839, rubber emerged as a commodity of major industrial importance.

ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION

Calculations made by experts in 1948, showed that more than 95 per cent. of the crude natural rubber is produced in the Malay States, the Netherland Indies, and areas nearby, mostly under British or Dutch control. India also is one of the main countries where natural rubber is produced. The total acreage under cultivation in India as at the end of 1949, was 1,87,816, comprising of 18,842 estates and holdings. Out of these, 447 estates have rubber cultivating lands above 50 acres each, 1,297 having lands between 10 and 50 acres, 9,703 having lands between 1 and 10 acres, and 2,810 planters having holdings below 1 acre. The total average annual yield for the last ten years is estimated at 16,264 tons, distributed as under:

	Per cent.
Travancore Cochin State	81.04
Madras State	16 55
Coorg	1 90
Andamans	0.25
Mysore	0.23
Assam	0.03
	100,00

WORLD SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The Rubber Study Group secretariat reported recently that world production of natural rubber reached 157,000 long tons in June, the highest monthly figure ever recorded. For the first six months of the year production was estimated at 822,500 long tons, or 125,000 tons more than in the corresponding period of 1949. This was a 17 9 per cent. increase, and the Group predicted that the world's annual output for 1950 would exceed 1,700,000 tons. The secretariat estimated rubber exports from Indonesia in June at 65,631 long tons, or only 77 tons short of the all-time record in September 1941. For the first six months of 1950, these exports totalled 275,551 tons, an increase of 89,333 tons over January-June 1949. World new rubber consumption was estimated at 190,000 long tons in June, including 137,500 tons of natural and 52,500 tons of synthetic. The synthetic consumption was the highest recorded since May, 1947. World stocks of natural rubber, excluding Government stocks in the United States, the U. K., Russia and France, were placed at 715,000 tons as at the end of June, or down 10,000 tons from January 1. World stocks of synthetic rubber were estimated at 75,000 tons, down 35,000 tons since the beginning of the year.

AMERICAN DEMAND

The United States has until recently provided the market for one-half to three-fourths of the world supply, the remainder going chiefly to European countries, particularly the U. K., France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium. Canada and Japan also have assumed considerable as consumers of natural rubber.

rubber manufacting countries U S occupies the foremost place today The most important products manufactured are tyres tubes and related products The total value of these in 1939 was about 600 million dollars The value of rubber boots shoes soles heels etc was computed at about 80 million dollars The value of a multitude of other items manufactured came to 215 million dollars Among these may be mentioned different types of hose and tubing different types of rubberized fabrics industrial belting washers valves gaskets insulation products rubber covered rolls hard rubber articles matting etc American rubber products are exported to nearly every market on earth casings and tubes for motor car tyres being the principal items

BOOM IN THE OFFING

Since there has been a marked improvement in American business conditions during recent months and since it is anticipated that stockpiling requirements there may increase for the current year for strategic reasons it is reasonable to expect that there will be increased demand for rubber from America The steady Russian purchases during recent months may add momentum to the American demand

The absorption by American industry this year has been estimated at 1 150 000 tons and another 50 000 tons may be taken for the stockpile This would compare with 988 000 tons last year of which 574 000 tons consisted of natural rubber and the balance of 414 000 tons of synthetic rubber The output of synthetic rubber last year was only 393 000 tons and during the current year it has tended to lag for several months though American industrialists were trying their best to force the authorities to bring back into operation more and more of the stand by synthetic plants Only three of the smaller synthetic plants have so far been brought back into operation and doubts are still expressed whether production can be increased rapidly enough in coming months to provide a supply of about 480 000 tons for 1950 If the present trend of the fall in synthetic types continues still further this year would remain a market in the U S A for not less than 700 000 tons natural rubber, which would be the for nine years

New York consumer sources predicted that the output of rubber there next year will top the 600 ton mark, which might well force the demand for natural rubber to level of last year or even less, and the high prices that prevail now and that may prevail next year too may stimulate production of synthetic rubber but this may be regarded more as a contingency than a pressing danger Though sooner or later the Eastern producers will have to face again the strongly competitive conditions which prevailed last year on an appraisal of the present outlook the prospects of an early substantial fall in the price of the commodity are small and the present steady dmand and rather inflated prices may be expected to continue The important U K market is as brisk as ever, and has met with more business than last year and elsewhere consumption has been well maintained World absorption too has been put at the handsome figure of 2 150 000 tons of raw rubber, compared with 1 875 000 tons last year

RUBBER PRICES

World trade in rubber hitherto has fixed the quality and price of natural rubber within a sufficiently narrow margin so as to prevent local price speculation from causing loss to the peoducer The price of natural rubber in all countries that produce it now will continue to be determined by world demand and supply Since there is still an expanding and indigenous world market for the product we may anticipate a particularly heavy demand for our rubber for a number of years to come, at least until such time as the world replaces the deficit in production caused by the Japanese occupation of the rubber producing areas

We cannot however, expect the continuance of the extreme fluctuation in prices that we have had in the past—fluctuations ranging from three cents to three dollars per pound Future prices will inevitably have as their ceiling approximately the cost of production of

synthetic, and it is good to remember that synthetic producers have shown themselves able to cope with war demands within a few years' time, and will certainly enter the market when it becomes profitable for them to do so

Though rubber producers in India and abroad have to face a real threat from the synthetic product, there is no need to be alarmistic about it. It is beyond question that synthetic rubber cannot be put to all the multifarious uses to which natural rubber is now found to be most suitable. Most synthetic rubbers are derived basically through polymerization processes from a small group of hydrocarbons of which butadiene is now the best known. These "dienes," can be derived from coals, crude petroleum and even from alcohols, which constitute at present the major basic raw materials of this industry. The qualities of some of these rubbers are good, and some of them have been found to be even more resistant to oils and to abrasion than natural rubber but it is beyond dispute that natural rubber can be produced more cheaply and is better suited for the majority of manufacturing processes. Even those producers who had hitherto remained unconvinced of the wisdom of having a natural rubber price greatly different from that for synthetic are now less confident that the margin between the two will narrow appreciably in the near future.

OUTLOOK FOR INDIAN RUBBER

Since the war the internal requirements of raw rubber have exceeded indigenous production, and hence the market for Indian rubber is assured. The demand is likely to increase with the development of the automobile industry during the next few years. The introduction of scientific irrigation and cultivation methods may also boost the demand for hose pipes.

There has been a downward trend in production during the last five years, though the area under cultivation has increased, according to the report of the Indian Rubber Board released on July 20. The fall in production is due, firstly, to the fact that many of the plantations are old, their yield having decreased considerably. Secondly, many holdings, particularly, small ones, have temporarily suspended tapping due to poor prices of rubber. If marketing conditions continue like this, the report held, many of the growers might abandon rubber cultivation and utilise the space for growing more remunerative crops like tapioca. In this connection, the report also emphasised the need for the regular disposal of rubber so that large-scale accumulation of stocks may be prevented.

Referring to the difficulty in getting controlled prices, the report said, it can be generally said that the agency houses and the big estates have been selling always in relation to controlled prices while the smaller producers, sub-dealers and dealers have rarely been able to do so. Coupled with the realisation of the controlled price is the problem of proper grading. Due to the existence of several grades in rubber, the operation of price control has become as elastic as the commodity itself. The general complaint from growers and dealers is that they are often forced to sell a higher grade of rubber as lower grade due to the extreme difficulty experienced in disposing of their produce.

Mr A. V. George, Secretary of the Rubber Growers' Association of India, in a statement issued on August 9, reiterated the demand of the Indian rubber planters for an increase in the price of raw rubber, particularly since the world price of rubber has registered a phenomenal rise of about 400 percent. in recent months. Mr. George urged the Government of India to implement forthwith the resolution of the Indian Rubber Board which recommended a general increase in the price of raw rubber produced in India in view of the changed conditions and consequent reluctance on the part of the producers to part with the produce at the prevailing low price. Mr. George, refuting the arguments advanced against the increase in the price of raw rubber in India, pointed out that when the world price of rubber has shot up from Rs. 65 to Rs. 250 per 100 lbs, the price of Indian rubber alone remained at the old level of Rs. 90 8 0 per 100 lbs.

Explaining the circumstances that led to the passing of the resolution by the Indian Rubber Board, recommending to

the Government of India to increase the price of Indian rubber to Rs 100 per 100 lbs, Mr George pointed out that this should not be misunderstood as an attempt on the part of producers to exploit the situation brought about by the phenomenal rise in the world price level The resolution is only a reiteration of the claim of the producers for a fair price of Rs 100 per 100 lbs, and this price calculation was primarily based on the last report of the cost accountant of the Government of India At the same time, this suggested revision in price was not expected and producers were denied a fair price because the world price of rubber then was lower Now, the world price being what it is Mr George contended, producers are justified in reviving their past demand for a rise in the price of their produce

HIGHER PRICE JUSTIFIED

There is some justification for an increase in price for Indian rubber in view of the prevailing circumstances Rubber production in India has been preserved and sustained under heavy protective assistance from the Central Government, and the price fixed for this strategic commodity by the Government of India was purposely kept higher than the price available in the world market for several years in the past Now that world prices have sky rocketed, a higher price for Indian rubber is also justified if growers are thereby enabled to introduce improved methods of cultivation and carry on the necessary research activity of their own accord for which purposes a subsidy was asked for recently.

A higher price will also benefit the labour in the estates At the tripartite conference of representatives of fifteen trade unions in the plantation industry in Travancore, held in July it was agreed that the principle of equal dearness allowance for both tea and rubber workers should be accepted But the rubber industry pleaded that with the present price of rubber they would not be able to increase the rate at present but agreed to enhance it when their demand for revision of price of rubber, conceded by Government

MANUFACTURERS' CASE

While granting an increased price growers, the claims of the manufacturers too for the regular supply of raw at economic prices should not be ignored. The manufacturing industry in our try consists of about 100 large and medium sized factories and nearly small units organised on cottage industry basis From the statistical data periodically published it would appear that the aggregate potential capacity of the indigenous rubber manufacturers is more than adequate to meet internal demands in almost all lines. The industry, besides has yet to enter new lines which usually yield good returns But there is ruinous competition within the industry, and the products manufactured with the exception of a few larger concerns, which possess laboratories and employ sufficient technical personnel, are of inferior quality. There is immediate need to consolidate the position of the manufacturers and establish standards for products These presuppose the availability of the right type of raw materials at cheap rates, and if rubber prices are boosted unduly high the manufacturing industry itself may be weakened and ruined

MAJOR CHANGES IN POLICY LIKELY

The fortunes of the rubber growers have been oscillating from high prices and profits to the depths of depression and loss during the past few years Of all the crops grown in India only rubber has fallen so low in the matter of return on capital outlay, as was pointed by Mr K Srinivasan, chairman of the Rubber Section Committee of the U P A S I. at the annual meeting held recently at Coonoor. Production costs, Mr. Srinivasan pointed out, have risen 300% and it was more profitable for rubber growers to change over to other crops It is therefore necessary for Government to stabilize the industry.

The grievances of growers, however, have not gone unrepresented Mr Kuriyan John, Chairman of the Indian Rubber Board, Mr A V. George, and Mr K Srinivasan representing the producers, met Mr. H K Mahtab Industry Minister, on August 29, and discussed with him the problems facing the industry. Officials of the Rubber

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

By Mr STEPHEN WILLIAMS

— 2 —

PERHAPS no man ever put less of his life into his work than Robert Louis Stevenson His life was full of tragedy he lived only 44 years and during the major pa t o' that time he was continually struggling against ill health

His work on the other hand is full of comedy It is in every sense literary light airy fanciful continually skimming over the surface of life Nowhere do we get a hint of the agony and frustration that he must have suffered Stevenson must have been painfully aware of such a tragedy yet when he put pen to paper he seemed to forget all about it Perhaps he put pen to paper because he wished to forget all about it He seems to have written his books as a way of escape from life—as abstractedly and delightedly as a child building castles with coloured bricks

Robert Louis Stevenson was born in Edinburgh on November 13 1850 From birth the was a delicate child he went to several schools—he was often absent through illness Even at a young age he started many school and home magazines in which he wrote blood and thunder serials and at home he plundered his father s library reading such books as *Rob Roy Waverley Guy Mannering* George Sand s *La Mere au Diable* and old volumes of *Punch*

EARLY INTEREST IN LITERATURE

It was taken for granted that he would become an engineer like his father who was a lighthouse designer But Louis as he was always called was interested only in literature and the raw stuff of life from which he could create it He did a certain amount of engineering but valued it only because of the remote and romantic places it caused him to visit Moreover he hated the polite society of Edinburgh and escaped whenever he could to share in the Bohemian life of the literary and artistic circles of the town

Thomas Stevenson his father was a reasonable man and he at last let Louis have his own way not without a certain amount of heartburning for he was disappointed that his son did not follow his own career He accepted the and being a man of some means Louis an allowance while he was struggling to earn his living by wr

Stevenson s perpetual bad health one good result, it took him to interest ing places—Mentone Grez sur Loing Cevennes Holland Davos and the Seas—and all these places gave him ideas for books A canoeing holiday in the Netherlands produced *An Inland Voyage* which was published in 1878 it was quite favourably received and brought him £20 His tour in the Cevennes later in the same year produced the famous and well beloved *Travels with a Donkey*

On one visit to London he met Sidney Colvin Professor of Fine Arts at Cam bridge University who introduced him to the editors of various important magazines and so began that delightful series of literary exercises which he collected later under the titles *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* and *Virginibus Puerisque*

MARRIAGE IN CALIFORNIA

Meanwhile he was spending much time with his cousin Bob Stevenson and other painters and writers at Grez sur Loing and living the kind of life he has described in the essay *Fontainebleau* He was at home here—just as another English artist Frederick Delius was in later years—and his warm volatile nature responded eagerly to the French atmos phere And it was there that he met the woman who later became his wife—Fanny Osbourne an American They were married in California whither Stevenson had gone to meet her in 1880 and Fanny began a long and devoted career as wife and nurse

Other circumstances were favourable Stevenson was writing at top speed and at last making a modest living out of it and his father approving of his marriage had guaranteed him a yearly allowance of £250 The only enemy was ill health and it was only a matter of time till it won the battle

The next scene is Braemar in Scotland where the Stevensons went to live after

various journeys in search of health One day Louis found Lloyd, his stepson tinting a map he had drawn of an island. He began to help him, added a few details and wrote *Treasure Island* in the top right-hand corner. So was born one of the most famous adventure stories in the English language.

Treasure Island (published in 1883) was a great success and "R L S", at once became famous. His story *The Body Snatcher* which appeared in the 1884 Christmas number of the "Pall Mall Magazine" was widely advertised on boardings *The Times* had a leading article on *Jekyll and Hyde*, perhaps his greatest work It was also quoted in many sermons and within six months of its publication more than 40,000 copies were sold in England alone

VERSATILE WRITER

Stevenson tried his hand at almost every form of literature, but his chief enthusiasm was for fiction. He expressed his creed in the essay *A Gossip on Romance*, which he wrote for "Longman's Magazine," stressing the value of pure incident as exemplified in such things as the *Arabian Nights* and *Monte Cristo*, where the story is all.

About this time—the early 1880's—the Stevensons alternated principally between Scotland and the South of France, and Louis remembered as the happiest time of his life a year they spent in a Swiss Chalet at Hyeres. He was in fairly good health, working four or five hours a day and within sight of supporting himself. Cassells, the famous publishing house, offered him £100 for *Treasure Island* (it had run originally as a serial in the magazine "Young Folks") and the American "Century Magazine" paid £100 for *The Silverado Squatters*. *The Black Arrow*, a tale of the Wars of the Roses which Stevenson considered to be amongst his worst work, ran serially in the Magazine "Young Folks" and he worked ardently on another novel, *Prince Otto*. *Kidnapped*, which was highly praised by Matthew Arnold, was another serial story.

But all this time the forces of disease were slowly working for his destruction. Congestion of the lungs, violent haemorrhages, sciatica, and Egyptian Ophthalmia followed in quick succession. Once when his suffering prevented him from speaking he wrote on a piece of paper to his wife: "Don't be frightened. If this is death it is an easy one." No wonder his writings became a way of escape—children's verses, tales of magic and romances of adventures to deafen himself to the terrible truth which every fresh attack dinned into his brain.

NAMED "TUSITALA"

However, it soon became obvious that North Europe was no climate for him. He was wasting away visibly and so the great decision was taken. In August 1887 the Stevensons sailed for the New World.

They never returned From the United States they went on to the South Sea Islands, finally settling down on an estate in Samoa, which they called "Vailima"—"Five Waters" Right till the day of his death Stevenson worked unceasingly. His European fame grew to immense proportions and collected editions of his works were prepared. The people of Samoa knew him as "Tusitala"—the teller of tales.

A few weeks before his death he picked up *Weir of Hermiston*, which he had begun and abandoned two years earlier, and happily resumed work on it. But he did not live to finish it. On the morning of December 3, 1894, he dictated the beginning of Chapter 9 to his stepdaughter. In the afternoon he wrote letters. Just before supper he put his hands to his head, cried out "What's that?" and fell down unconscious. In an hour or two he was dead.

All night Samoans watched by the body and in the morning hundreds of them came, with flowers and gifts. They buried him on a mountain top, 1,800 feet above the sea. It was where he had wished to be buried.

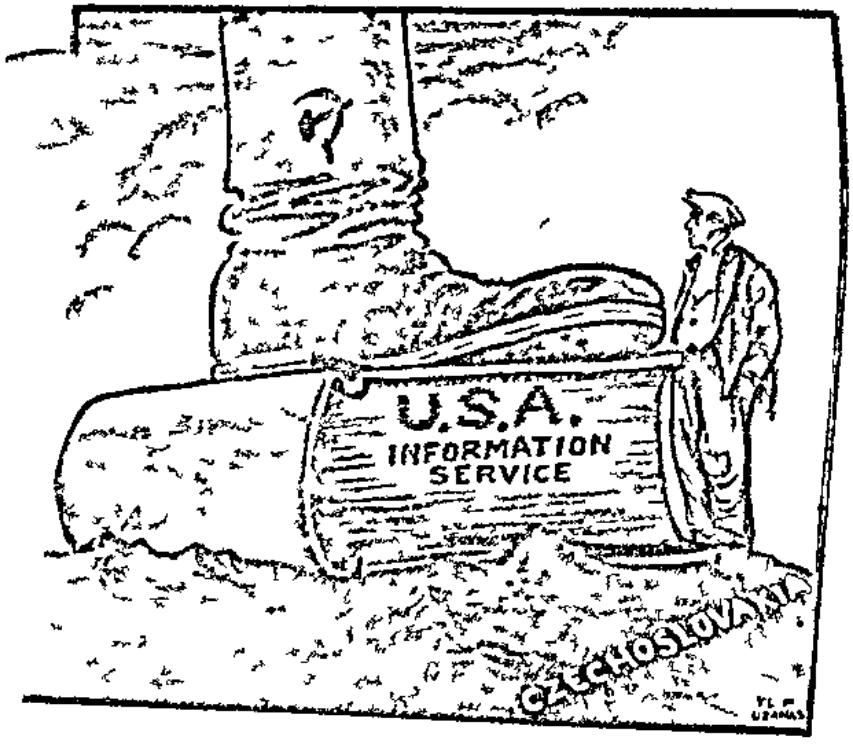
REQUIEM

Under the wide and starry sky,
Dig the grave and let me lie
Glad did I live and gladly die
And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me:
"Here he lies where he longed to be;
Home is the sailor, home from sea,
And the hunter home from the hill."

—*R. L. S.*

TOPICAL CARTOONS



CLOSED TO THE PUBLIC"

In the cartoon the heavy boot of Soviet Russia stamps shut the book labeled U S A Information Service thereby closing to Czechoslovakia represented by the figure at the right the educational and cultural services previously available through the U S Information Service The cartoon symbolizes 'the recent action of the Communist Czech Government in demanding the closing of U S information libraries in Czechoslovakia—an action which further deprives the people of Czechoslovakia of access to impartial information from abroad and imposes an additional barrier to freedom of thought

—Hartford Courant



from the newspaper CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

Speaking from a pulpit set on the top of a mound of skulls, representing victims of Communism Stalin preaches "Peace". The skulls are labeled Albania, China Baltic States, Poland, Hungary, Balkan States Czechoslovakia, and Communist Purges.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

G. B. S.

"HIS death eclipsed the gaiety of nations" said Johnson on the death of Garrick. The same might be said with equal truth of the death of George Bernard Shaw, who at 94 has gone the way of all flesh. But for the accident that cut short his life Shaw himself like the rest of the world, expected that one of his vigour of mind and body would continue to go on like his own Methesolah. But that was not to be and the world is the poorer for the loss of one who for well-nigh half a century was the most challenging and provocative figure in the world of letters. After the death of Oscar Wilde no man of letters dominated the stage with such witticisms and brilliance as this "good man fallen among the Fabians" Shaw reigned supreme master of the revels.

As the last of the eminent Victorians he was one of the intellectual leaders who broke down many of the taboos and useless traditions of the 19th century. Plays which made people think brought him fame. But Shaw was no Shakespeare, though he affected to belittle the genius of the Elizabethan dramatist. It was fun to see the tot thinking himself taller than the pater on whose shoulders he was perched. For Shaw's characters were "bodiless abstractions, speaking a curiously lifeless language"—dramatized as the "play of ideas." But he had a marvellous gift for literary expression—Shaw's substitute for life. And with plays came the famous prefaces, written in biting vigorous prose like Voltaire's, in which Shaw dissected and debated most of the social and economic problems of the day.

But few realised the depth of feeling behind the apparent callousness of much of what he said for sheer effect. For who but Shaw could have said of his early struggle: "I did not throw myself into the struggle. I threw my mother into it"—revealing a poignancy too deep for utterence. For poverty and its concomitant suffering and degradation spurred him on to exalt money, as money, he felt, was the basis of "the good life" in these times.

> The crying need of the nation, he said, is not for better morals, cheaper bread, temperance, liberty, culture, redemption of fallen sisters and erring brothers or the grace love and fellowship of Trinity, but simply for enough money. For money is the most important thing in the world. It represents health strength honour, generosity and beauty as conspicuously and undeniably as the want of it represents illness weakness disgrace, meanness and ugliness.

It was characteristic of him, as of "the man in black" in Goldsmith, to pose himself as the man of pure intellect unshaken by gusts of passion or pity. Shaw hated war not because it was cruel but because it was uneconomic—which incidentally has proved only too true after two world wars! This is Shaw's defence of his method:

> In order to gain a hearing it was necessary for me to attain the footing of a privileged lunatic with the licence of a jester. My method is to take the utmost trouble to find the right thing to say and then to say it with the utmost levity.

Shaw as a controversialist had drawn on himself opposition from many quarters. His opinions have been violently attacked and as emphatically espoused. Shaw like Gandhi was a phenomenon but the passage of time has left a residue of respect and consideration for the teachings of this artist philosopher. A reconsideration of all that Shaw said or stood for, shorn of the contentions of the hour, has become imperative as Shaw remains still an abiding force, by the vigour and volume of his writings. In his Epistle Dedicatory to *Man and Superman* G. B. S. wrote these pregnant words:

> This is the true joy in life, the being used for a purpose recognised by yourself as a mighty one; the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap; the being a force of Nature instead of a feverish selfish little clod of ailments and grievances complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy. And also the only real tragedy in life is the being used by personally minded men for purposes which you recognize to be base.

The man who wrote that can hardly be a charlatan but one who served his fellowmen to the best of his light and spent a truly dedicated life in that service.

Anglo-Egyptian Relations

King Farouk's demand for the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt is not a new one Indeed for over a decade or two it has been the main preoccupation of Egyptian nationalism All the political parties are one in their demand for the complete evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal zone and the unification of the Nile Valley This is entirely in accord with the new spirit of renascent Asia and Africa In redefining her relations with her former Protectorate though Britain had nominally ended her military occupation, she had specifically provided for the stationing of her troops in the Canal area ' until the Egyptian army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty of the Canal ' Egypt says that her army is quite competent to ensure the safety of the zone—a competence proved by the part Egypt played in the last war. Apart from this Egyptians who had offered their co operation during the war naturally expected that alien troops on their soil would be removed soon after the war by a revision of the humiliating treaty The stationing of foreign troops they naturally feel is an affront to their national pride Mr Ernest Bevin British Foreign Secretary while indicating in the House of Commons that Britain had no intention of leaving the middle East defenceless added that he did not despair of being able to reconcile the conflicting British and Egyptian views at his forthcoming talks in London with Salah El Din Bey Egypt's Foreign Minister The Anglo Egyptian Treaty "which Egypt seeks to denounce," he said, "contained no provision for the modification or revision except by mutual consent"

The mutual consent it is not difficult to achieve, if on a common table they sit together and hammer out an agreed formula to meet the double demands of security on the one hand and Egyptian self respect on the other Britain which has so gracefully withdrawn from India and ensured a more solid and enduring basis for friendship can still be expected to have sufficient statesmanship to evolve a mutually agreeable formula for Egyptian relations

Nepal

The sudden uprising of the national forces and the flight of the Maharaja the Indian Embassy and thence to I created a serious crisis in Nepal, a more serious than the usual Palace intrigues of which we have been familiar in the past But the collapse of the insurgent forces following their initial success was not altogether unexpected A significant dispatch from the Indian Correspondent in Birganj made the situation clear beyond doubt

After early spectacular, in some cases substantial successes the position of the Nepalese nationalists who represent an alliance between some members of the ruling Rana s family and the multi limbed Nepal Congress Party, seems to have perceptibly deteriorated It is now becoming increasingly clear that the nationalists struck much sooner than they were ready, for the King s flight considerably hustled them Their leader thought that somebody expected that they should strike at once They are being disillusioned The action of the Government of India in strengthening security patrols and the raids on their bases has now made it clear that if they had any hopes of support or intervention in what is Nepal s internal dispute they were tragically misled

For one thing the State forces were unaffected and outside help on which the nationalists were apparently banking failed to bring succour Under such circumstances there could only be one result The Government of India while giving asylum to the Maharaja acted with strict diplomatic propriety, having due regard to the independence of Nepal

But that does not mean that they would countenance chaos in the border As the *New Statesman* observes the feudal order in Nepal is crumbling as it has crumbled in other parts of Asia It is useless to shut our eyes to this reality

The restoration of "normal conditions" by stamping out a limited ill planned insurrection is no proof of the stability of the present regime Disaffection on the part of the majority of the people against the admittedly autocratic and feudalistic regime has by no means disappeared

The Government of India has no intention of pursuing a policy prejudicial to the independence of Nepal It had always shown interest in favour of the need for a progressive administration in the State and the Prime Minister, Mr Nehru, hardly ever failed to urge upon the Nepal Government to introduce constitutional reforms,

The Theosophical Convention

It was in November 75 years ago that the Theosophical Society was finally launched at a meeting in New York on November 17, 1875 During these seven and a half decades the Society has grown in strength as in usefulness as a gathering of international fellowship Under the guidance of a succession of able Presidents the organisation has become worldwide with its branches in almost all countries Its main task has been to promote the cause of what has since become familiar as the one world ideal

Among the movements which have done pioneering work for the realization of this ideal the Theosophical Society occupies a very important place By establishing cultural contacts between different peoples of the world and emphasizing the ideal of universal brotherhood it has done a great deal to promote international fellowship and understanding In a message issued to the public on the occasion of the 75th anniversary, Mr Jinarajadasa, the President defined the aim of the Society as

> to make a nucleus of Universal Brotherhood All the distinctions of race, colour, creed and sex are to us purely superficial

The fact that at the moment there are groups of Theosophists committed to the ideals of the Society in about fifty six countries of the world shows that Theosophy has been found not merely attractive as an intellectual gospel, but is a vibrant source of encouragement to an ethical life, and shows a lofty ideal as life's goal

> Our future work is steadily to minimize among the peoples of the world the dividing barriers of race, creed sex, caste and colour The difficulties in the way of our work seem sometimes insuperable owing to the hostility of the orthodox adherents of religion and of materialism Nevertheless since we have achieved remarkable results during the last seventy five years inspiring hundreds of thousands of people to enquire into what Truth is in reality, we have every encouragement to go forward in our work

The President made bold to claim that it was our filling the world of thought with our ideals of the unity of the world that made possible the organization, first of the League of Nations, and later that of the United Nations

India and Red China

India has kept herself scrupulously clear of the power blocs With this view she has exercised her vote in the United Nations—judging every case on its own merits—though her action has caused considerable misunderstanding in either blocs

She has supported Red China in the U N when she thought that that support was proper and legitimate even against disapproval of members of the Commonwealth But communist China seems almost blind in her fury By her action in Korea and Tibet she seems almost to push India into the arms of the Western bloc Her answer to India's protest against armed attack on innocent Tibet is anything but fair or straight But India, always bent on peace and determined to localise war if it cannot be avoided, has pursued her path with patience and faith

Now the role that communist China is playing in Korea and Tibet is not calculated to ensure peace even at the end of the present conflict in the Far East Between 300 000 and half a million Reds are reported to be mobilising across the border Washington officials ' are haunted by the fear that the apparent withdrawal is no more than a regrouping preparatory to an assault intended to cut through the centre of the U N lines to the Sea of Japan" If this major attack matures General MacArthur will be forced to launch a bombing attack on Chinese lines of communication in Manchuria and in China proper The consequence, as can be easily imagined, would be a major war on the Asiatic mainland between the United Nations and China—a struggle of which no man can forecast the disastrous outcome for the rest of the world

This is why the peace loving nations of the world, and India in particular, are anxious to localise the conflict in Korea

President Lincoln was once taken to task for his attitude towards his enemies "Why do you try to make friends of them? asked an associate You should try to destroy them'

' Am I not destroying my enemies" Lincoln gently replied, ' when I make them my friends?'

Tibet's Appeal to U. N.

The attention of the world is rivetted on Korea where the U N forces are grappling with the north Koreans in the final phase of the struggle So far Red China has discreetly stood aloof but it has suddenly swooped on remote Tibet in the west—far from the reach of American arms What did Tibet do to deserve this assault? In an appeal to the United Nations the Tibetan Cabinet and the National Assembly with the approval of the Lama plead for their intervention to check Chinese aggression and re establish peace in the holy land of the Lamas"

The appeal gives the history of Tibet's relation with China previous to 1912 and states

The connection was essentially spiritual born of belief in common faith and can correctly be described as the relationship between a spiritual guide and his lay followers It had no political implication

It points out that

the Chinese conduct during their expedition in 1910 completed the rupture between the two countries, when Tibet under the 133rd Dalai Lama declared her complete independence even as Nepal simultaneously broke away from allegiance to China

The last bond between the two was broken with the Chinese Revolution of 1911, which dethroned the last Manchurian Emperor

Tibet thereafter depended entirely on her isolation, her faith in the wisdom of Lord Buddha and occasionally on the support of the British in India for her protection

The appeal goes on to say that Tibet never acceded to China's claim of suzerainty

The slender tie that Tibet maintained with China after the 1911 Revolution became less justifiable when China underwent a further revolution and turned into a full fledged Communist State

Now this question of China vs Tibet is one that can be solved amicably with out resort to arms especially when one side both on grounds of principle and expediency is anxious for a peaceful settlement It is in this context that India Government's good offices may be fruitful India has evidently no ambitions beyond her borders and her service, in any case must be above reproach

Nobel Award for Russell

This year the Nobel prize for Literature goes to a philosopher. For Bertrand Russell's reputation as a mathematical genius and present day world philosopher has been built up over a long period And the award of the 1950 Nobel Prize for Literature is the latest in a series of honours conferred on this British philosopher, whose many and varied works include over 40 books dealing with social and political topics He has written books on a wide range of subjects They include "Problems of Philosophy," 'Principles of Social Reconstruction," "The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism," "The Problem of China" "The prospects of Industrial Civilisation,' "Freedom and Organisation 1814 1914," 'Which Way to Peace?, "History of Western Philosophy" and "Authority and the Individual"

Perhaps the most famous of his broad casts are the series he delivered in the Reith Lectures in December, 1818 In these he dealt with the problem of combining the degree of individual initiative necessary for progress with the degree of social cohesion necessary for survival

Russell, like some intellectuals before him was fascinated by the Russian experiment and after a brief visit to that country, wrote warmly of the Soviet adventure He now seems disillusioned He makes no fetish of consistency and denounces Communism in unmeasured terms And his recent denunciation of Communism is all the more downright for his earlier enthusiasme

And then we remember a time when Russell held that war should always be avoided by intelligent people His advice today is strangely different He advocates a preventive war against any power which refuses to come into an international system of Government This he thinks is the only rational solution to our difficulties Formerly pacificism and now war—that is Russell's means of protecting the liberal values of tolerance and kindliness Consistency is, of course the hobgoblin of little minds

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

BERNARD SHAW—Eric Bentley. Robert Hale Ltd., London. 12/6.

An apologia for George Bernard Shaw is perhaps premature and yet it is a triple defence of Bernard Shaw that Eric Bentley has attempted in this volume a defence against friends and foes and Shaw himself. This is no chicken feed as barring Shakespeare, no writer has attracted so much attention as Shaw and Shavian literature, including that autobiographical, is immense. It is therefore certain specific aspects of Shaw that Bentley concentrates on, his politics religion and drama.

Politically, Shaw's socialism (Fabianism) has drawn fire from conservatives, who denounce him as a traitor, Marxists, who are obsessed with other peoples' petit bourgeois mind, liberals who think he would have no objection to an efficient Hitlerism without heroics or race nonsense" and even by fellow-Fabians who complain he is shifting ground. But the Fabians started as a Club of intellectuals and Fabianism is just a protest against social inequality. It lacks the cementing power of a political party and in fact when Fabian influence on the Labour Party became pronounced, Shaw wanted to "detach the Socialists from the Labour Party." And while Shaw's propaganda spot-lighted public attention on Fabian policies, it also scandalised single minded Marxists whose canon of the historic mission of the working class is to the Fabian so much nonsense

From Shaw's politics, we proceed to his philosophy. It is alleged that with political dis-illusionment, his socialism grew less ingenuous and his religion grew dominant. And so we pass from the mild Christianity of his youth through irrationalism derived from Schopenhauer (minus pessimism) to the contradictions of MAN AND SUPERMAN and BACK TO METHUSELAH. The Superman is the link between Shaw's politics and religion and has come in for plenty of criticism. And quite rightly too, for how does the superman arise? The process is not clear even though Shaw postulates him as the pre requisite of democracy—a very poor theory indeed.

The best parts of the book are the last two sections dealing with Shaw's plays and career. Shaw's own account of the period of dramatic criticism and writing plays is typical "I postulated as desirable a certain kind of play in which I was destined ten years later to make my mark as a playwright"—admirable pedantry and complacency in one who has succeeded, but just the thing to irritate those less lucky. The critical consideration of the main plays and prefaces—which have generally little in common is exhilarating. Shaw's aim, which we see running through practically all his works, was cut across all doctrinal divisions "I am a moral revolutionary", he said, "interested, not in the class war but in the struggle between human vitality and the artificial system of morality and distinguishing, not between capitalist and proletarian, but between moralist and natural historian". Therefore, "he ridiculed the unreality of Victorian melodrama by letting in a flood of natural history." But he found that the illusions of melodrama frequently affect real life and resorted to the device of the inversion melodrama. In his historical plays, again, Shaw debunked heroes just to prove that, in flesh and blood, and without being tin-gods, they were just as heroic. In other words, these historic plays also rely on inverted melodrama. Shaw also cut away from conventional patterns by substituting liberal discussions for exposition, complication, and denouement.

Shaw's career, according to Bentley, is the revelation of the tragedy of greatness; the case of a misunderstood genius; "the story of one who wanted to be taken seriously and was not taken seriously". He failed as a propagandist, which he wanted to be but succeeded as an artist, his will.

THE MASTER OF BALLANTRAE. By R L Stevenson, Hamish Hamilton, London

The centenary year finds Stevenson again among the reader's favourites and one is glad to see *The Master of Ballantrae*—a Novel of singular power—included in the Novel Library of select masterpieces of European Fiction Here is a grim story of brotherly hatred the scenes of which are laid in far away countries beyond the seas, scenes with 'an indefinable grandeur and even hugeness of outline" as Chesterton said, that recalls the Greek tragedies The remorseless evil of the Master gradually infects the good nature of Henry Durie who becomes so eaten up with desire for revenge that in the end his character is just as demoniacal as his brother's There is a skilled economy of phrase and effect in Stevenson's stark objective story And the scene in which the Master of Ballantrae and his brother fight by candle light in the long shrubbery ' with the blackness of the frostbound night like a roof over their heads,' is unforgettable in its dramatic impressiveness The glory lies in its grand and terrifying conception and the sombre brilliance in which for the most part it is realised.

In an Essay included in *The Art of Writing* (Chatto & Windus) Stevenson gave some details of the sources of his inspiration and the genesis of *The Master of Ballantrae* Stevenson and his party found themselves at Saranac in the Adirondacks in the winter of 1887-84 "I had just finished my third or fourth perusal of *The Phantom Ship* (by Marryat) "come" said I to my engine, let us make a tale, a story of many years and countries, of the sea and the land, savagery and civilisation , a story that shall have the same large features. and may be treated in the same summary elliptic method as the book you have been reading "

The rest was easy sailing for a master craftsman like R L S Stevenson himself had no doubt that the story would find favour with seafarers and sealovers but the character and fortune of the fraternal enemies and the hall and shrubbery of Durisdeer delineated with realism are gripping in their horror

Stevenson is one of those writers who refused to grew old. He attempted every variety of style and his novels are written in a style at once picturesque and vivid with Highland phrases dear to the heart of the Scotchman, but in a way entirely different from the style of the essays which sparkle with jewelled phrases, apt for his moralisings, polished and chiselled in the manner of Walter Pater And then, in spite of his lifelong ailment or because of it, he revelled in blood and thunder stories and his leading characters are ruffians so much at variance with his own fragile frame In this he is very like Lamb who with the background of a domestic tragedy never ceased to smile and sparkle with wit and humour.

THE GREAT NEHRUS By J S. Bright, Tagore Memorial Publications Post Box 228, New Delhi Rs 6.

JAWAHARLAL'S DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. East and West Publishers, Sohangan) St, Delhi Rs 4 12

Ever since Motilal and Jawaharlal, father and son stepped into the arena of India's fight for freedom the Nehru family has borne the brunt of battle and equally shared the honours of victory. The father did not live to see the dawn of freedom but the family has carried the torch untarnished through thick and thin. The first book deals primarily with the life and work of the three great Nehrus—Motilal, Jawaharlal and Vijayalakshmi Pundit—and secondarily with the other members of the family As an objective study of the three great actors and of the struggle for freedom this book will serve as a document of inestimable value to future historians of these times

Jawaharlal's Discovery of America is a running account of the Prime Minister's historic tour of U.S A and Canada The account of the receptions, speeches and interviews affords interesting light on the way the friendship between the new Republic and the old has been forged by the magnificent efforts of one who is acclaimed the greatest statesman of Asia living Jawaharlal's address to the Columbia University is an utterance of historic value worthy of the occasion and the man It is a source book of the history and trend of these times and a powerful plea for the shaping of the new world in the light of Gandhian ideals.

THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE By L. T Hobhouse Allen and Unwin London 12s 6d net

This is the third impression of the late Prof Hobhouse's classic discussion of the social application of the ethical principles of democractic and rational liberation which was first published in 1922 These ethical principles were first expounded by him in his *The Rational Good* but the present work though founded on the earlier work is self sufficient Here is no trace of any attempt to present abstract principle without relation to practical experience But there is a natural recognition of the need in social philosophy not merely to enunciate general principles of human welfare but to ensure the utmost coherence and clarity in the statement of those principles

The object of the book is to show that while institutions are inevitable as a means of a realizing various desired and desirable ends they are only a means The true social ideal is not to be found in a static unchanging utopia of institutions rigidly devised and maintained but in the love of a spiritual life with its unfailing spring of harmonious growth unconfined The meaning of freedom is not to be sought merely in the political sphere but in the spiritual A man is free in so far as his inner life is in harmony While external freedom from constraint is also an element in the development of individual personality its significance depends on its spiritual uses and function For the freedom of man is the indispensable means of man's spiritual growth

Discussing the inherent limitations of democracy in its institutional expression Professor Hobhouse points out that while majority rule is a necessary evil it is only tolerable as long as there is a real sense of community While a sense of human unity is undoubtedly developing notwithstanding antagonistic forces like those of nationality and sovereignty there is at present a rather inadequate recognition of the basic fact that the true spring of progress is spiritual and that this spirit is not aided by the secular arm Prof Hobhouse towards the close expresses the hope that out of the current welter of half knowledge and conflicting dogmatisms a true spiritual authority an organsation not of officials and monarchs but of knowledge wisdom and righteousness will rise a sort of bodiless Church of humanity in which the federated democracies of the world may find their soul

Prof Hobhouse felt justifed in expressing himself thus hopefully in 1922 But the state of the world today on the brink of atomic mass murder and mutual slaughter makes us wonder whether there is enough wisdom left in the statesmen of today to save mankind from the catastrophe that theateans

SOMETHING SNAPPY AND ALLURING Pp 95 By V T Neelakantan Publishers Mangal Neelakantan & Co 62 Mint Street Madras 3 Rs 3/ Nett

The versatile author of THE SILENT FORCES has followed it up in quick succession with Something Snappy and Alluring The volume includes essays musings attempts at short stories descriptions of events and places and even a small poem the author has evidently considerable command of language and vocabulary His vignettes of the varied phases of life here and abroad are sure to afford interest to his readers

The get up of the volume is attractive and the promise of several successors to the present volume thanks to the Lady—the author's Pujya Sakthi—will be welcomed by the Neelakantan fans

MANUAL OF MEETINGS By D V Nadkarni With Foreword by Sir V N Chandravarkar the local self Government Institute Bombay Pp 116 Price Rs 3/

This is an excellent book to guide procedure in all democratic assemblies and institutions It is a valuable book of reference to clear doubts on all conceivable points arising in connection with meetings A clear exposition enriched by ample illustrations from legal cases makes the book very attractive

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Nov 1 Trygve Lie re elected U N Secretary General

—India sends another note to Peking on Red invasion of Tibet

Nov 2 Armed men attempting to kill President Truman shot at Blair House

—George Bernard Shaw passes away

Nov 3 Dalai Lama quits Lhasa

—U N Assembly adopts new plan to fight against aggression

Nov 4 Campaign ends in S Moluccas with Indonesian troops entering capital

Nov 5 Missing Air India plane located near Mont Blonc

—Russo Persian Trade convention signed in Teheran

Nov 6 Peking asks withdrawal of India s missions in T bet

—Britain backs India s stand in Tibet

Nov 7 King of Nepal takes refuge in Indian Embassy

—Peking Radio admits Chinese fighting with North Koreans

Nov 8 Democrats retain control of Congress in America s mid term elections

—U S assures Security Council that Manchurian border will be respected

Nov 9 Tibet appeals to U N for intervention and aid

Nov 10 Nobel Prize for Literature awarded to Bertrand Russell

Nov 11 Nepal ruler arrives in New Delhi

—Nepal Congress sets up parallel Govt

Nov 12 Insurrection in Nepal Nationalist forces take control of airship at Sewia

—Peking Radio reports cease fire order in Tibet

Nov 13 Chinese troops enter Tibet Peaceful end of hostilities

Nov 14 Third Session of Parliament opens President announces General Election by next year end

—Vijayalakshmi Pandit moves India resolution against S Africa in U N Political Councils

Nov 15 The Dalai Lama completing 16 years takes over the administration

Nov 16 King Farouk gives notice to Britain demanding cancellation of Anglo Egyptian Treaty

Nov 17 Peking accuses India of blocking peace

—Dalai Lama appoints delegation to visit Lake Success

Nov 18 India's complaint against racial policy in S Africa admitted by U N Political Commitee

Nov 19 M Vishinsky outlines peace programme

— Red tactics indicted at Warsaw Peace Congress

Nov 20 Rebels routed in Nepal Emergency Government wound up

—Mr Bevin replying to King Farouk says there can be no question of withdrawal of British troops from Egypt

Nov 21 American troops reach Manchurian border

—Nepal Ambassador meets Prime Minister Nehru

Nov 22 Mr Attlee announces Commonwealth Conference in January

—Jap Peace treaty—Soviet Memo to U S A

Nov 23 Ceylon Citizenship Bill passed

—British arms to Egypt suspended

Nov 24 Lhasa s appeal to U N refutes China s claim to suzerainty

—Red China delegation arrives at Lake Success

Nov 25 Lala Deshbandhu Gupta felicitated on election as President of A I N E C .

—Congress Working Committee concluding five day session in Delhi recommends Eection Tribunal to be set up

Nov 26 Prime Minister opens National Metallurgical Laboratory at Jamshedpur

Nov 27 Spain asks Britain to quit Gibraltar

—Nepal envoys in Delhi for consultations

—Peking delegates attend first U N meeting

Nov 28 Nehru—Liaquat correspondence released

—U N withdrawal in Korea

READERS' DIGEST

WHY CIVILIZATION CANNOT COLLAPSE

In the course of a thoughtful article in the *Aryan Path* for October Mr Hamilton Fyfe the well known author and journalist observes that if humanity must pass through the waters of tribulation it is good to feel sure that, whatever sufferings may be in store for many, all will not be lost The fundamental values of human life do survive the crash of civilizations, because men and women have built them into their character There is comfort in his reassuring conviction.

If we have to contemplate the break up of Western civilization, which is in so many directions the negation of "being civil' of bearing one another's burdens, of doing as we would be done by there is no need to fear that with the sham the true will disappear If the human race can claim any superiority over other species it must lie in the concept that to pursue the advantage of self is less conducive to happiness both individual and general, than aiming at and working for the advantage of all Many animals act unselfishly by instinct Man can do so consciously and that concept has never yet failed in what we know of human history to keep true civilization alive False civilizations may and must collapse, it is better that they should But the real thing is not collapsible so long as in some human hearts there remains any sense of the unchanging values which alone lend purpose and dignity to life

WAR NOT A PUSH BUTTON AFFAIR

In the event of a third world war, it will not be a "push button affair,' said Pandit Nehru addressing Indian Army Officers at Srinagar

"It will mean," he added, 'complete destruction of Europe, including England All the atom bombs of the world cannot end wars soon Hence millions of people will be destroyed Military victory is not enough We have seen after the last World War how the apple cart of one time Allies was upset, and the whole thing went wrong"

APARTHEID POLICY

The Liberal newspaper, *Manchester Guardian* in its editorial on the mid October agreement between Malan and the Afrikaner Party leader, Mr Havenga to carry a stage further the apartheid policy, declared that the real principle involved in South African politics is "whether new restrictions based on race and colour should be introduced into the constitution

And in particular whether coloured voters should be deprived of a right which they have enjoyed for 98 years ever since they passing of the Cape of Good Hope Constitution Ordinance in 1852"

The paper pointed out that the arrangement agreed upon by Dr Malan and Havenga—increase in the total membership of the House of Assembly, with extra members being allotted to European voters if coloured voters got an extra member—would mean that a European vote "has in any case double the voting strength of a coloured group of equal size"

As for the question of "procedure by which—if at all—such disfranchisement should be brought about,' the *Manchester Guardian* noted that the thesis of Malan and Havenga namely, that the Union Parliament has legal authority to override the stipulation that any such legislation should be passed at a joint sitting of the two Houses and should require a two thirds majority 'can and no doubt will in time be finally decided in law courts"

But in any case the moral obligation is in the opinion of many South Africans irresistible It is an indubitable breach of faith to disfranchise the coloured voters except by a two thirds majority

Employer "H'm! so you want a job, eh? Do you ever tell lies?'

Office Boy "No, sir, but I can learn"

TELEPHONE CALL TO THE MOON!

A radio telescope which will enable visitors to telephone to the moon is now being built for the South Bank Exhibition in London which will be a centre of next year's Festival of Britain It will be installed in the Dome of Discovery a huge hall in which the story will be told of those Britons who have mapped the globe studied the skies and investigated the structure of the universe

To make contact with the moon—477 720 miles away—the caller will press a button and send a radio pulse of high frequency flashing into space It will have a wave length of one and a half metres and will be passed from a giant saucer made of a network of aluminium which is to be built on the top of a tower in the grounds of the Exhibition

The visitor who sends the signal will watch its progress in a large cathode ray tube (like those used in television) in the Dome of Discovery When the signal comes bouncing back from the moon—within two and a half seconds—the image in the tube will give a little kick A supplementary tube will enable this echo to be magnified Those who ring up the moon will not have to pay it will be a free call

LIVING TO BE 150

Doctors are foretelling that in 50 or 60 years people may be living to be 150 How this will be brought about is not yet clearly stated But in view of the general trend towards longer life in some countries this does not seem impossible

Ideas on how to prolong life have changed from time to time Perhaps the method which most caught the popular imagination was Vornov's transplantation of glands from monkeys This method undoubtedly produced results but were short lived The modern method favoured by a group of investigators Oxford is to use periodical injections glandular extracts The effects cortisone as a life lengthener are being studied

A recipe put forward at the British Association for the Advancement of Science is to live on garlic lentils barley fresh meat and fruit

One thing which appears to have been fairly well established is that to retire from active life and then sit and vegetate' is a sure way to an early death The people who live longest are those who maintain in active interest in their affairs

A NEW QUARTERLY

Medieval Indian Quarterly is a new journal brought out by the History Department of the Muslim University Aligarh with the aim of promoting study and research in the history of the Indian people in the medieval age interpreted in its widest sense as covering the period from the time of the break up of the Rajput States and the foundation of the centralised Sultanate of the Turks down to the consolidation of British rule and the absorption of the country as a Colony of British imperialism Consequently the studies of the journal would include movements and institutions called oriental' usually but whose main source of inspiration did not come from the industrial civilisation of the west The journal would also lay a special emphasis on the study and publication of source—material We trust that this journal under the wise guidance of a strong editorial committee will be a help to the right understanding of our medieval life and culture

REASSERTION OF RELIGION

Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar former of Travancore said at Oxford that he believed an atomic bomb—physical or intellectual—would break up the world s present restlessness

Speaking on Religion and World Unity at Oxford University he declared that what was lacking in attempts to create one world either by means of a super State or through the United Nations was the right perspective of the meaning of religion and the essentiality of religion in regard to men s lives

Most countries in the world he said were now oppressed with a feeling of disunity and unrest There was a kind of hurrying unresisting movement a rushing forward to get to some unknown destination Everybody expected something to happen whether it was in Europe Russia or the United States

What the world needed to day was a reassertion of personality and what it meant he added World unity could only be produced by a religious conception of the universe Any unity produced by conquest of man s environment of man s soul was unreal and artificial however outwardly and statistically effective and contained the seeds of its own decay

COMMUNALISM IN MADRAS AND PUNJAB

The Constitution of India is danger It is being exploited by communal minded Governments Madras tried and is still trying to justify its Communal G O quoting articles 16 and 46 of the Constitution Now Punjab is trying to do the same Commenting on this Punjab move *Hindustan Times* comments editorially

A pernicious move has been made by the Punjab Assembly in passing a resolution recommending to the Government "to make provision under Article 16 (4) of the Constitution for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of the statutory agriculturists and other backward classes in the rural areas of the State which in the opinion of this House are not adequately represented in the services Article 16 (4) it is true allows for reservations for backward classes and is in keeping with the generous provisions made for reservations in the legislatures for Scheduled Castes and Anglo Indians for a temporary period But it is to distort the spirit and text of the Constitution for the Punjab Assembly to invoke this clause to foster patently communal and sectional interests

We have already had an unhappy illustration from Madras of how a communal minded Government could try to twist the Constitution for their own ends To justify the Madras Communal G O relating to admissions to educational institutions Article 46 of the Constitution which speaks of the State promoting the educational interests of the weaker sections of the people had been cited as though the phrase could be made to cover the non Brahmin majority of the population but the attempt to discriminate against Brahmin students by imposing reservation of seats in colleges on a communal ratio deservedly failed when the issue was taken to court

For the Punjab Assembly to ignore the lesson of Madras and to pass this resolution calls for the widest condemnation

A budding antiologist sought to include a Shaw piece in a new collection

I hope you understand he wrote to Shaw, that I cannot pay your usual fee as I am a very young man Shaw replied I ll wait for you to grow

NEW CATHOLIC DOGMA

Pope Pius XII proclaimed on Nov. 1 as a Roman Catholic Church dogma the 1,500 year old Church belief that the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary ascended into heaven and there was reunited with her soul.

More than 700 000 persons including the greatest assemblage of Catholic Prelates in the 2,000 year history of the Roman Church, gathered in St. Peter's Square to listen to the Pope's proclamation on All Saint's Day, an holy day of obligation for Catholics.

It was the first Catholic dogma of the twentieth century and the first in nearly a century to be proclaimed personally by a Pope.

A crowd of nearly a million people stretching round the vast Saint Peter Square and out of sight listened in dead silence as the Pope proclaimed. "We pronounce, declare and define to be a dogma revealed by God that the immaculate Mother of God, Mary ever a virgin, till the end of her earthly life was taken up into celestial glory in soul and body.",

The Pope read out in a clear firm voice the main portions of the 6,000 word Papal Bull (decree) defining the dogma.

The extract from the Papal Bull read by the Pope declared :

Since the universal Church in which the spirit of truth lives leading her infallibly to knowledge of the revealed truths, has shown its faith in many ways in the course of the centuries, and since the Bishops of the Catholic world in almost unanimous agreement ask that the truth of bodily assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary into heaven should be defined as a dogma of divine and catholic faith a truth founded on sacred scripture, rooted deeply in the souls of the faithful and confirmed by ecclesiastical cult since the remotest times, and one which is supremely in accordance with other revealed truths and splendidly illustrated and explained by study and by learning and wisdom of theologians, we hold that the moment appointed by the providence of God has arrived to proclaim solemnly this privilege of Mary the Virgin.

DAWN CHORUS

"C.R.M.", well known to readers of *Illustrated Weekly of India*, for his ming versatility draws attention to interesting paragraph (appearing in a issue of *The Countryman*) about the vol and variety of bird-Song on early mornings in the plains of India. The wri records that, in a small mango grove in the United Provinces, when the monsoon was about to break and night temperatures did not fall below 90 F., he heard the following :

"4 20 a.m. (I.S.T.), king-crows start chattering. 4.25, koels and house crows call in the distance. 4.30, golden oriole whistles a few bars. 4.32, family of spotted owlets squabbles softly before retiring for the day. 4 34, red-vented bulbuls sing. 4 35, crow-pheasant mounts a mango-tree and begins its "cou-cou-cou," 4,36, common mynahs burst into loud gossip. 4.37, golden oriole's whistles drowned by the donkeys' braying in the transport lines. 4.40 increased noise from the house-crows, mynahs, koels, bulbuls and crow-pheasants. 4.45. two night-herons, squawking loudly, return to roost above my bed. 4.50, rose-ringed parakeets call preparatory to flying out to feed. 4.52, a Tickell's golden-back woodpecker laughs rudely from a tree-trunk within a few feet of my bed. 5.05, tailor-bird sings a note or two near by. 5.15, the mynahs fly off to forage, still chattering ceaselessly. 5 20, the "hudhud hudhud" of a hoopoe breaks through the persistent cawing of crows. 5 25, a party of "seven sisters" (babblers) trails past my bed, maintaining contact by low cries and mutterings 5 35, sun-up."

She: "Then you'll take me for a drive on Thursday ?"

He: "Yes, but suppose it rains."

She: "Come the day before, then."

SCOTLAND DEMANDS A PARLIAMENT

There are five million Scots in Scotland. This is a small population compared to the forty-two million of England and Wales. But of those five million Scots, one million, which is somewhere close to half of its adult people, have lately signed petitions in support of the Scottish Convention.

The aim of this Convention is simple. It is according to Maurice Cranston, "to make that grimy, windy, half-elegant half-rugged city of Edinburgh into a capital once more and to restore the Scottish Parliament."

The chief problem of the Convention has been to make the English take them seriously, he says. The English have never resisted the demands of Scottish nationalism, as they have resisted in the past the demands of Indian and Irish nationalism; they have merely regarded Scottish nationalism as a joke. It is generally believed in England that the Scots have really got the best of the Act of Union; "the capital is seated in London, but the Empire is ruled by Scotsmen," people say. Or: "The Royal Family, half German in its origins, is also half Scottish."

Against this tradition of amused indifference to their claim for Home Rule, the new Scottish Convention has won a serious hearing from the English. The question being asked in London is: What does Scotland want?

Well, the Convention has no wish to remove from London the control of defence, foreign policy, Commonwealth relations and customs. What it wants is independence in domestic politics—a Parliament more on the lines of the Northern Ireland Parliament in Belfast han of the Commonwealth states overseas.

'VALUE OF SCIENCE'

Sir C. V. Raman, the well-known scientist inaugurating the Science Society of the Lawrence school, Lovedale, expressed the view that if one wishes to serve India by means of science, he should never forget the Indian cultural and spiritual heritages of the past. He did not wish to see life as in India dominated by science, but he wished to see its results in the realisation of fuller human life. The 'value' of science was that it helped to create a perfect human personality, he declared.

Dr. Raman added. 'We live today in an age of science, but we cannot keep pace with the advancement of knowledge that is taking place in the world'. He said that science brought all international forces into a common endeavour. Science was all-embracing and in its pursuit, there were no international barriers. Another feature of science was its fundamental unity.

MILLIONAIRES IN BRITAIN

In Britain, the millionaire is dying out. Taking the income-tax gatherer's schedule as a yard stick anyone with more than £6,000 a year of spending money is classified as a millionaire. Last year there were exactly 86 people in this class. In 1939, there were 6,560. To-day "millionaires" are left with exactly sixpence in the pound—six annas out of every 210 over their £6,000—the tax-gatherer scoops in the rest.

The men in Britain with more than a million sterling are very few. They are confined to a few bankers, and those who make bicycles, beer, bread and bets. Steel millionaires and millionaire shipbuilders are men of the past. Britain's richest man is Sir John Ellerman, whose fortune has been estimated at £18,000,000, all made by his father and grandfather,

WHY THEY END THEIR LIVES

Giving information regarding suicide cases in Bombay State the Home Minister Mr Morarji Desai said in the Bombay Assembly during question hour that males had committed suicide for reasons of poverty domestic troubles and prolonged sickness and females for illtreatment by husbands and relatives poverty and incurable diseases In 1945 there were 1 343 suicide cases—659 males and 684 females in 1946 1 412 cases—785 males and 677 females in 1947 1 508 cases—757 males and 751 females in 1948 1603 cases—808 males and 795 females and in 1949 1 830 cases—899 males and 931 females

The number of students who had committed suicide during the last five years was In 1945 one male student in 1946 six males in 1947 ten males in 1948 five males and in 1949 nine males and 4 females

NEHRU ON FUTURE OF ASIA

Picture Post in a recent issue quoted Pandit Nehru as saying that though he was the Prime Minister of India he had not the faintest notion what India or Asia would be like in 20 years

Pandit Nehru said I know what I want it to be I do my job with the best of ability and energy I have If I succeed good if not I have done my best If in the modern world wars have unfortunately to be fought then they must be stopped at the first possible moment otherwise they corrupt us they create new problems and make our future even more uncertain That is more than morality it is sense

DEADLIER THAN H BOMB

Latest discovery in the field of nuclear fission is the anti atom It has been discovered by Professor Fermi of the University of Chicago who was one of the pioneers of the atomic bomb construction says *Globe*

The anti atom particle promises a release of energy a hundred times as powerful as would be produced by a hydrogen bomb

Though it is an extreme of simplification it is sufficient for the layman to say that the anti atom is related to the mesons—the mysterious sub atomic particles that bombard the world from outer space

It is again an extreme of simplification to say that the anti atom is an atom in reverse in the energy sense It represents a kind of vacuum which exercises an irresistible attraction to an atom

They are pulled together by their combined energy of about 2 000 000 000 electron volts As they come together this energy is released

HIGHEST WATERFALL

The world's highest waterfall is the Kaiteur Fall on the Potaro River in British Guiana Under normal conditions the water drops 870 ft In the rainy season when the river is swollen the actual drop is well over 900 ft The Macusi Indians regard the fall as a god They worship it and will not go near it after dark Incidentally there is enough power in the fall to provide electricity for a city of the size of London

Friend Which of your works of fiction do you consider the best?
Author My last income tax return

WHAT HYDROGEN BOMB COSTS

A single hydrogen bomb would cost not less than $2,000 000,000. This is the opinion expressed by Dr. James R Arnold physicist of the University of Chicago's Institute for Nuclear Studies in the *Bulletin* of the Atomic Scientists.

He says that the hydrogen bomb is feasible but its cobalt shell which will enclose the explosive hydrogen charge would probably weigh one lakh tons.

When the bomb explodes the one lakh tons of cobalt will be evaporated and settle down as fine dust with its lethal radio active charge.

But the scientist expresses doubt whether the radio active dust will reach all corners of the globe. There is in his opinion no danger to the human race, he says, but adds, that those who are willing to use the weapon for killing must be prepared in turn to accept suicide in the bargain.

THE RED ARMY

Russia is convinced of its invincibility of the absolute superiority of the Red Army over the armies of the capitalist world. All the people living under Russian rule are prepared ideologically and politically for war. Russia today has the strongest army in the world—about 170 infantry, 35 armoured and 60 artillery divisions The peacetime strength of the Red Army amounts to 450 000,000 men. The trained reserves are twenty five million. It can therefore lead into battle thirty million men.

This is the view expressed by Col. Kurt Conrad Arnade, former member of the German General Staff, after a series of conferences with top ranking German military figures.

Writing in the *United Nations World* he warns that to under-estimate Russian strength would be disastrous. The army, he adds, is highly mechanised. It probably has 100,000 high class tanks. In air arm too Western powers should be prepered for many surprises too. For, to day Russia has a great many German specialists and skilled workers at its disposal. These have contributed successfully to the development of the jet planes.

If it were not for the air force, Russia to day would be invincible. Therefore, he adds, the Western Powers must base their whole armament programme on the air force.



PRESIDENT TRUMAN & MACARTHUR

Warm greetings were exchanged by President Truman and Gen Douglas MacArthur as they met on Wake Island in the mid Pacific Ocean Although they had never actually met before, they were in such close contact with each other for the last five years—and particularly since the Communist invasion of the Republic of Korea—that when they shook hands it was like a reunion of old friends.

—*Usis Photo.*

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

EMPLOYMENT FOR INDIANS

The South Indian Chamber of Commerce has sent a telegram to the Government of India on the question of employment for Indians in Ceylon.

In respect of a report that the Ceylon Government are willing to allow a concession only for such Indians as were in Ceylon upto July, 1948, for being employed or re employed or continued in employment, the Chamber points out that, as the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act in Ceylon was promulgated only in October, 1948, and as an important and necessary amendment to the Act is to be introduced this month, it would be fair if all Indians who were connected with Ceylon before December 1950, should be enabled to be continued or re employed in Ceylon. For this purpose the Controller of Immigration, Ceylon, should, without any irksome procedure, issue residence permits for such persons.

The Chamber requests the Government of India to urge the Ceylon Government to give residence permits to all Indians, if they were connected with the island upto the end of 1950

Burma

RETURN OF INDIANS TO BURMA

The Surat Chamber of Commerce has represented to the Government of India that there should be at least a one-year extension of the deadline—Jan, 1,1951—fixed by the Burma Government for the return to Burma of Indians in that country who sought refuge in India during the last war.

In a memorandum submitted to the External Affairs Ministry the Chamber says that Indian refugees from Burma have not been able to go back to that country, due mainly to economic reasons beyond their control. On the other hand, the memorandum says, difficulties in Burma have forced many evacuees who returned to Burma to once more seek shelter in this country.

The chamber has urged that the Burma Government should facilitate the return of evacuees to their country and the problem should be tackled at Governmental level.

South Africa

RACIAL POLICY IN S. AFRICA

The United Nations Special Political Committee decided by an overwhelming vote on Nov, 18 that the United Nations was competent to deal with India's complaint of racial discrimination against Indians in South Africa.

The vote, in effect rejecting the Union's contention that the matter was one of domestic jurisdiction, was 35 in favour, three against and 17 abstentions.

Besides South Africa, Australia and Greece voted against the proposal, Britain, Canada, New Zealand and the Soviet bloc were among the abstainers.

Voting took place on a new proposal by Syria declaring that the question of competence of the Committee to deal with the matter had been considered and that "the Committee decided that it is competent to consider and vote on such problems as have been submitted."

When the Committee resumed the debate, Ecuador asked the Committee to place the treatment of Indians in South Africa on the Assembly agenda next year in case the problem was not settled by them.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

UN RESOLUTION ON BREACH OF PEACE

The UN Political Committee approved against Soviet bloc opposition on November 9 a proposal that an aggressor state should be asked to declare its willingness to withdrawing within 24 hours of crossing a frontier

Fifty one to five with two abstentions the committee passed a Yugoslav proposal to this effect under the heading Duties of states in the event of outbreak of hostilities

It was considerably revised from the earlier version which had called for a declaration within 24 hours from both parties engaged in hostilities that they were ready to cease fire

As approved the proposal called on any state which crosses another s frontier publicly to declare within 24 hour its readiness to stop operation and withdraw

The approved resolution stated that

(1) If a state becomes engaged in armed conflict with another state it should take all steps practicable and compatible with the right of self defence to bring the conflict to an end at the earliest possible moment

(2) Such state should immediately and in any case not later than 24 hours after the outbreak of the hostilities make a public statement proclaiming the readi ness to discontinue all military operations and to withdraw its forces which had invaded the territory or territorial waters of another state

Another provision was that a state making such a declaration would in its notification to the UN invite the dispatch of the newly established UN World Peace Observation Commission to the area if the Commission are not already functioning there

The resolution also recommended that the conduct of the state in relation to its provisions should be taken into account in determining the responsibility for a breach of the peace

The idea behind this was that a state which refused to give the undertaking to cease fire would be liable to be judged as an aggressor

The Yugoslav resolution will now go before a full plenary meeting of the General Assembly for final approval

SHORT TERM PLAN FOR INDIA

The Prime Minister Nehru stated in the Union Parliament on November 15 that the Planning Commission s short term plan would probably be ready in the course of two months or so and a five year plan would come later

Pandit Nehru in a statement on the work done by the National Planning Commission said

The Commission has made a study of the factors wh ch have been impeding industrial product on in the past three years and is now engaged in a series of consultat ons with represen tatives of d fferent industr es to arrive at realistic programmes which are capable of fulfilment during the next five years

It is expected that working plans for the more important industr es will be drawn up in the course of th e next three or four months and that th s will ass st in fram ng appropriate policies in respect of cap tal issue imports and exports and assistance to industry

In order to ensure th at plans in the private sector are in harmony with plans in the public sector and are gu ded by common objectives the Commiss on is engaged in consider ng in coopera t on with representatives of industry and labour the quest on of mach nery to undertake industrial planning

The Planning Commission hoped Pandit Nehru said that as a result of the work now in progress it would be possible for the Union and States Governments to present their plans to the Union Parliament and the States Legislatures during the Budget sessions

An important question at present under examination was that of a population policy he added

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

President Rajendra Prasad, in his opening address to the third session of Parliament on Nov 14 said that Government had decided to fix definitely the dates for the General Elections in the second half of November or early in December 1951 He said that any date in April—May next—Government's former tentative target—would give rise to serious difficulties

The President said India must necessarily concern herself with what happened in Tibet and hoped that the autonomy of Tibet would be preserved

It was a matter of 'deep regret to us," said the President, that the Chinese Government should have undertaken military operations in Tibet when the way of peaceful negotiations was open to them "

As regards Nepal, the President said "It has been, and remains, my Government's desire to respect the independence of, and to maintain friendly relations with Nepal and to see her people achieve political and economic progress " He described the King of Nepal, now in the Indian capital, as "our honoured guest"

The President reiterated Government's determination to make the country self sufficient in food by March 1952

The President described the present food situation in the country as "grave" and said that even the coming harvest had been seriously affected by drought over wide areas, notably in Bihar, "where a calamity of such magnitude has not occurred in living memory"

"It did not help to minimise the situation, it helped still less to exaggerate it or to use the language of panic about it, he said

The present food crisis was, however, due to very extraordinary and abnormal causes and there was no reason to give up Government's programme of self sufficiency in food

Success on the Food Front, however, would not be possible without the active co operation of the people and he called for the attainment of the target of self sufficiency by the avoidance of wastages and by a voluntary effort to undergo a great many privations

Touching on international affairs, Dr Rajendra Prasad reiterated the determination of his Government to pursue its foreign policy in a manner calculated to preserve peace in the world and to localise —if possible to eliminate the conflict which had broken out in Korea and Tibet

Government would also use their good offices to bring about peace in Nepal

MR MAHTAB ON GROUPS INSIDE THE CONGRESS

Mr Harekrishna Mahtab, India's Industry and Supply Minister, speaking at Delhi on Nov 6, deprecated the formation of groups inside the Congress which had "no meaning theoretically and practically".

Mr Mahtab said;

I am a disciplined soldier of the Congress and I do not appreciate the viewpoint that the party or group which wins an election is undemocratic and the defeat of a party or a group is the proof of its democratic character If this theory holds good then in democracy there should be no success in election and the party in order to be democratic has to be defeated in election I consider this view as fantastic I do not believe that the Congress Working Committee will throw aside the best interest of the Congress and do something which will injure the interest of the country Discipline requires that individuals should restrain themselves when they do not have their way It is better to retire for the sake of discipline than to undermine an organisation because the majority holds the opposite view If I would not play the game, I should not wear the uniform

To day the Congress is passing through a very difficult period Personal ambition and interests are threatening its very existence This is not the time for further weakening it by creating imaginary divisions This is the time to submit or retire and form another party Whenever I feel that the Congress as a whole has succumbed to personal ambitions and interests and I cannot do anything to counteract it I shall retire or if I have strength I shall try to form another party But I shall never try to form a group inside the Congress which has no meaning theoretically and practically

The story is told that when William Gillette was a young actor he appeared in a play which had a pathetic deathbed scene Gillette apparently did not play it to the manager's satisfaction

"You are ridiculous," exclaimed the indignant producer "Why, you actually laughed when you are supposed to be dying!

"At the salary you pay," retorted the actor, "death is something to be greeted cheerfully"

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

NEW PARTY IN W BENGAL

About a hundred prominent Congress workers of West Bengal, including the former Chief Minister and Congress Working Committee member, Dr P C Ghosh, and the former INTUC President, Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, last month, announced their decision to work outside the Congress organisation and to form a new party, called the Krishak Praja Mazdoor Party'

These Congress workers decided to go out of the Congress so that they could "more effectively carry out the ideals of the Congress as enunciated at Jaipur that is to establish a classless non exploiting, democratic society'

The Krishak Praja Mazdoor Party will have the same objective as that of the recently formed Congress Democratic Front, of Acharya Kripalani the only difference being that this party considers that they can be more effective only by remaining outside the official Congress organisation

Dr Suresh Chandra Banerjee was elected President and Dr P C Ghosh Secretary of the new party

In a 450 word resolution, the meeting criticised the present Government for "its failure to do anything appreciable to ameliorate the sufferings of the people, and alleged that "due to corruption and black marketing the miseries of the people were daily on the increase"

The resolution added "We stand for an order which would ensure food, clothing, education, medical treatment and housing accommodation to the people To check corruption and blackmarketing will be one of the main endeavours of the party Unless these vices are checked, no planning could be made really effective."

ARMED REVOLT IN NEPAL

The armed insurrection of Nationalist elements in Nepal against the reactionary Rana regime, brings India face to face with another problem across her borders in addition to the situation arising out of the invasion of Tibet by Chinese forces. The King of Nepal, who is disliked by the ruling class in Nepal for his leanings towards the liberal parties is now in exile in India, as a guest of the Government of India The army of the Nepali Congress has invaded' Nepal, captured some towns and set up a parallel Government at Birganj Nepalese in India especially students in large numbers, have volunteered to serve in Nepal on the side of the Congress.

The armed movement was organised inside Nepal so as not to embarrass the Indian Government Police measures have been taken on the Uttar Pradesh border to see that Indian territory is not used as a base by any of the Nepalese groups This armed conflict is the climax to the people's movement in Nepal which has been demanding a democratic form of Government and ending of the hereditary, absolute rule by the Ranas

JOURNALISTS' CONVENTION

Mr M Chalapathi Rau, Editor of the *National Herald*, Lucknow, called upon working journalists to organise themselves on a countrywide scale and thus safeguard the interests of themselves and the profession

Mr Chalapathi Rau was delivering his presidential address at the first All India Convention of Working Journalists at Delhi on Oct 28 If the problems of working journalists and the Press had not been stressed as well as they should have been, Mr Rau said, it was because of "the absence of organised professional opinion".

Stressing the need for organising themselves on trade union lines, Mr Rau said, that if the working journalists must organise themselves, he had no doubt that the obvious course was to organise themselves into a trade union "Only a trade union can inspire hope and respect in employer employee relationships and ensure equality of bargaining power", he added

Calling upon journalists at the same time to realise the implications of trade unionism Mr Rau said that while no one should be excluded from the organisation because of political conviction or activity, the organisation of working journalists "must resist political influence if it was to serve its purpose."

EDUCATIONAL

KASHMIR UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

Delivering the convocation address of the two year old Kashmir University at Srinagar on November 10 President Rajendra Prasad drew the attention of the students to the two verses—one from the Vedas and the other from the Quran—written on the university crest and said that the crest symbolised the essential oneness of the Quran and the Vedas

The President expressed hope that every aspect of life would be moulded in the spirit of the motto of the Veda and the Quran namely Lead me from dark ness to life, and there would be no quarrels and strife

The President said Your university should be proud of the fact that it was born in India It has advantage which the old ones lack It is not tied down by bad traditions which some old institu tions invariably possess You have a chance to mould your syllabus according to the requirements of independent India and new Kashmir Your courses of study the President continued will be different from other universities which follow the old traditions and therefore you will be showing a new way for the rest of India

GUJARAT UNIVERSITY

Sardar Vallabhai Patel Deputy Prime Minister laid the foundation stones of the building of the Gujerat University and the laboratory of the Ahmedabad Textile Indus try a Research Association on Nov 1 Sardar Patel said I laid the foundation stone of the Gujerat Vidyapith 30 years ago Today I am laying the foundation stone of the Gujerat University Many revolutionary changes have taken place and are taking place during these years in India and the world Mahatma Gandhi s one conception of founding the Gujerat Vidyapith has been fulfilled with the attainment of freedom There is now no obstruction from any source in the field of education The other conception of the Gujerat Vidyapith of attaining the economic freedom of the country is yet to be attained

EDUCATION AND YOUTH

Dr C V Raman told the A University Convocation that patriotı boiled down meant love of earth It Mother Earth that sustained every and to which everything eventual returned ' Earth yields greater t when people care for it and it is the neglect of the earth that has created many of to day's economic problems' he said

Success in life said Dr Raman was a bit of a gamble "But I assure you sustained sincerity will eventually triumph Working purposefully is reward in itself he told the new graduates He felt India s future lay in colleges and universities and to day's youth were India's future standard bearers University education he said would be a waste if it did not give proper growth and nourishment to young men s mind and body Education should not be mere froth but substantial and potential such as would equip young people with everything that mattered

EDUCATION AND HINDU SOCIETY

The aim of education should be to train children to be complete citizens the Congress President, Mr Purshottamdas Tandon said at the 15th Convocation address at Banasthali Vidyapith (educational institution) near Jaipur on November 6

The true test of an educated man or woman was the presence of a healthy mind and healthy body and a balance in thought word, and deed He asked the students to develop a healthy, inde pendent and dynamic outlook to learn to test everything in the light of reason, to break the shackles of blind faith and in every respect to prove themselves worthy of the education which they had received at the institution

In India there were at present many customs and traditions which had lost their erstwhile significance and had become out dated Educated men and women should make an organised effort to give up such moribund traditions

LEGAL

INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY

Dr Rajendra Prasad, President, stressed two important principles on which the constitution of India was based while replying to a reception given him by the judges and members of the Bar of Calcutta High Court during his last visit to Bengal

The President said that the first objective of the framers of the constitution was how to make this country grow as a democratic country where 'everyone will be free to follow his own religion, free to follow his own profession free to follow his own bent of life and free to develop as he thinks best and as his talents entitle him to develop"

The second objective Dr Rajendra Prasad explained, was to frame a constitution where "our judiciary should be as independent as possible where the judiciary is to be the real arbiter not only as between individual and individual, but also as between State and individual and what is more, as between legislature and Government."

He had no doubt Dr Rajendra Prasad said that the Bench and the members of the legal profession would help in evolving a constitution based upon the written constitution which would stand the test of time and which 'the people who will be born hereafter will really be proud of'

ABOLITION OF JURY TRIAL

The Madras Government have abolished the system of trial by jury in the district courts of the State with immediate effect The assessor system of trial will replace the jury system

In Madras City, the jury system will continue for some time As juries in city courts is a concurrent subject, the State Government has addressed the Government of India for permission to abolish trial by jury in Madras city also

The jury system was introduced by the British Government to associate people with the administration of justice After a review of the system recently, the Madras Government have come to the conclusion that the advantages of the jury system are not fully obtaining now

CRIMINAL LAW IN PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Parliament adopted on October 14 the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill which seeks to penalise any utterance writing or sign that condemns creating of Pakistan or prejudices its integrity and sovereignty or advocates unification of two Bengals Two independent members and the Congress bloc had opposed the Bill. What is interesting to note about the Bill is that under the Constitution of India such a law would have been unconstitutional Under the Indian Constitution, observes the *Hindustan Standard*, the freedom of speech of citizens can only be curtailed —apart from question of defamation, libel and the like—if it can be shown that such freedom in any particular case undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow the State Thus neither creating disaffection against the Government nor disturbing public order nor advocating unification of the country with other territories nor what is called 'prejudicing' the integrity and sovereignty of the State —an extremely vague term—can be regarded under the Constitution of India as a permissible ground for curtailing freedom of speech Under the vaguely worded Bill adopted by the Pakistan Parliament, however, the Government will have power to penalise people including the minorities for statements or writings which cannot be brought within the scope of criminal law in any democratic country under the sun

BREACH OF MARRIAGES

About 1 900 offences involving a breach of the Hindu Bigamous Marriages Act had been detected by Government so far, Dr M D D Gilder said in the Bombay Assembly replying on behalf of the Home Minister

Nearly 1 700 prosecutions had been launched by Government for the offences and a little over 650 persons were convicted for having more than one wife Some cases were pending decision in courts of law

A dancing girl gets her education by stages—a college girl by degrees

TRADE AND FINANCE

IMPORT CONTROL

'In our view the fundamental problem of import control in this country is the problem of securing a maximum measure of stability in policy and administration, and the efficient and expeditious implementation of approved policy" observes the Import Control Inquiry Committee in its report submitted to the Government of India

The Committee was appointed in July this year with Mr G L Mehta member of the Planning Commission as Chairman

Stability in administration and policy is recommended in four principal directions

1 In the overall exchange allocations,

2 In general licensing policy

3 In the licensing policy in respect of particular commodities and

4 In administrative methods and practices

Without such stability the Committee observes, import control would be liable to serious fluctuations causing uncertainty in the trade, and consequent dislocation in commercial dealings

One of the principal recommendations of the Committee to ensure the desired stability is to fix a minimum annual ceiling of Rs 400 crores in the foreign exchange budget for import trade for the next two years to reduce fluctuations as far as possible

The basic objectives of import control policy, the Committee recommends, should be

1 To limit the aggregate imports on Government or commercial account to the total available foreign exchange earnings from different sources, including Sterling releases

2 To distribute the available foreign exchange resources in the most equitable manner in order to secure planned development of agriculture and industry and to meet the essential requirements of the consumers and

3 Consistently with the above objectives to moderate the fluctuations in the prices of particular commodities where they may have abruptly risen far above the parity of general level of prices

Decentralisation of the licensing procedure extension of the free licensing system increased facilities for new comers and steps to improve the efficiency of the import control organisation are some of the principal recommendations made by the Committee.

INDIA'S ECONOMY

The Finance Minister, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, speaking to pressmen in Del said that India's economy was not inherently, considering all that she had to contend with He told correspondents at a 70 minute Press conference that he did not share the view that India was anywhere near bankruptcy. "I think if we take proper precautionary measures in time, we shall still make a good thing of our economy"

The Finance Minister said that in the coming months, the Government of India would be engaged in a three fold task namely, economy drive the exploration of the possibility of increasing the country's resources and a review of the progamme of capital expenditure with due regard to essentiality and priorities To induce the supply of external capital, he said, India had to concentrate first on putting her own economy on a sound footing which would involve the making of an all out effort to correct the budgetary disequilibrium, and to augment internal resources so as to be able to finance her development plans to the maximum extent They had a vital contribution to make in the efforts to combat inflation and to hold the price level

He added that he was not satisfied with the flow of foreign capital into India, especially the flow of Dollars which was only a trickle, There had certainly been flow of some capital from Britain he said adding 'We should take care of the reasonable requirements of foreign investors"

TARIFF BOARD S TERM EXTENDED

A Press Communique issued by the Ministry of Commerce says that the Government of India have decided to extend the term of the present Tariff Board consisting of Dr H L Dey (President) and Mr B N Adarkar and Dr B V. Narayanaswami Naidu (members) for a further period of six months from November 8, 1950

Foreman "Do you think you are fit for really hard labour?'

Applicant 'Well some of the best judges in the country have thought so'

WOMEN'S PAGE

INDIAN WOMEN HEALTHIEST

The American health specialist Dr Roland Wehrer, is just back from an extensive world tour in which he has studied domestic hygiene. He has some hard things to say to the pampered and gadget-ridden women of America.

Among the countries the doctor visited was India, and he has returned to New York convinced that the housewives of India "are the world's healthiest womenfolk." He says that American women would be healthier if they went barefoot and slept on the floor as do Indian women. Dr. Wehrer is impatient of high heels and tight garters These he maintains, produce foot deformities varicose veins, circulation troubles and stomach complaints. Indian housewives who wear sandals, seldom get such complaints, adds the specialist

Dr. Wehrer also noted that rheumatism and arthritis and other muscular complaints seldom afflict Indian women This, the doctor ascribes to the Indian habit of eating whilst sitting on the floor. The postures thus induced, he says, produce a suppleness of the muscles and bones which add to general health

Dr. Wehrer is to report his findings to the American medical profession

LAW AGAINST THE VEILS

A law which prohibits the wearing of veils, passed recently by the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Yugoslavia gives Muslim women 30 days to conform It has the full support of the head of the Muslim community in Yugoslavia and is aimed at removing one of the main obstacles to the equality of women with men. Contravention or coercing others to wear the veil carry heavy penalties.

SRIMATHI VIJAYALAKSHMI IN U. S. A

Srimathi Vijayalakshmi, India's Ambassador to the United States, paid a week-end visit to the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln and neighbouring Kentucky towns during which she was honoured by the International Centre of Louisville University for her "struggle in the cause of universal peace and justice."

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Rev. Father Jerome D'Souza declared that misunderstandings between India and America must not be allowed to harden into greater estrangement, while addressing the Madras branch of the Federation of University women at Madras, on October 30 Christian College.

Touching on the subject, whether women should take to University education, Father D'Souza said that except for a few career women, in America women of the highest standards, even women of great wealth and moving in high society, practically stopped their education at what might be called the matriculation stage. They were able to fill their roles worthily "without a really first-class University degree." In the present shortage of seats in India and if the purpose of University education for women was only to prepare them for domestic life, then he would personally prefer to give a seat to a male student.

Mrs. Watumull, Director of the Watumull Foundation, said that the great industrial organisations in America were owned by millions of stockholders, among whom labourers predominated. Proceeding, she described the organisation of University life in America, of the efforts now being made to give education to the G I's and of how many of their students in the Universities were in whole or in part self-supporting "No one is looked down upon, because he or she is self-supporting", she said. There were a large number of scholarships available to the students.

Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan explained the work of the Indian delegation at the Geneva session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and paid a tribute to the leadership of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. Mrs. Swaminathan exhorted the Indian University women to take to other callings, besides those of teacher and doctor.

Teacher "What are the races that have dominated England since the invasion of the Romans?"

Small Boy: "The Grand N Derby, miss"

GENERAL

USTAD FYAZ KHAN

Aftab e Mausiqui Ustad Fyaz Khan, the well known exponent of classical Indian music died at Baroda on November 5 He was aged 70 and had been ailing for some months

Khan Sahib Ustad Fyaz Khan who came from Agra was one of the foremost Hindusthani musicians of our time He inherited a great musical tradition from his father Ustad Gulam Abbas Khan and his uncle Ustad Kallan Khan who were leading musicians of the second half of the nineteenth century His father imparted to him the Dhamar" type of songs while his uncle taught him the 'Khyal' and 'Thumri' type of songs and he became an efficient exponent of all styles of singing

Possessed of a rich and melodious voice, Fyaz Khan's style of 'Alapa" singing, 'Bhart', 'Barhat', and 'Tan Kartab" was exceedingly remarkable He was appointed by Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda as a State musician in which capacity he served for several years H H the Maharaja of Mysore honoured him with the title of "Aftab e Mausiqui" 'the Sun in the domain of music" He has composed several songs in the surname of "Prem Paiy"

EZHAI PADUM PADU

Many factors have contributed to make Pakshiraja's "Ezhai Padum Padu' (Messrs Narayanan & Co's release) one of the most popular and attractive pictures of the season In the first place the theme of the suffering poor is one of universal appeal The poor are always with us and they find their tears and toils reflected in the story of Kandan Jean Valjean and the Bishop's candles are familiar enough to students of Victor Hugo's masterpiece—Les miserables Nagiah as the chief actor, Lalitha Padmini sisters for dancing, and Serukulathur Sbama in the role of the good Bishop are happy choices for their parts With such features no wonder the picture is attracting huge crowds in three theatres in Madras and throughout the province

INCREASE IN INDIA'S LITERACY

Eighteen per cent of India's total population is literate, according to an estimate of the Government of India for the year 1949

This shows an increase of 8 4 per cent over the figures recorded for the 1941 census according to which 22 6 per cent of the men six per cent of the women or 14 6 per cent of the total population was literate

According to the estimate for part 'A' and part 'C' States Delhi with 81 6 per cent literacy stands first with Coorg 30 per cent coming second Bihar with eleven per cent has the lowest literacy, while Utter Pradesh is just above with 11 1 per cent The figures for other States are Assam 17 9 West Bengal 22 5, Bombay 29 5, Madhya Pradesh 14 7, Madras 21 5, Orissa 14 1, Punjab 17 0 and Ajmer Merwar 20 4

As regards the former Indian States while figures for 1949 are not available according to the 1941 census the C P. States with 4 8 per cent had the lowest literacy while Travancore with 56 1 per cent had the highest literacy, Cochin coming second with 41 7 per cent Baroda, the third State, is far lower down with 27 1 per cent

MR. TANDON AND THE MAHASABHA

Speaking at Jaipur Mr Purushottam Das Tandon, Congress President, said, that he stood for a secular State in India, and could never agree to the Hindu Mahasabha slogan of Hindu Raj

The Congress President added that communalism alone was responsible for the partition of India The leaders of the country committed a 'historic blunder" by accepting separate electorates, in 1906, he added

Charles Lamb was playing cards with a friend who was not over careful of the niceties of grooming Surveying his partner's grimy paws Lamb exclaimed

Good sir, if dirt were trumps what a hand you'd have!

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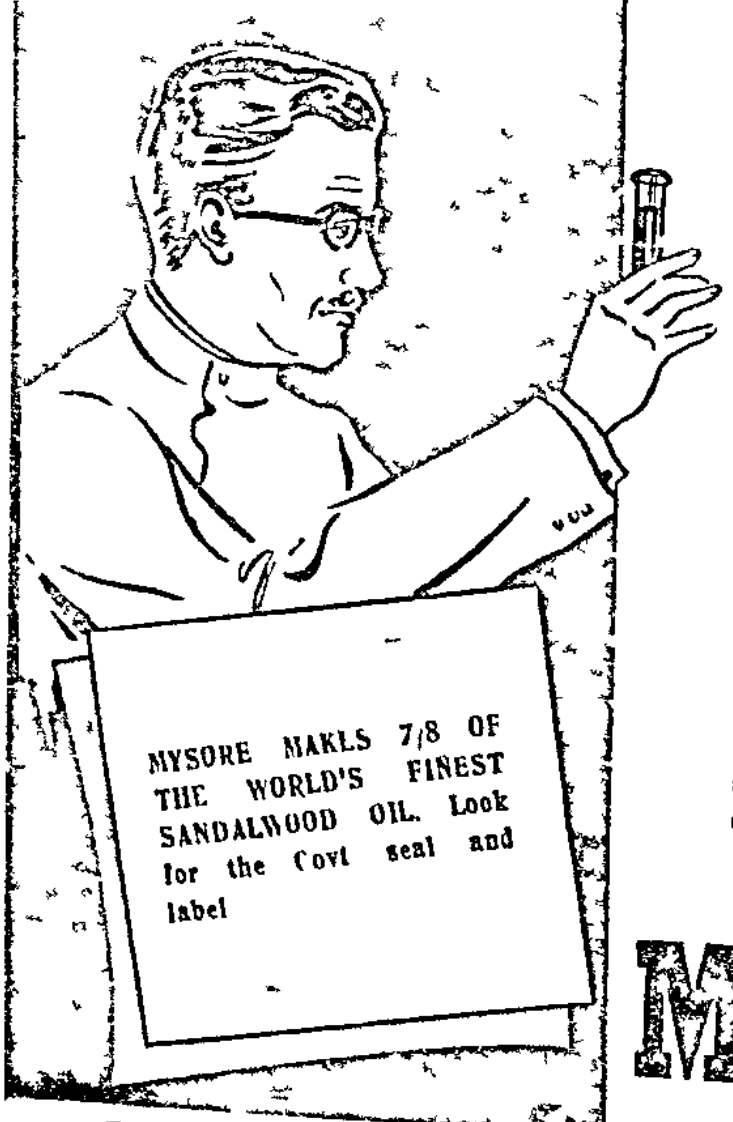
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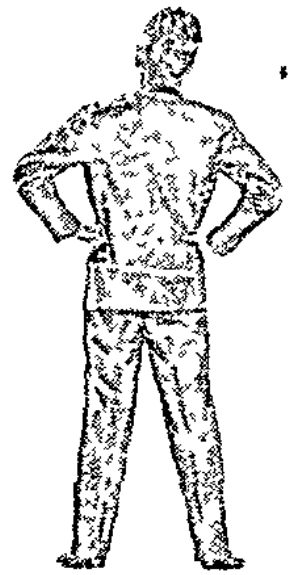
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